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REPORT

ON THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

MRS. STOPFORD-SACKVILLE,

OF

DRAYTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Vol. I. —II

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INTRODUCTION.

The papers forming this large and important collection are chiefly composed of letters, reports, and other official documents from and to Lord George Sackville, the 3rd son of Lionel, 1st Duke of Dorset.

There are family papers from 1706 to 1799 (p. 32), which contain letters from many persons of eminence, among them being the Electress Sophia of Hanover, Sir Spencer Compton, afterwards Earl of Wilmington, Robert, 1st Earl of Orford, the Earls of Halifax, Sunderland, Chesterfield, and Bristol, George Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, Horace Walpole, and others, as well as from most of the members of the Sackville family. In other parts of the collection are to be found letters from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, Marlborough, Newcastle, and Grafton, the Marquess of Hartington, the Earls of Bristol, Temple, Mansfield, Ligonier, Bute, Holderness, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire, Granville, Chesterfield, Hardwicke, Clanricarde, and Traquair, Lords North, Thurlow, and Sydney, and from Henry Fox, Sir H. Erskine, C. Townshend, William Pitt, Sir Robert Walpole, Dean Swift, Dr. Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, H. Pelham, William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, General Wolfe, Sir Jeffrey (afterwards Lord) Amherst, Richard Cumberland the dramatist, Sir Edward Walpole, and many others.

Among the papers not immediately connected with the public and official life of Lord George Sackville, is a very interesting bundle of letters and papers addressed to the Earl of Sunderland (Secretary of State) in 1685 by the Dukes of Somerset and Albemarle, the Earl of Feversham, Lord Lumley, and others, who were the chief actors in the quelling of the Monmouth insurrection (p. 1). They are believed to have come to Drayton through the Bateman family, the first Lord Bateman having married Lady Anne Spencer, granddaughter of the Earl of Sunderland, while the second Lord married Miss Sambroke, sister to Lady George Germain, which was the name afterwards

assumed by Lord George Sackville pursuant to the will of his aunt, Lady Elizabeth Germain, of Drayton House, Northamptonshire.

One of the most important papers among them is a very long and full account, in the shape of a diary, commencing on the 20th June and ending on the 6th July after the battle of Sedgemoor, written by an officer in the army of Lord Feversham.

An order to the High Constable of Whitleigh, in Somersetshire, dated July 2nd, 1685, to summon all the carpenters within his hundred and 190 labourers to attend at Bridgwater "on the King's business," is signed by Richard Goodenough, paymaster to the rebel army, showing that the order was issued by "King Monmouth," not by King James.

The papers contain many details of proceedings after the rebellion, in the shape of examinations, dying speeches, confessions, and some curious informations sent to Lord Jeffries by the Corporation of Taunton.

There are four holograph letters from Princess Mary of Orange to Lady Mary Forester, a daughter of the Earl of Salisbury (p. 29), who was mother of Mrs. Sambroke and grandmother of Lady George Germain. The letters have no year date, but must have been written before the Princess came to the English throne, as she never afterwards re-visited Holland, and by internal evidence can be dated pretty accurately.

But the papers referring immediately to Lord George form by far the largest and most valuable part of this collection. A large bundle of letters from him to his friend General Sir John Irwin, ranging from 1761 to 1784 (p. 84), which were sold to the Duke of Dorset by Lady Irwin after her husband's death, allude to all the absorbing topics of the day, and more especially to the gradual rise of the American revolt, culminating in the War of Independence.

The Irish papers are very numerous and important; they are in three series (pp. 146-281), the first from 1731 to 1737, the second from 1750 to 1756, and the third from 1777 to 1783. In the first series several letters from Dean Swift (pp. 149 *et seq.*) will be found. Numerous despatches from and to the Primate, Dr. Stone, deal with the topics then agitating in Ireland; the coinage, the King's right to deal with the balance in the Treasury,

and other matters referred to by Horace Walpole and other contemporary writers. The third series consists almost entirely of letters from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1777 to 1780, to Lord George Germain, on matters of varied interest connected with the country; but there are in addition some very interesting and racy letters from Dr. Hotham, Bishop of Clogher, as well as others from Sir J. Irwin, Mr. Waite, &c.

There are two interesting accounts of the futile attack on Cherbourg in 1758 (p. 293, *et seq.*), one by General Sir John Irwin, the friend of Lord George Sackville, and the other by a person named Alexander McDowall, which, though written from different standpoints, supplement and verify each other in a remarkable degree.

From the contents of a small bundle of letters and papers from Mr. Richard Cumberland, while on a diplomatic mission to the court of Spain, to Lord George Germain (p. 323 *et seq.*), it will be seen how strong the desire of repossessing Gibraltar was in the minds of the Spanish ministers in 1779.

The conversations Mr. Cumberland had with the Spanish ministers and several very interesting particulars of the internal economy of Spain and Portugal will be found among these papers. A letter from Mr. Cumberland (p. 342) undated, but written on Dec. 3, 1784, deals with the production of his play, *The Carmelite*, and is full of very entertaining stage and general gossip. The bundle headed "Letters relating to the Duke of Gloucester" (p. 344), contains letters from Sir Edward Walpole, Mr. Jennings, and others relating to the unfortunate position of Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh (brother of King George III.), who by his marriage with Maria Dowager Countess Waldegrave, a daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, had brought upon himself the King's resentment. The letters are chiefly from Sir Edward Walpole and the Duke's confidential secretary, Mr. Jennings, to Lord George Sackville, asking his assistance to procure a reconciliation between the brothers. There are two or three written by the Duke himself.

[The remarks upon the papers dealing with Canada and America have been relegated to the 2nd volume.]

As the Report upon Mrs. Stopford-Sackville's papers (Report IX., Appendix 3) is out of print, the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners have thought it well to re-issue it in the more convenient octavo form, uniform with the later volumes of the Commission, at the same time correcting some few errors and misprints which had crept into the earlier Report, and including many papers which were omitted or briefly mentioned for want of space.

The Report has now been divided into two volumes, the first containing the documents relating to the British Isles, the Continent of Europe, and India, while the second is devoted to the States of America, Canada, and the West Indies.

The great bulk of the fresh material will be found in the American Volume, but amongst the new papers in Volume I. may be noted Lord Feversham's original despatches to King James during his campaign against the Duke of Monmouth (pp. 3-21) explaining at much length, and in very bad French, his reasons for what he did and what he did not do. He makes the curious statement that Monmouth often preached to his army; does full justice to the gallant conduct of Lord Churchill and the young Duke of Grafton, and evidently believes the current report that Major-General Ludlow was with the rebel army.

With these Monmouth papers is an interesting map of Sedgemoor, sent up to Lord Sunderland by the Rev. Andrew Paschall, rector of Chedzoy, which would have been re-produced for this volume had it not been already given to the public by Mr. Fea, in his "King Monmouth."

The sections devoted to Home Affairs, Ireland, Correspondence with General Irwin, the Seven Years' War, &c., have not been much enlarged, as all these papers were very fully dealt with in the earlier Report; but some few papers of interest have been added. See, *inter alia*, the letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Charles Townshend (p. 60), the answer to which is printed in the Report on Marquis Townshend's MSS.; a long and interesting letter from Geo. Grenville's Secretary, Mr. Whateley, on the crisis of July, 1767 (p. 68) and one from William Knox on the new ministry of July, 1782 (p. 78). Also letters from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and Lord George Sackville on the steps to be taken in consequence of the surprise of Minden by

the French (pp. 308-310), and a series of extracts from a History of the Seven Years' War, with marginal notes upon the battle of Minden by Col. William Kingsley, whose regiment, under his command, greatly distinguished itself in the engagement (p. 320). This document was sent, many years afterwards, by an officer in India to Lord G. Germain, as throwing a "new light" upon the battle, but there is nothing in the new light at all exculpatory of his Lordship's conduct.

Some interesting papers have been added on Indian affairs at the time of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic (pp. 355-370), especially a long letter giving a detailed account of the defeat of the English by Hyder near Conjiveram (p. 357). This letter contains a strong attack upon Sir Hector Monro's conduct in not supporting Colonel Baillie. Other papers worthy of notice are a summary of the events which preceded and precipitated Hyder's invasion (p. 366), and three letters from Lieut.-Col. Patrick Ross concerning the abortive expedition to the Cape under Commodore Johnstone and General Meadowes, and the state of affairs in India at the time (pp. 364, 368).

Finally, there are several letters from Lieut.-General James Murray, who was in command in Minorca, first as Lieutenant to Governor Mostyn (invalided in England) and after Mostyn's death as Governor (pp. 370 *et seq.*). With these letters is a copy of the questions submitted by Murray to his officers in Jan., 1782, concerning the defence of Port St. Philip, then besieged by the Duc de Crillon. The officers answered by proposing negotiations with de Crillon, and, in default of relief from England, the surrender of the fortress, to which Murray sternly replied that their answer had taken a latitude which he never gave them. He had consulted them how best to prolong the defence and on that alone; would never consent to surrender until driven to the last extremity, and, if they refused to execute his orders, must resign the command to the Lieut.-Governor (Sir William Draper) whom he believed to be a better officer than himself, and who was certainly "a better politician." Upon receipt of the general's letter, the officers unanimously assured him of their determination to stand by him and obey him. When they made their proposal, it must be remembered that the fatal scurvy had already made its

appearance, which quickly reduced the little garrison to a state of desperation, and three weeks later obliged the general to surrender. If the garrison had remained in health, he wrote to Lord Hillsborough, he could have held out two months longer (p. 373).

This report was commenced by the late Mr. R. B. Knowles and continued after his death by Mr. W. O. Hewlett. The revision of the text and the preparation of the index to the present volume is the work of Mrs. S. C. Lomas.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
MRS. STOPFORD SACKVILLE
OF
DRAYTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

I.—MONMOUTH PAPERS.

Lord Dumbarton to King James II.

1685, May. Aire.—Three fragments of letters. One is dated "Aire, 29 May 1685," and as they all relate to Argyll's expedition to Scotland, the others are about the same date. In that which is dated, Dumbarton says, "the gentlemen wrytes from the cost of Galloway that they see som tymes 4, and other tymes 5 sheps croising betwixt the Ille of Man and Kintyre. It is fitting that your Majestie had four sheps upon this coste. This noor west wend hes bein the greatest advantage Argylle could have had, for non of your Majestie's shepes could com upon this coste n'other from St. George's chanell nor the north illes." In another fragment the writer says, "Ther is non of your Majesties shepes yett on the coste nor no newis of any of them, if they war heir all Argyll's sheps most be lost, and as it is he may go on all the coste wher he plases and give me allarmes of his landing at severall places." In the third fragment he writes: "Just as I am wryting this ther is word broght me that Argyll was standing in at Largs with 3 shepes, 24 great boates, and a great barke for to land, so I am going ther with 3 troups of horse which is on the cost and 3 of dragons."

Duke of Monmouth.

[1685, June 11.]—Heads of the Duke of Monmouth's manifesto after his landing at Lyme.

Col. Sir E. Phelipps, Col. Fras. Lutterell and William Lacy, to his Grace [the Duke of Somerset].

1685, June 15. Chard.—We have here Col. Lutterell's regiment and Col. Phelipps, with two or three hundred horse, militia and volunteers. Hearing that the Duke of Albemarle was at Axminster, Col. Lutterell went with part of the force to

join him, "but upon a sudden, some persons were supposed to be seen of the enemy and an old soldier said we were all betrayed, and made some [of] our foot to run, but they soon came to their arms and so we retreated . . . and intend to-morrow to join with his Grace if he doth not countermand us . . . The enemy have made some sallies for to get horse, but were repulsed at Bridport yesterday morning with some loss. They have a confused number, but we cannot tell what . . . We are informed that the soldiers know not their captains, nor no order among them . . . We shall be glad to see your Grace here and the rest of the forces." *Enclosed in the Duke's letter of the* 16*th*.

The Duke of Somerset to [the Earl of Sunderland ?].

1685, June 16. Wells.—I arrived here on Monday morning, and immediately sent a messenger to Mr. Edward Philips at Taunton. The messenger found him at Chard and brought me the letter which I enclose. I learn from a letter which I have intercepted "that Mr. Strangewayes, brother to collonell Strangewayes, was basely murdered mounting his horse at the stable doore, and likewise one Mr. Cooker, collonell Cooker's son, of Dorsetshire, shott in his own stable as he was going to mount his horse. And on the other side there is a great officer of theirs killed, and it is generally reported that it is the Lord Grey, and this letter mentions farther that the Duke of Allbemarle is this morning intended to be on the hills before Lime with 10,000 men. . . . I intend to march myselfe to-morrow towardes Crookeherne, and will gett there as soone as I can . . . . . Pray, my lord, acquaint the King that there shall not be any thing wanting in me to put a stope to this rebellion, which I hope now in ten dayes you will find a very great alteration for the best. I have here stopt ten idle lusty fellowes we suspected to be going into Lime that could give noe account of themselves, and one of them confessed that he beleived the Duke of Monmouth an honest man, and was sure that he was a friend of his, and upon this we have sent them all to the jaile of this town. I find all the gentlemen very well inclined to doe the King service,and the militia is in very good order for militia, and I hope with encouragement of theire officers will doe there part well, it would be very much for the King's service to send here a foot regiment to leade on the militia, for you will find by Sir Ed. Phylip's letter that almost any report will startel them, soe that there is an absolute necessity if the King can spaire them to send some forces here, for the common sort of people if they durst would rise every minute, but here is now every where soe good order and watch kept that it is almost impossible for them to get to any head." *Holograph*.

Duke of Albemarle to [the Same ?].

1685, June 18. Shute, near Axminster.—"I am now with my Lord Churchill, who has brought his troopes to Axminster. The

troopes being weary with their march, his Lordship does not thinke it convenient to joine me till to-morrow or next day; however I shall march early the next morneing towards the enemy, and from thence shall send to his Lordship and soone after doe hope to give your Lordship a better account." *Signed.*

The Duke of Monmouth.

1685, June 20. Taunton.—Order "in his Majesty's name . . . to all officers and soldiers of our army, and to all others our loving subjects" to suffer the post to pass without interruption. *Signed,* Richard Goodenough, paymaster to the army.

The Duke of Somerset to [Lord Albemarle ?]

[1685, June 21 ?]—"Lest my first messenger should have miscarried I doe here desire your Lordship to come away towardes me with what forces you have, for I have onely one regiment and one troope of horse which I am afraide will hardly stand because the others have show'd them the way to run, the enemy is now at Bridgewater, which is in ten miles of where I am." *End of letter wanting. Holograph.*

The Duke of Somerset to the King.

[1685, June 21 ?]—[*First part wanting.*] ". . . account of my Lord Stawell's regiment that are all fled and most of them gone over to the rebels at Bridgewater. I have sent for the Duke of Albemarle's assistance and have sent your Majesty his letter to me, which pray sir consider what a comfortable answer it is. Sir Francis Warr will give your Majesty a full account of all things, and with the reasons that makes me now forced to retire to Bathe, where I hope your Majesty will soone send me some assistance, or else the whole county is lost." *Holograph.*

Earl of Feversham to [Lord Sunderland ?].

[1685,] June 22. Nine of the clock in the morning. Marlborough.—"I am just now come to this place, and am going to Chapenham with all speede. I have received a letter from my Lord of Pembroke, who is att the Devizes; he tells me he is marching to Chipenham with the Wiltshire and Hamshire Militia. I have sent to him to desire him to order his horse to march thither without staying for the foot. I do not yett know what number of horse and foot he has. I have also sent to the Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort for to inform them of my marching to Chipenham and I do desire them both to lett me know what news they have of the rebells, that I may governe myselfe accordingly." *Signed.*

Earl of Feversham to King James II.

[1685, June 23. Bristol.]—" Sire.—Je ne me suis point donné l'honneur d'escrire a vostre majesté despuis mon despart de Londres n'ayant jamais sceu qu'aujourdhui ou estoint les rebelles assurement, j'ay pourtant rendu conte a mylord sunderland le plus souvent qu'il m'a esté possible de ma marche sans envoier d'expres, n'ayant rien eu d'asses considerable pour le faire. Je l'y marquois dans ma lettre d'hier de chippenam que je marcherois ce matin pour me rendre ici le plustost qu'il me seroit possible, ce que j'ay fait sur une lettre du duc de beaufort qui m'en pressoit fort, car l'arrivée du duc de soumerset avec sa milice avoit fort estonné la ville, et je croiois que les rebelles marchoit droit ici et qu'il en avoit des nouvelles certaines; c'est pourquoi je n'ai pas voulu espargner une marche quoi qu'asses incommode a cause du chemin, scachant l'importance de la perte de ceste ville, et que de plus j'ay creu que quand ce n'auroit esté que pour faire voir à la ville l'interest que vostre majesté prennoit a sa conservation, et que j'estois assuré que puisque les rebelles avoit quitté taunton, qu'ils ne pourroint marcher en pas un endroit que je ne fusse toujours en estast de leur montrer comme un teste de troupes jusques a ce que mon infanterie fust arrivée, car j'ay fait marcher aujourdhui un compagnie d'oxfort, et deux de draggons a bath, avec quatres compagnies de cavalerie et un regiment d'infanterie de willshire; mylord pembroke est allé avec, et desmain le reste de la milice de ces deux provinces y doit marcher. Scachant que le duc de sommerset n'y avoit point laissé de troupes, j'apprehendois que les ennemis ne s'en saissisent; j'ause assurer vostre majesté qu'ils ont perdu le temps de se saisir de rien qui en vaille la poine s'ils l'ont jamais eu, et je ne puis croire que l'affaire puisse durer plus de six jours, estant ou ils sont a ce que le messager que le duc de sommerset avoit envoié a milord churchill m'a assuré. Il y a deux heures qu'il est arrivé ici et il en est huict du soir; le lieu ou les enemis sont, s'appelle glastonbury, a moins qu'ils n'ayent marché ce matin; l'on croit qu'ils l'ont fait et sont allé a wells, de la je ne puis m'imaginer ou ils peuvent aller, les troupes de vostre majesté estant postées comme elles sont. Milord churchill estoit hier au soir a langport comme le messager dit, car je n'ai resceu nulles nouvelles de lui, et je me suis toujours attendu d'en rescevoir afin que je me peusse reigler sur ce qu'il me manderoit; je ne doubte point d'en avoir desmain, langport n'est qu'a huict mille de glastonbury. Oglethorpe estoit ce matin a bruton, ce sont les dernieres nouvelles que j'ay eu de lui, ce n'est qu'a huict milles des ennemis aussi, par lui assurement je scaurai desmain au matin de leurs nouvelles a bath, ou je serai de bon matin, prennant seise gardes et dix grenadiers, pour y aller en diligence, et le reste me suivra, car je n'apprehende rien ici, car si les ennemis y vouloit marcher j'ause vous assurer sire que j'y serai toujours plustost qu'eux avec des trouppes estant a bath. Ce qui me fait remarcher en diligence, c'est de peur qu'ayant appris que j'ay marché ici, ils peuvent s'imaginer de pouvoir aller droit a l'infanterie qui doit estre desmain a marlborough, avant que je

n'y puisse estre, ce que je ne puis croire, car en arrivant a bath si j'apprens que leurs marche tourne de ce costé la, je marcherai incessament avec la cavalerie et les draggons qui sont a bath et joindra l'infanterie a marlborough avant eux assurement, ils pourront peust estre marcher a bradford croiant me couper de mon infanterie, mais je serais toujours devant eux, par les marches que je fairai. Si vostre majesté le veut regarder sur la carte j'espère que vous voires sire que je ne me trompe point, il a de la milice cavalerie et infanterie de milord pembroke qui devoit venir desmain a bath que je prendrai dans ma marche pour joindre le duc de grafton, et milord churchill ne peust que me joindre en les suivant de pres comme il faira assurement. Voila un gentilhomme qui vient de me dire qu'il vit les ennemis hier au soir ou j'ay marqué, et qu'aujourdhui ils ont envoié a wells pour y loger; ils n'ont point de piques a ce qu'ils m'assure, et beaucoup que des batons ou ils ont attaché des faulxs et des bous de fer; ce seront de bonnes armes quand l'infanterie sera arrivée. Milord pembrook me vient d'envoier pour me faire scavoir qu'un homme qui est venu aujourdhui de parmi eux lui a dit qu'ils parloit de marcher vers londres; j'advoüe que je croi qu'ils ne scavent de quel costé se tourner. Le duc de sommerset vient de m'envoier une lettre de milord churchill dont j'envoie la copie a vostre majesté, je ne puis me joindre a lui a wells car les ennemis y sont assurement ce soir a ce que m'assure le messager qui a porté sa lettre, mais desque je rescevrai de ses nouvelles je prendrai mes mesures pour le joindre, mais non pas peust estre pour aller si viste, car assurement sire je n'assaderai rien sans l'infanterie de vostre majesty puisqu'elle est si pres, et que la chose est seure si on l'ause dire; quoi que je puis croire qu'on les pourroint batre sans tant de precaution, mais argile destruit, je ne mettrai pas au hasard d'avoir un malheur qui en pourroit produire d'autres et puist estre trop grands, et j'espère que le bon dieu me faira la grace de ne jamais rien faire tant que je vivrai qui puisse meriter, d'estre blasmé de vostre majesté, ni de qui que ce soit avec raison de l'honneur qu'elle me vient de faire, estant sire de vostre majesté le tres humble, tres obeissant et tres fidele subject et serviteur, Feversham."

Endorsed:—From Bristol. *Holograph. Acknowledged by Sunderland on June* 25. *See S.P. Dom. Jac. II., Vol.* 2, *p.* 33.

The Duke of Albemarle to [Lord Sunderland ?].

1685, June 25. Taunton.—Incloses information just received from the Mayor of Exeter, [*wanting*], for his Majesty to see. Will march towards Exeter next morning with all the speed he can. *Signed.*

The Same to [the Same?].

1685, June 25. Taunton.—Asks for a commission from his Majesty to raise men in Devonshire, which he thinks requisite for the security of that county. Col. Ashton will give particulars of what is necessary. *Signed.*

The Duke of Albemarle to [Lord Sunderland?].

1685, June 26. Taunton.—Has sent a garrison into Lime (Lyme) and is just now marching towards Exeter. *Signed.*

The Same to [the Same?].

1685, June 26. Tiverton.—"The inclosed confirmes the French ships being in Torbay. I will use my indeavours to secure them till I have his Majestie's order, and in the meane time have sent to Lime and Plimouth to give notice to such men of warr as shall be found there to saile towards Torbay." *Signed.*

Enclosing,

Richard Annesley and Others to the Duke of Albemarle.

1685, June 26. Exeter.—The writers are certainly advised that the vessels appearing before Exmouth and Torbay are two French men of war, with ten merchant men under their convoy laden with arms and ammunition from Dunkirke and bound for Ryon. *Signed*, Rich. Annesley, Pet. Prideaux, Jo. Roth (?), Courtenay Pole, Will. Walrond, James Walker, Hen. Northleigh.

Earl of Feversham to King James II.

1685, June 28. Bradford.—"Je suis bien fasché que la relation que je fai a vostre majesté ne soit pas comme je la souhaiterois quoi que je la croi fort bonne, puis que j'empeschai les ennemis de marcher tout hier, et que la perte que nous avont fait est si inconsiderable que je ne l'appelle pas perte, n'ayant eu de tué que sept ou huict hommes et environ trente de blessé dont il n'i [a] pas un officier dieu merci du nombre. J'ay voulu commencer comme je fai ma relation ne doubtant point que le bruict ne soit allé jusques a londres d'un grand combat et mesme batü puis que je me suis retiré le premier, ce que j'ay fait il est vray, mais serois bien fasché de ne l'avoir pas fait, et j'espere que vostre majesté ne m'en blasmera pas, je l'y dirai la verité tout comme elle est. Dans ma derniere lettre a mylord sunderland, datée du 26esme de bathe, je marquoisi comme quoi j'avois veu marcher les ennemis en arrivant a bathe droit a un lieu qui s'appelle phillip's norton qui est le chemin de frome, je marchai hier au matin droit a phillip's norton, j'oubliois de dire a vostre majesté que j'avois envoié un parti la nuict avec ordre de voir marcher l'armée des ennemis hier au matin si elle marchoit et de m'en donner advis et de quel costé la teste tournoit, mais celui qui le commendoit se contenta de revenir et de me dire que les gens l'avoit assuré qu'ils n'avoient point marché, je ne creu pas qu'on s'eu deu jamais tenir a un oui dire, mais qu'il faloit voir soi mesme, de sorte que je commendé d'abort un autre parti pour la mesme chose, qui alla comme je l'y avoit dit et se fist tirer, mais comme j'estoit dans ma marche et mesme si advancée que l'advangarde qui ne doubtoit point de battre les ennemis s'ils les

trouvoint avoit marché si vistes et si pressés les uns sur les autres qu'ils estoint dans l'entrée du lieu jusques dans les haijes, ou il y avoit une bariere ou je fis faire halte, le parti que j'avois envoié avec ordre de se faire tirer s'il y avoit des troupes, mais comme ce ne fust de deux ou trois coups, je dis a milord churchill de faire advancé une compagnie de grenadier pour voir ce que c'estoit. J'avois oublié de dire a vostre majesté que j'avois commendé cinq cent mousquetaires et les dragons pour marcher a la teste, estant un pais fort couvert, les cinq compagnies de grenadier estoint dans le nombre des cinq cents mousquetaires, les grenadiers a cheval avoit la teste de tout, le duc de grafton commendoit le destachement qui s'y est comporté avec une fort grande valeur, et tellement que je le priai de ne le vouloir plus faire, car tout de bon c'estoit trop, mais que pourtant c'estoit fort bien de l'avoir fait une fois. Comme il revint a la barriere ou j'estois, il estoit fort essouflé et avec raison, car il alla a la teste de la compagnie des grenadiers du regiment des gardes qu'il commende dont haüley en est capitaine, qui alla jusques a l'entrée du village ou il trouva un fort grand feu; comme je vis que la chose estoit tout de bon et que ce qui avoit marché estoit seurement en grand danger, je commendai les grenadiers a cheval de passer la barriere et de favoriser leurs retraite voyant bien qu'il la falloit faire, et en mesme temps commendai de couler des mousquetaires le long des haijes, ce fust la la barriere ou l'on me dit que le duc de grafton estoit en danger ; je fis doubler le pas aus grenadiers a cheval qui avoit desja passé la barriere, et ils vindrent si a propos qu'il y avoit un asses gros corps de cavalerie qui venoit par un autre chemin pour les couper mais qui s'arresterent et mesme se retirerent fort viste devant les grenadiers ; il y avoit desja une troupe qui avoit coupé le duc de grafton, et les vingt maistre qui avoit poussé les premiers, c'estoit un mareschal de logis d'oxfort qui les commendoint, le mesme homme qui estoit a cette affaire aupres de taunton, qui voyant le duc de grafton dans ce danger l'y offrit son cheval, qui ne le voulut pas prendre, mais trouva un autre cheval qui estoit blessé je croi, car quand il revint a la barriere le cheval boitoit. Comme je vis que le duc de grafton estoit revenu et que les grenadiers a cheval n'estoint point poussé, je vis bien que ce n'estoit pas une si grosse affaire qu'elle pouvoit estre, car les dragons et la cavalerie c'estoint tellement pressés les uns sur les autres que je ne scai ce qui seroit arrivée s'ils estoint sortis par quelque autre endroit sur nous. Voyant cela je ne songé plus qu'a les mettre en estast de n'estre pas batu, et les fis retirer les uns apres les autres et sans montrer trop qu'ils n'estoint pas bien, de peur de les effrayer en cas que les ennemis vinssent. Mylord churchill demeura a la barriere avec l'infanterie pour arrester ce qui viendroit de ce costé la, cependant que je mettrois la cavalerie ou je la croiois mieux, que estoit sur une auteur derriere nous a la portée du mousquet ou je la mis en battaille. Mylord churchill revint avec l'infanterie sans qu'elle fust pousée, car je fis toujours demeurer les trois esquadrons des gardes, ayant separé le destachement en

trois troupes, la ou ils estoint dabort seulement un peu enlargis pour favoriser l'infanterie en cas qu'on la voulu pousser, ce qu'ils ne firent point. Le reste de nostre infanterie ni le canon n'estoint point encore arrivés, j'envoyé a l'infanterie d'advancer et mesme avant le canon, ce qu'elle fist, je la fis mettre en bataille sur la auteur ou la cavalerie estoit et mis la cavalerie derriere et sur une aile, l'autre estant couverte par des hayes et fosses, et la nous demeurames pour voir si nous entreprendrions quelque chose d'advantage. Le canon n'estoit point encore venu, ce n'estoit pourtant pas manque de soin de m^r^ shiers que je trouve fort diligent en tout, mais les chemins fort meschants; des que le canon fust arrivée je leur fis donner quelques volées qui les inquietoint fort, ils nous repondirent un peu apres que le nostre eust tiré, de deux fort petites pieces je croi de deux livres, une heure apres ils en eurent deux autres un peu meilleures mais fort inconsiderables; je croiois une fois demeurer la devant eux toute la nuict, mais nous eumes une fort grande plüyes qui nous auroit fort incommodé n'ayant point de tentes, de sortes que je jugai avec l'opinion des colonels qu'assurement le mieux que nous pourrions faire ce seroit de marcher, ce que nous fismes; je donnai ordre au mareschal de logis de l'armée qui est capitaine coliford de qui je me sers pour cela, d'aller au logement, et que j'estois resolu de venir ici, qui est un lieu qu'on appelle bradford ou m^r^ hall, beaufrere de feu m^r^ thomas thin, qui n'est pas des mieux affectionés comme vostre majesté scait, a une fort jolie maison ou l'on m'a logé, mais avec le contentement de ceux qui ont soin de la maison, et mesme je leurs ai dit moi mesme que tout ce qu'on prendroit seroit payé, c'est la maison ou il demeure ordinairement. Je me suis mis ici par ce que c'est a portée et pour londres et pour bristol, et pour l'artillerie que j'ay fait marcher hier de marlborough a un lieu qui se nomme devizes* qui est a sept milles d'ici, je ne marche point d'aujourdhui a moins d'une necessité, car les troupes ont eu une fort rude journée hier car il estoit honse [*i.e.*, onze] du soir du soir (*sic*) avant que mon arriere garde n'arriva, et vostre majesté scait que cavalerie ni infanterie n'a pas eu un jour de repos despuis que je suis parti de londres, et voici le neuviesme jour; la cavalerie que j'ay eu avec moi n'a pas eu trop de repos ce n'est pas que jusques a hier. elle estoit en fort bon estat, un jour de repos la remettra asses bien, je regleray ma marche selon les advis que j'aurai de celle des ennemis; desque j'eus resolu de marcher hier de devant les ennemis je destaché oglethorpe avec quatre vingt chevaus ou draggons, pour aller scavoir des nouvelles si les ennemis marchoint aussi bien que moi, ce qu'ils firent, car oglethorpe revint hier au soir apres minuict, qui me rapporta que les ennemis marchoint droit a frome; je l'ay renvoié ce matin avec le mesme parti, et l'y ai donné ordre de prendre cinquante maistre de la milice de milord pembrook qui est sur son chemin a un lieu qu'on appelle troubridg, et de la il s'en ira vers frome pour me faire scavoir des nouvelles, et la dessus je me regleirai. Oglethorpe

* This word evidently puzzled Lord Feversham. Three attempts are crossed out.

rencontra un homme qui venoit hier de philips norton qui estoit dans le lieu tout le temps que j'estois devant eux, il lui dit que l'armée des ennemis avoit commencé a marcher quand j'arrivé et qu'incontinent tout revint, je croi qu'il n'avoit pas marché fort loin, s'il l'avoit fait (j'entends le duc de monmouth) il est vray que son canon ne tira que plus de deux heures apres que nous feumes arrivé, il nous fist paroistre quatre drapeaux blancs, et un bataillon avec des piques, mais le tout couvert de hayes; il eust dabort des pionniers, car il fist travailler ou estoit son canon, de quoi j'estois fort aise, car j'estois seur qu'il ne m'avoit point desrobé sa marche, car je crois qu'il ne voudroit pas laisser son canon derriere. Il ne me parut qu'un homme sur un cheval blanc qui se remüoit plus que les autres; parker m'assure qu'il vit le duc de monmouth qui vint nous regarder comme nous marchions ils n'estoint que cinq, cela me fait croire qu'ils marchoint en mesme temps, ce qui s'accorde avec oglethorpe. Vahune [Vaughan] m'assure qu'il tüa capitaine matheus quand je fis advancer les grenadiers. Si le duc de monmouth marche vers bridgwatter, et je croi dans quel lieu qu'il marche, il me seroit de la derniere necessité d'avoir des tentes; si j'en avois je suis seur qu'il ne dureroit pas six jours, et sans cela il me faut reigler par les vilages ou je puis loger; je croiois qu'elles estoint venües avec le duc de grafton, j'espere que vostre majesté ne trouvera pas mauvais que mylord d'artmouth m'en envoie en toute diligence, car si je n'en ai point je suis assuré que je pourrois fort bien estre blasmé de ne pas finir la chose vitement, car sire si j'avois des tentes je m'irois camper a un demi mille de lui, et comme cela il n'auseroit jamais marcher, et n'auroit point de provision, au lieu que comme je suis il me faut toujours estre a trois ou quatres milles de lui pour le plus pres, et [il] est toujours en estast d'aller presque ou il voudra, ou bien de m'arrester dans le moindre vilage du monde et puis de s'en aller quand il voudra, ce qui peust paroistre au monde un peu extraordinaire, de le laisser subsister si longtemps, je croi bien qu'avec les trouppes que j'ay je le battrai partout mais pourquoi hasarder d'honestes gens quand assurement ont le peust ruiner autrement, et fort aisement, je supplie tres humblement vostre majesté de me pardonner de la presser comme je fai, mais c'est qu'il paroistra fort extraordinaire qu'on aye l'honneur de commender vos troupes contre une compagnie de vagabons, qui se moquerons de lui. major ramsey m'a rendu la lettre que vostre majesté m'a fait l'honneur de m'escrire, je suis confus de tant d'honneur qu'elle me fait, je tascherai a le pouvoir meriter, si j'ay nouvelles que le duc de monmouth soit a frome, et qu'il montre qu'il croit estre la en seureté, je le dis par advance a vostre majesté que je croi qu'il est assuré qu'il vaut mieux ne le point tant presser, car c'est un lieu tout ouvert, jusques a ce que les tentes viennent, de peur qu'il n'aille marcher vers bridgwater, ou dans quelque autre endroit qui nous donnera plus de poine. Par la lettre de vostre majesté vous me commendés de prendre garde a londres et a bristol; je croi que si je ne le presse pas presentement, mais destacher milord churchill pour se mettre sur le chemin de

bristol et moi sur celui de londres, mais pourtant a portée de se joindre l'un a l'autre si nous pouvons trouver des vilages propres, je marcherai toujours desmain pour me mettre a portée de l'un et de l'autre, s'il ne marche pas lui mesme avant, ce que je scaurai par oglethorpe. Je ne scai ce que je fairai touchant major ramsey et colonel conon* car n'entendant rien dire de ramsey le jour que je devois joindre l'infanterie je prié conon de faire la charge qui estoit destinée pour l'autre, et il estoit en possesion quand il arriva, je l'ay dit a ramsey je croi que ce que vostre majesté pourroit faire la dessus c'est de renvoier chercher conon par ce que son regiment doit revenir d'hollande, qui est une bonne raison, je fai faire a m^r^. harpe le destail de la cavalerie, m^r^. shales venant et l'artillerie estant dans l'ordre ou elle est, je ne manque qu'un capitaine de charois que me seroit absolument necessaire, je fairai toujours du mieux qu'il me sera possible ; je suis si long que j'ay peur que vostre majesté ne me trouvera ennüiens mais j'espere qu'elle me pardonnera, ne le faisant que pour scavoir les intentions de vostre majesté, qui seront executées avec toute la ponctualité imaginable par la personne du monde qui est et sera toute sa vie avec toute la soumission imaginable, etc." *Holograph. Answered by Sunderland on June* 29. *S.P. Dom. Jac. II., Vol.* 2, *p.* 42.

Earl of Feversham to King James II.

[1685], June 30.—" A quatres heures du matin. A Westbury. Je me donnai l'honneur d'escrire a vostre majesté avant hier de bradfort ou je sejourné ce jour la, hier au matin je marchai droit ici qui est a trois milles de warmister ou les ennemis avoint envoié marquer leurs cartiers, mais ils changerent de resolution dans leurs marche comme je suis informé par touts les advis que j'ay, et mesme estant arrivé ici j'envoyai une ordre au conetables de warmister, scachant qu'il ni estoit pas (j'entends le duc de monmouth), de presser tous les chevaux qu'ils pourroint, ils dirent aus gardes que j'avois envoié qu'ils obeiroint, et confirmerent que les ennemis avoint envoié marquer leurs cartiers, mais qu'ils avoint contremandé leurs marescheaux de logis, et ils ont marché a ce qu'on m'assure a shepton mallet, je vai marcher droit a frome et les suivre le plus pres que je pourrai, j'espere que presentement si jamais je les puis joindre que je ne les quitterai plus, ayant des tentes qui estoint avec l'artillerie. Je demande pardon a vostre majesté de l'y avoir escrit comme je fis dans ma derniere lettre sur le subject des tentes ; powey, le commissaire que j'envoié chercher hier me rendit conte de ce qui estoit venu, ce qui est tout ce que je pouvois souhaiter et dans la meilleure methode qu'il se puisse, m^r^. shiers rend un conte particulier a milord d'armouth de ce que j'ay laissé dans le lieu qui s'appelle devizes ayant eu peur que le canon que je n'ai pas fait venir fust trop pesant ; c'est pourquoi je le renvoie a reading, ne le voulant pas laisser si advancé qu'il estoit, et surtout n'ayant

* Alexander Oannon, colonel of one of the three English regiments in the Dutch service.

que de la milice pour le garder, j'envoie un regiment de la milice d'hamshir et une compagnie de cavalerie pour marcher avec le canon jusques a reading et la, rescevoir les ordres que vostre majesté leur voudra envoier, je suis si lassé de la milice et sont si incommode que je renvoie ce matin trois regiments de la milice d'hamshier, un au devizes, et les deux autres a salsbury, ils estoint hier en grande desordre, a ce qu'on m'a dit ce matin. Je ne croi pas que les ennemis nous puisse battre quoi que nous aurons fort peu d'infanterie, mais du moins j'en suis assuré, et estant pres des ennemis comme je pretens m'approcher s'ils se mutinoint ce me seroit d'une fort grande consequence, car je serois obligé peust estre a les charger comme ennemis ; la milice de dorcetshier non pas par la mesme raison mais par ce qu'ils ont esté tout le temps avec milord churchill et que les marches les tourmenté fort, j'ay fait un ordre pour qu'ils s'en retournent dans leur pais pour tenir toutes choses en paix pour le service de vostre majesté ; quand ils seront partis je n'aurai plus que milord pembrook avec la milice de wilshier, la cavalerie d'oxfortshier dont la compagnie de m^r. bartlee [Berkeley] est sans raillerie fort belle, et un regiment d'hamshier commendé par un nommé m^r. fleming, que je laisse ici aujourdhui, ayant marché toute la nuict avec le canon que j'ay fait marcher pour me joindre, je ne conte rien sur la milice que pour dire qu'elle marche, comme j'escris a vostre majesté. Voila une de mes intelligences qui revient et qui m'assure que les ennemis ne commencerent qu'a marcher asses tard hier et que leurs cavalerie estoit allée jusques a shepton mallet et comme il s'explique que l'infanterie estoit demeurée pres de quatres milles derriere, si cela est, ils ont pris *l'espaviante* assurement ; cet advis s'accorde avec un autre homme que j'envoié deux fois hier, qui s'appelle baylie et qui est dans l'excis et que sir steephen fox cognoist fort, et qui m'a rendu conte fort exactement de toutes choses, c'est pourquoi je ne puis doubter de leur marche ; je prens avec moi cet homme, car il cognoist le pais ; je l'y ai promis de le faire scavoir a sir steephen fox, et que vostre majesté scauroit les bons services qu'il nous rend. Comme je n'estois pas absolument assuré de la marche d'hier des ennemis, j'avois fait marcher les grenadiers a cheval et touts les dragons pour bristol, mais je les ai contremendé sur les advis que j'ay eu, j'ay des partis pour me porter des nouvelles incessament, je marche droit a frome et selon ce que j'apprendrai je marcherai peust estre plus avant, milord fitsharding que j'ay laissé a bathe a pris le plus grand soin du monde de m'envoier des vivres de toute maniere, et avec une fort grande diligence. Je le renvoié de phillips norton a nostre belle affaire, ou je trouve que nous avons perdu quels hommes plus [que] je ne croiois et sur tout de la compagnie d'auley [Hawley] qui fust la seule qui s'advanca, car je ne voulu point du tout engager l'affaire. Je vis un homme hier qui m'assure que le duc de monmouth presche souvent et que tout son discour n'est autre chose, quelqu'un m'a assuré que ludlow est avec lui. Si nous n'acchevons pas l'affaire fort tost je supplie vostre majesté de m'envoier de l'infanterie ; si celle d'hollande estoit arrivée elle vaudroit mieux que tout autre,

j'espere fort pourtant que s'il demeure en quelque endroit que ce soit que nous finirons l'affaire fort tost avec ce que j'ay seulement. Les six bataillons que j'ay ne font pas deux mille hommes, dunbarton fait le sixieme je ne l'ay pas encore veu, estant venu, avec le canon, et je le laisse reposer ici deux heures. J'espere que vostre majesté me pardonnera de l'y escrire comme je fai, et si a la haste que tout bon je ne scai si vostre majesté pourra lire mes lettres, mais c'est qu'a ditté [*i.e.*, dicter à] un autre homme a escrire n'est pas fort commode, et il me semble qu'on oublie toujours quelques choses. Je ne dirai autre chose me reposant sur le bonté et charité que vostre majesté a pour moi, en excusant mes fautes que je ne commettrai assurement jamais que par ignorance, je prens la liberté de ne mettre que mon nom." *Holograph.*

The Duke of Albemarle to [Lord Sunderland?]

[1685, June.]—"Spyes who came this day hither from Monmouth's army doe informe me that it is the generall discourse among the rebells that they will march directly for London if possible, and they are now in the direct road thither." *Fragment.*

The Duke of Beaufort to [Lord Sunderland?]

[1685, June.]—Respecting the two ships ordered to be fitted out under Sir William Poole and Capt. Elmer.* "We have news heere that parte of his Majesties army has overtaken the reere of the rebells, if so I do not doubt but this poste will bring the King an accompt of an entire victory over them; for 'tis impossible if they reach them, but they must beate them."

Monmouth's Army.

1685, July 2.—An order to the high constable of Whitleigh to summon all the carpenters within the hundred, and 190 labourers, with spades, wheelbarrows, &c., &c., to Bridgwater to be employed on "his Majesty's" business. Also to summon the inhabitants of the said hundred to bring in "with all speed imajonable," such corn, provisions and cattle "as can be spared at a reasonable price without present destruction and ruine to the inhabitants of the said hundred . . . upon pain of being treated as enemies." *Signed*: Richard Goodenough.

Lord Feversham's March.

[1685, June 20–July 6.]—A paper without heading or signature, describing Lord Feversham's progress from the date of his leaving London to the close of the battle of Sedgemoor. "On Saturday, 20th June, '85, the Earle of Feversham his Majestie's Lieutenant Generall with 150 guards and 60 granadeers, marcht

* For the King's orders concerning these ships, see Lord Sunderland's letter, *S.P. Dom. Jac. II., Vol. II., p.* 26.

from London to Maidenhead and the next day sent Collonell Oglethorp with a party of 50 guards and granadeers by Andover and Warminster to find out the Duke of Monmouth's forces, and marcht himselfe that night to Newbery leaving one troop of my Lord Oxford's and two troops of Dragoons a day's march behind. The day following my lord marcht to Chipnam and on Tuesday the 23rd about noone into Bristoll where he spent that afternoon with the Dukes of Beaufort and Somersett viewing the city.

"On Wednesday, 24th, before 4 in the morning my Lord Feversham marcht from Bristoll to Bath where the troop of my Lord Oxford and two troops of Dragoones met him, and having received from Collonell Oglethorp (who came in for a recruit, some of his men by mistake retiring to Bath) an account that the Rebbells lay the last night at Shipton-mallett, he despatcht Collonell Oglethorp back with 40 fresh horse (and Capt. Talbots militia Troop) to his party at Phillips-norton to observe the Enemies march, and in the afternoone rid out himselfe towards Phillips-norton where from the market people we heard that a small party of the Duke of Monmouth's horse had that day at Frome proclaimed him King and fixed up their Proclamation in the market place, which my Lord Pembroke with some of his militia pull'd down the day following and put up the King's Proclamation in its place, although above a thousand inhabitants of that towne and Warminster were in armes to oppose him.

"About 12 at night came intelligence from Collonell Oglethorpe that the Duke of Monmouth with his army were at Pensford, within 6 myles of Bristoll, which made my Lord Feversham march back the horse under his command with great expedition from Bath into Bristoll, and between 4 and 5 in the morning drew them out into a meadow near the South gate of the City (ordering all the ditches towards the road to be levelled), where we had frequent allarums of a party of the Duke of Monmouth's horse he had sent on the direct road to Bristoll, while himself with the maine body marcht over Cansham [Keynsham] bridge (which he had made up the night before) in order to attack Bristoll or pass for Gloster.

"But hearing that my Lord Feversham was got before him into Bristoll, and that his foot in Cansham Towne were attackt, as they thought, by my Lord Churchill's army that followed them, tho' it was only Collonell Oglethorpe's party (with one Troop of my Lord Oxford's commanded by Collonell Windham, and Capt. Talbot's militia Troop whom Collonell Oglethorpe left at the enterance of the towne to make good their retreat) the Duke of Monmouth returned immediately back with his horse over the bridge to relieve his horse and foot in Cansham Towne, through whom Capt. Parker first charged with about 30 granadeers and after him Collonell Oglethorp.

"The party which he had sent to Capt. Parker's reliefe missing their way, Collonell Oglethorp with 4 volunteers and 25 of the guards, to favour Capt. Parker's retreat, charged through some foot and about 200 of their horse that were endeavouring to cutt off Capt. Parker, whom he brought off safe with the losse only

of 4 men on our side (who were carried away by the enemies horse in the crowd) and two of Capt. Parker's killed on the place, and of the Rebbells 15 they owne, but we believe more, many being dismounted in the charge.

"This disappointment and allarum broke all their measures and prevented them from attacking Bristoll or passing for Glouster, and forced them to keep their horse in the meadow and foot in the towne, at their armes till midnight, and in the dead of the night marcht away on the south side of the river towards Bath and halted upon the side of a hill above the towne, which they required by a trumpet to surrender. The towne refusing, they marcht towards Phillips-norton while my Lord Feversham was marching with the King's forces on the north side of the river back into Bath, where the Duke of Grafton with the foot, and my Lord Churchill with the forces under his command joynd us.

"On Saturday, 27th of June, in the morning, my Lord Feversham drew all his forces out of Bath (it being the first tyme they met) into a meadow near the towne, and from thence marcht with most of his horse, all the Dragoons, and a detachment of 500 musqueteers commanded by the Duke of Grafton and Leiutenant Collonell Kirk, towards Phillips-norton, the rest of our foot, cannon, and some horses following, and on the way meeting with an imperfect account of the rebbelles from a small party of ours sent out the last night, my Lord commanded our advanct party to march directly to Phillips-norton to find them out, who returned to my Lord with an account that they heard the rebbells were in the towne marching or preparing to march. My Lord being unsatisfied with that hearsay account, commanded them not to return till they had been shott att that he might certainly know where they were, intending only to fall on their rear and interrupt their march. But one of the party returning with an account that the body of their army were in the village, and that our party were engaged, Capt. Hawly with 45 granadeers was commanded downe (with whome the Duke of Grafton went in person) who marcht to their barricado in the towne, though the walls near the village were lined with the enemy, where both parties fired smartly at one another. This caused a party of our horse granadeers to be sent downe to their releife under the command of Capt. Parker and Capt. Vaughan who were followed by some musqueteers under the command of Capt. Rupert.

"The Rebbells by this tyme had brought both horse and foot into the Lane as well as the feilds and passages that led to it, so that the Duke of Grafton, Capt. Hawley and their men were forced to charge with their bajonets through the enemy's foot and horse till they met with passages into the feilds, by which they retreated, our horse and horse granadeers forcing their way directly through the Lane. In the meanwhile my Lord Churchill by my Lord Feversham's order, having secured the mouth of the Lane with his Dragoons and lyned the hedges on each side with foot, my Lord Feversham drew his horse up in Battaill in an

open ground that joyned to the Lane and there commanded my Lord Churchill to come off with the foot and Dragoons. The rest of our foot together with the Somersetshire, Dorsetshire and Oxfordshire Militia, commanded by my Lord Fitzharding, Sir William Portman, Collonel Stranguidge [Strangridge] and Capt. Bartue [Barton], as they came in were drawne up and posted to the best advantage while our canon which were planted on the left hand of the way play'd on the Rebells, who having brought theirs behind a hedge by the mouth of the Lane, with horse and foot to defend it, both plaid upon one another for divers howers in the raine, killing some men on both sides.

"The ground being wett, and our Armes too, by the abundance of Raine that fell that day prevented my Lord Feversham from encamping there that night as he intended, and having then no tents, about 4 in the evening drew off in order, without any interruption from the enemy, and marcht that night for Bradford after he had taken care of the wounded men and sent Collonell Oglethorp with a party of 100 horse to observe the enemies motion.

"We lost in this dayes action 20 men and some horses, and we have reason to conclude by the number of the dead buried there, the Rebells lost more, who that night after we were gon marcht away from Frome. We lay all Sunday in Bradford to cleare our armes and recover the fategue of the foregoing day.

"The next morning, being Munday the 29th we marcht to Westbury, upon notice from Collonell Oglethorpe that the Duke of Monmouth was going for Warminster, where my Lord Feversham intended to have attackt him, having sent for his cannon and morter from the Devize to meet him with a Bataillon of my Lord Dunbarton's foot which came next morning according to order, and joyn'd him, but the Duke of Monmouth upon intelligence of our march that day, changed his for Shipton-mallett.

"From Westbury, on Tuesday 30th, we marcht to Frome with the rest of our Artillery and 18 pieces of Canon, where we rested all Wednesday, and having then tents, encampt our Foot at the uper end of the towne in order to march the next day to Shipton-mallett which we did.

"From Shipton-mallett the day following, being the 3rd of July, we marcht by Glastonbury to Somerton, from thence spyes were immediately sent into Bridgewater who returned with an account that the Rebells were in the Towne, and had made a barricado on the Bridge, planted 2 pieces of their cannon att the Cross, 2 in the Castle, and one at the Southgate. Warrants were likewise issued to all the Constables and Tithing-men to bring in Provisions to His Majestie's Camp, and to forbid all people upon paine of being proceeded against as Rebbells, from carrying any to the enemies.

"Two parties were likewise sent out, one of 100 horse, the other of 30, who attended the most part of the next day within sight of Bridgwater, and my Lord Feversham himselfe also rid out

into the Moor to se the ground and villages where he designed to march the next day with his army.

" And on Sunday morning, being the 5th of July, marcht from Somerton along Sedg-moore towards Bridgwater, with a designe to encamp at Midlesey, but Collonell Ramsey who was sent before to set out the ground, found a more convenient place by Weston within 3 myles of Bridgwater, where my Lord Feversham, after he had viewed the ground, ordered our foot to encamp, behind a convenient ditch that runs from Weston into the Moor, which they did in one lyne, leaving room between their tents and the ditch to draw up.

" On the left of our foot were our canon, fronting the great road that comes from Bridgwater to Weston, and in the village which was covered by our Camp, were our Horse and Dragoons quartered.

" My Lord Feversham having sent Capt. Coy's Troop of Dragoones off the Moor to secure a pass over the river at Barrow bridge, and seen his horse quartered in the village, rid out again to se our grand and out Guards sett, and having notice from stragling people that the Duke of Monmouth had drawne his forces out of Bridgwater into a meadow that joyned to the towne, my Lord sent away Collonell Oglethorp with a party of horse to the top of a hill on the road from Bridgwater to Bristoll, fearing they would in the night pass that way, and in the evening gave orders for 100 horse and 50 Dragoones to be posted on the right of our camp against a way that goes round by Chedzy towards Bridgwater and that all the rest of the horse in the village should be ready saddled and bridled.

" About 11 at night my Lord Feversham rid through our camp visiting the centrys together with the grand and out guards, which were posted as followeth—

" On the great road that comes from Bridgwater to Weston was our grand-guard of 40 horse, under the command of Capt. Upcott, before him centryes, and in the Lane between them and Bridgwater, patrolls. To the right of our camp and against the way from Bridgwater round by Chedzy was a guard of 100 horse and 50 dragoons, commanded by Major Compton, before them an advanct party, from them centrys, and between them on the way towards Bridgwater, patrolls. Between those two guards came a middle but narrow way from Bridgwater into the Moor, which was guarded by 50 musqueteers, in Pitzy-pound, wal'd man high, to which our horse on the left were ordered to retreat in case of necessity.

" All the wayes from Bridgwater to our camp and between us and the Rebells being thus guarded, and not hearing from Collonell Oglethorp (who was on the road between Bridgwater and Bristoll) my Lord Feversham returned to the village a quarter before one.

" About a quarter after one came Sir Hugh Middleton with one of Collonell Oglethorp's party to let my Lord know that he could not perceive the least motion of the enemy, and therefore resolved to march directly towards the towne of Bridgwater, untill he mett with some account of them. In the mean while the

Rebells by the help of the night marcht undiscovered about a myle up Bristoll Road, turned off on their right hand and came round by Chedzy towards the Moor where we were encamped, so that Collonell Oglethorp in his march towards Bridgwater fell behind them and got no intelligence of them, but from the centrys they had left in the towne, from whome they understood their army were marcht, which made Collonell Oglethorp take the next and middle way to the Moor.

"Our patrols in the meanwhile apprehending the approach of the enemie's vanguard immediately gave notice to our advanct party, and they to our guard of 150 horse under the command of Sir Francis Compton, from whome both our foot that were encampt and the horse in the village took the allarum. My Lord Feversham himselfe hearing the first sound of the trumpet rid directly to the camp, where he found the foot at their armes in a lyne by the Ditch side over which he commanded not a man to stir without order.

"By this time Sir Francis Compton and the enemy's vanguard met, who chancelled one another, and upon a carbine of ours that went off by accident, the Rebells fired, who upon Sir Francis Compton's fire, returned immediatly to their main body. Sir Francis being shot in the breast, Capt. Sands commanded, who soon met with a body of the enemy's horse marching towards him, which Capt. Sands tooke at first for our militia, but finding his mistake immediatly charged and broke them, and then retreated with his hors towards our camp, himselfe and divers of his men being wounded.

"How neare the main body of their horse, commanded by my Lord Grey (who passt first into the Moor) came to our camp we know not, nor can certainly learne, it being darke. But a party of their horse did come up, and one of them commanded Capt. Berkly to come over the Ditch to the Generall, whome he found after some discource to belong to the enemy, and fired. This fire from our foot, we conclude, with the repulse given them by Sir Francis Compton and Capt. Sands, broak and disordered all their horse, because we perceived them afterwards on the left of their foot in great confusion, endeavouring to forme, but could not, while two Batalions of their foot (before whom they were designed to charge), came up within halfe musquet shot of our camp, but they having past through a defile where but few could go abreast, were forced to halt a considerable tyme, to draw up themselves and their other three batalions, with their three peces of canon in order.

"My Lord Feversham upon the first approach of their foot immediately drew Capt. Parker, Capt. Vaughan, Capt. Atherley, and Collonell Villers troops of horse and horse granadeers on the right of the enemies flank, and returning to our camp met Collonell Oglethorp with his party and our out guards on that side that he had brought in.

"These my Lord Feversham marcht behind our foot to the right of our camp, where he found Collonell Orp at the head of a party of our horse, which with Capt. Littleton's troop, Capt.

Sande's, Colonell Windham's, and two more troops of my Lord Oxford's, commanded by Lieut. Selby and [Lieut. William] Winde, he drew upp in a body and marcht over the ditch on the left of the enemies forces. Collonell Oglethorp passing over the ditch a little more to the right, mett with a considerable number of the enemyes horse, whom he pusht into the mire and routed (they being in great disorder and confusion were never able to make any great resistance). My Lord Feversham then commanded Colonell Oglethorp to wheele and charge with the rest of our horse on the enemy's flank, giving directions to them all to charge what ere they found before them.

"In the mean tyme my Lord Churchill having the command of the foot, seeing every man at his post doing his duty, commanded one troop of his dragoons to march over the ditch between our horse on the left, and our camp, the other two troops being drawne up on the right of the foot under the command of my Lord Cornbury.

"On the right of the Scotch forces were 3 peeces of our cannon brought up and planted, which did great execution, the rest of our cannon firing through the intervalls of our own troops, our foot keeping their fire till they had received the enemyes, whose great and small shott flew thickest among my Lord Dumbarton's bataillon, and first battaillon of Guards commanded by Lieut. Collonell Douglas and the Duke of Grafton, on whose left were the other two batailons of Guards, Colonel Kirk's batailon, and Capt. Trelany's men, commanded by Major Eaton, Collonell Sackvill, Colonell Kirk, and Lieut. Collonell Churchill.

"My Lord Feversham returning to our foot ordered Collonell Sacvill to draw his men to the right of the Scotch forces, intending to bring Collonell Kirke's and Trelany's men in their roome. But seeing my Lord Churchill marching with Collonell Kirk's and Trelany's men towards him, he made Collonell Sackvill hault, and returned to the horse, leaving my Lord Churchill to march them to the right.

"The Rebells by this tyme being very uneasie, our foot and canon fireing on their front while our horse charged them on both sides, my Lord Feversham commanded all the foot to march over the ditch directly to the enemy, upon which two of their batailons which had stood hitherto very well, gave ground in a body, and soon after fled, Capt. Littleton having beaten them from their cannon, which our foot perceiving ran eagerly to possesse themselves of it, while the Rebells run after the rest of their foot, that had been scowring away for some tyme in the rear in great disorder and confusion, which only our troops next them were sencible off, who durst not pursue them untill 'twas light for fear of being knockt on the head by our owne men, elce but few of them had escaped us, for most of them who did escape were within an hour so disperst that you could not se anywhere ten of their men living.

"Some straglers there were which our militia pickt up, while my Lord Feversham and my Lord Churchill marcht into

Bridgwater, with some horse and dragoons and 500 foot, whom my Lord left in Bridgwater under the command of Collonell Kirk after my Lord Feversham had sent away Collonell Oglethorp to give his Majesty an account of this happie and great victory, which did not consist in the number slain and taken, (though there were about 14 or 15 hundred kill'd, 200 prisoners, and 22 colours taken on the place) but in the total rout and defeate of above 7,000 rebells by the Kings forces which consisted but of 700 horse and 1,900 foot. The militia being quartered at Midlesey, 'twas impossible for them to come to our assistance, though they came in good order and made great hast. The Duke of Monmouth had sent his carriages and one peece of canon (which Capt. Atherly with a party of horse took the next day), to Axbridge, on the road to Bristoll, whither he designed to have marcht after he had cutt us off in our quarters, where he intended to have surprised us. But finding himself disappointed, and their horse routed, both my Lord Gray and he stript themselves of their armour in tyme and fled, leaving most of their foot, especially the two bataillons commanded by Collonell Fookes and Collonell Holmes to be cut in peeces, many of those who did escape being wounded.

George Fairchild, Mayor of Barnstaple, to the Duke of Albemarle.

1685, July 7. Barnstaple.—We hear that Captain Thompson, who came over with the late Duke of Monmouth (as his boy, now a prisoner here tells us) with a Major and about fifty horse, came last night to Ilfordcombe, where they lodged, both horses and riders being tired. This morning, leaving their horses, they got aboard a small vessel, and fell down the Channel, but were forced ashore again by a man of war, and it is hoped will soon be secured, as some gentleman are now searching for them. We have taken a person who came from Ilfordcombe and is suspected to be one of the Rebels. "Thompson's boy confesseth that he was att Bridgwater when the fight was, and that his master told him that the late Duke of Monmouth's Cavalry made but one charge against the King's forces, but the Infantry stood about two houres, hee also confesseth that the rebels sustained very great loss, in men about 4,000, with all their cannon."

Postscript.—Seven more of the rebels are taken. The rest are lurking near the place where they went ashore.

Earl of Feversham to King James II.

[1685, July] 8. Wells.—"La nouvelle de la prise du duc de monmouth—je ne puis m'empescher de le nommer comme cela quoi qu'assurement personne au monde ne le deteste et le mesprise plus que je fai—mettra toutes choses dans une si grande tranquillité que je ne scai ce que vostre majesté voudra faire des troupes, j'envoierai demain ordre aus trois bataillons escossois d'aller a devises ou sont les canons, et a la milice de s'en retourner

ches eux, a moins que vostre majesté n'en ordonne autrement, je croi que le plustost qu'on les renvoiera touts ches eux ne sera que le meilleur; si je ne rescois point d'ordre desmain de votre majesté, je marcherai apres desmain et irai a warmister en un jour avec la cavalerie, et l'infanterie y viendra en deux jours, et la j'attendrai les ordres de vostre majesté touchant les troupes. Je laisserai kirke a bridgwater et deux troupes de dragons jusques a ce que vostre majesté en ordonne autrement. Mr rider, qui rendra cette lettre a vostre majesté, a toujours esté avec moi, et m'a servi d'aide de camp, et m'a esté en toutes choses plus utile que je ne puis dire a vostre majesté, car sans le flatter je n'ai jamais veu un homme de meilleure volonté, ni porter les ordres plus regulierement, soit dans le combat ou ailleurs, je puis dire qu'il ne m'a jamais quitté d'un pas, je supplie tres humblement vostre majesté de l'y temoigner que j'ay pris la liberté de vous en escrire, et que vous en estes content, c'est un garcon de fort bon sens et a qui ont (*sic*) se peut fier; je n'en vois guere de fai comme lui, je scai bien qui si je servois que je ne cognois personne que j'aimerois mieux avoir aupres de moi pour toutes choses estant bon a tout. Touts les volontaires s'en sont retournés, je leurs y ai conseillé, je ne croi pas qu'on puisse jamais trouver des volontaires plus aisé a vivre que touts ceux qui estoint dans les trouppes, et s'il y en avoit beaucoup, j'en rendrai conte plus particulierement quand j'aurai l'honneur de voir vostre majesté; je la puis assurer que je n'ai jamais oüi la moindre dispute, ni je n'en ai jamais veu pas un, ni officier, de avoir trop beu, qui estoit la chose du monde que j'apprehendois le plus; je desclaré dabort qu'il n'y auroit point de quartier si jamais j'en voyois de soubs, et que c'estoit l'ordre de vostre majesté. Je n'envoie point de relation du combat a vostre majesté, le duc de monmouth estant pris je croi tout fini, si vous en voules demander des particuliarités je croi que rider en donnera a vostre majesté de fort justes, j'ay creu que le duc de grafton s'en pouvoit retourner, je le lui ai dit ceste apres disnée. Il partira desmain du matin, il va par bathe, je ne donne congé a pas un officier, a barkley seulement a cause de madame la princesse, qui doit aller a tunnbridge. Je ne dirai autre chose estant avec toute soumission de votre majesté, &c." *Holograph.*

The Earl of Pembroke to the King.

[1685, July 8 ?] Hindon, Wednesday.—"Sire, Returning into my county neer this place I spyed neer four score of the rebels trying to escape, I have taken most of them, there are some Dutch officers, but the principal amongst them is one Kid, he calls himself Sir John Kid (the first and only knight the King of Taunton made), he was Mr. Thin's keeper. I believe by this time most of them are taken who escaped in the rout at Sedgmore, where most were killed, droping their arms and flying into ditches (as I thaut they would ever since I was so fortunate as to see the first example of what they could do when I enter'd Frome). I suppose if it be certain (as I am credibly

informed) that the late Lord Grey and Monmouth be taken hereabouts your Majestie has already an account of it. I hope in a few dayes to wayt on your Majesty to assure you that it shall alwayes be my endeavour to shew myself your Majesty's most dutifull and obedient subject."

The Earl of Feversham to the Earl of Sunderland.

[1685, July 9?]—"J'ay resceu aujourdhui les deux lettres que vous m'aves escrite despuis que vous avies eu la nouvelle du bonheur que nous avons eu d'avoir fait nostre devoir pour le service du roy. Je vous ai mandé deux ou trois fois que je vous envoierois le destail du combat, mais presentement, my lord, je croi que c'est un peu trop tard. La deffaite entiere des rebelles paroist asses, dieu merci, par la prise des chef et surtout la maniere qu'ils sont pris le montre asses. Tout ce qu'on peust dire dans la gasete c'est que touts les officiers et soldats assurement ont fait leurs devoirs et ont montré beaucoup de valeur, que le nombre que nous avions n'estoit que six cents chevaux ou draggons et pas plus de dix et huicts cents hommes d'infanterie, et cela sur ma parole; que les prisonniers m'assurent que les ennemis estoint cinq milles hommes, et je croi qu'ils disent vray. Je ne crois que nous ayons perdu cinquante hommes de tués sur la place, et pres de deux cents de blessés; il n'i a eu qu'un enseigne de tué, deux capitaines, six lieutenants et six enseignes de blessés, et quelques voluntaires dont mylord dunblany en est un, mais si legerement qu'il a toujours esté a cheval. Un nommé St. George l'est aussi legerement; Sashfeild [Sarsfield] l'est en plusieurs endroits mais pas mortelement. L'on m'assure que les ennemis en ont eu mille de tués, et pres de trois cents de prisonniers du despuis l'on en prend partout. Le bataillon de Dunbarton a perdu plus que pas un, en ayant eu trente de tués et soixante et dix et sept de blessés, tant officiers que soldats. Je n'envoierai point d'ordres a pas une des trouppes qui marchoint de ce costé ici puisque vous m'aves mandé que le roy leur y avoit envoié order de s'arester jusques a nouvel ordre.

"Je marche demain et va loger a Warmister, ou j'attendrai de vos nouvelles, mylord, et les ordres qu'il plaira au roy de m'envoyer pour la disposition des trouppes et de l'artillerie, qui va a devises avec le bataillon de dunbarton, car je renvoie la milice chacun ches eux le plus viste qu'il m'est possible, la pluspart n'estant payé par le pais que jusques a samedi, et s'ils demeuroit plus longtemps ensemble il faudroit que le roy les payat. Je laisse ici cinquante prisonnier dont je prens les noms et ou ils sont nay [? nés]. J'ay commendé a la compagnie de Cornvel du regiment d'Oxfort de demeurer ici et de prendre garde aus prisonnier. J'envoierai les autres a salsbury a moins que vous n'en ordonnies autrement. Il y en a dix ou douse de principaux et touts ceux qui sont venus d'hollande que je garderai, car je ne doubte point que vous seres bien aise d'en avoir a londres. My lord Churchill et moi attendons d'avoir

bientost de vos nouvelles, pourveu que le service du roy ne vous empesche pas de nous mander de vous aller assurer nous mesme de la joye que nous aurons de vous revoir. Et moi, my lord, en mon particulier, je vous remercie de tout mon cœur de toutes les marques d'amitié qu'il vous plusit de m'assurer. Je vous assure que je tascherai toujours a les meriter."
Holograph.

Lord Lumley to [the Earl of Sunderland].

[1685,] July 11.—"You lordships of the 8 came to me on Thursday the 9 at eleven at night, the next morning we marched and came the last night to Winchester, we shall march this day to Farnam, to-morrow we designe for Gilford, from thence my lord I think the best way will be to goe by the way of Hamton, where there is a good ford, and I think is much a better way than by Cobham and Kingstone, if his Majesty shall think fitt he [the Duke of Monmouth] may be brought by water from Theselworth [Isleworth] or Branford [Brentford]. My Lord, I desire his Majesty's further pleasure." *Holograph. Answered the same night. See S.P. Dom. Jac. II., Vol. 2, p. 64.*

Statement by the Duke of Monmouth.

1685, July 15.—"I declare that the title of King was forced upon me and that it was very much contrary to my opinion when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the world I do declare that the late King told me that hee was never married to my mother. Having declared this I hope that the King who is now will not lett my children suffer on this account. And to this I putt my hand this fifteenth day of July 1685. Monmouth." "Declared by himself and signed in the presence of us, Fran. Eliensis, Tho. Bath and Wells, Tho. Tenison, Geo. Hooper." *Copy. Printed in Fox's Life of James II., and elsewhere.*

Confession of Nathaniel Wade.

1685, July 29.—"He came from Holland in M[onmouth's] owne ship with him, and was made Major of his owne regiment. He was in every injadgment that the foote were injadged in, he guarded the post at Shoote hill, he commanded the right hand batta: at Weston moore, at Froome M[onmouth] was about to goe away from his army privatly. The cause of Wades leaving the nation was Rumsey's swearing him to be in the plott to kill the King, which he protests he never was, but was in that insurrection for the redressing of grievances, the bottom of it was for the bill of exclusion and to declare M. Prince of Wales. That paper of James Hollaway of Bristoll gives a true account of him, he left Tompson, captain of the blew regiment, at Ilfordcombe, and Fergason, who was chaplin to the army; one Hooke was M: domestick chaplin, Batscomb was Capt. Lieutenant of M: owne company. He sayeth that M: as to the

best of his knowledge did not bring with him from Holland not above 100*l.* in gold and silver, he pawnd all his jewells in Holand and his great George to one Le Blon, a merchant in Amsterdam, about 500*l.* in small bills were delivered to M: by severall English men that lived in Holand. Old Dare of Taunton was paymaster in Holand, who was killed at Lyme by one Fletcher a Scotts man, Fletcher got upon Dare's horse, Dare bid him dismount, he told him he would not, other words followed and Fletcher shott him in the head with his pistol two days after they came into Lime. Since Dare's death, Goodenough was paymaster, one of their chyrurgions was cauld Oliver; he was informed that *Major Wildman* of Barkshire was a man much concearned as an abetter and assistant as to advize, but gave him noe money, for which he hath heard M: curse him, and one *Mr. Hamden* that is or was in prison, was an abetter. M: expected *Sir Walter Young*, *Sir Fra. Rolle* of Hampsheir, and other gentlemen, but they all failing him, made him grow very malancholly. His intent was for Bristoll, being perswaded by Capt. Tily that most of the cityzens were for him, and then for Gloster and soe for London. This is all he can do at present, but he will declare all he knows as soone as he is able, being despirately wounded by a pistoll shot almost through his body."

Taken before and signed by Nicholas Cooke, Henry Ravening. *Endorsed*: "Mr. Nath. Wade's confession in part." *There is another copy of this at the British Museum, Harley MS.* 6845.

Note on the margin: "The horse 600, Bl[ue] regiment 60, Whit 400, Red 800, greene 600, yellow 500, an independent company which came from Lyme 80."

Followers of the Duke of Monmouth.

[1685, before August 6.]—Two copies of a list of the names of those persons that came over from Holland with the Duke of Monmouth, to which is added "The chief managers of the Duke of Monmouth's business in Holland was Mr. Daniel Le Blon, Mr. Archer, Mr. Ray, father-in-law to Mr. Archer. Mr. Le Blon did assist him much with money, it was reported that he was out 3,000*l.* besides what assistance he gave in buying of ships. Mr. Archer and his father was also assistants in the same, but the chief assistance they gave was entering the ships and shipping of arms; but Mr. Dare, lately deceased, was the principal manager of all these affairs. This that I have set down concerning the management of the Duke's affairs in Holland I cannot say of my own certain knowledge, but I had it from those that were also suitors in the same affair." The name of the writer is not given. But the paper is thus described at the commencement. "A paper fonnd in young Hewling's poukett by Capt. Richardson. Received from him August 6th, 1685."

Moses Wagstaffe.

1685, August 18. Shrewsbury.—Examination of Moses Wagstaffe, servant to the late Duke of Monmouth, before Sir

William Gregory, Baron of Exchequer and Justice of Assize. Was servant to the late Duke of Monmouth about five years next before his death, came to England with him in the *Rising Sun*; believes the Duke had about eighty with him when he landed at Lyme. After landing, examinant attended on the carriages until after the defeat at King's Sedgmoor, when he made his escape with Robert Hampton and others of the Duke's servants into Shropshire and was there apprehended. All things were left in the carriages, and examinant knows not what became of them, nor does he know of any sums of money given or sent to the Duke, but hears that Mr. Williams (his steward) and Mr. Goodenough, sometime Undersheriff of London, have a particular account of all contributions and the names of the contributors both in England and Holland.

August 19.—Further examination of the same. "Saith that Mr. Manley came severall times to the late Duke of Monmouth whilst he was at Brussels, and came with the said late Duke of Monmouth to Lyme, and there had the command of a Major of Horse. And that upon Fryday before the defeat of the rebells, the said Major Manley's son came to the said late Duke of Monmouth to Bridgwater and gave an account of severall parties about London that were ready to rise for Monmouth, if they had any one to head them. And thereupon, the Sunday morning before the fight, the said Major Manley and his son were sent away for London to head the Rebellion there. And this examinant heard it discoursed in the said late Duke's chamber and in the presence of the said Major Manley that they had an account of 3,000 men that were listed about London ready to be headed, and he believes Mr. Williams can give the same account of it."

Examination of Robert Hampton.

1685, August 18. Shrewsbury.—Before Sir William Gregory. Was butler of the late Duke of Monmouth for about fourteen years before his death. Came to England with the Duke, was in charge of the carriages, fled into Shropshire with Wagstaffe and was there apprehended. Knows nothing of any correspondence of the Duke with any persons whatsoever.

Executions.

1685, Sept. 18. Sherborne.—A list of persons executed at Bridport, Weymouth, and Sherborne.

Corporation of Taunton.

1685, [September] 22. Taunton.—Five sworn informations taken before Bernard Smith, Mayor of Taunton, and Stephen Tynewell, Esq., two of H.M. Justices of the Peace in the said borough, and sent up by the Corporation to Lord Jefferys and the other judges assigned to hold the Assizes for the County of Somerset, with a petition requesting their perusal thereof.

John Trout, Parish Clerk, deposes that on the 18th of June last Samuel Storey, a Scotchman, came to the house of Francis Hobart, Justice of the Peace, with a pistol in one hand and a paper in the other containing a list of the members of the Corporation "and required the said Mr. Hobart in the name of the late Monmouth to come in his gowne to the Whitehart Inn in Taunton aforesaid att his peril. And the said Mr. Hobart went to the house of Mr. Thomas Towill, a member of the said Corporation, where were mett several of the members of the said Corporation to consult together; and while they were there mett together one Zachary Wyatt, then a Captaine under the late Monmouth, and severall others with him came into the said Mr. Towills his house with their swords drawne and required the said members of the said Corporation to come out in their gownes or else would run their swords through their gutts, and forced them to gett their gownes and to goe to the Crosse with them. And further saith that on the Satterday morning some of the late Monmouth's souldiers went to the houses of the members of the said Corporation and forced them out of the houses in their gownes againe. And they went again to the said Mr. Towill's house, and while they were there he saw the said Samuel Storey, Zachary Wyatt, and many more with their swords drawne and pistolls in their hands and required them to come forth in their gowns to goe to the Crosse and said that the late Lord Grey had waited an hour on horseback for them and that whosoever refused to come out they would run them through; and farther saith that there were about five hundred men in armes with their swords drawne and pistolls in their hands about the said Mr. Towills his doore; and farther saith that none of the members of the said Corporation read any papers att the Crosse, but that some person or persons unknowne to this Informant read the same."

Thomas Towill, William Bidgood, John Lucas, jun., and John Roe, members of the Corporation, depose on oath "that on the eighteenth day of June last past Samuel Storey, late of London, with several others came with their swords drawne into the house of Mr. Thomas Towill, a member of the Corporation of Taunton aforesaid, where were mett together these informants and several others of the members of the said Corporation to consult together for their safeties, and required them, these informants, and the rest of the said members soe mett together to come forth and read the late Monmouth's Declaration, which these informants and the other said members refused to doe, and said they would rather be hanged than read any of their papers, and then the said Storey made a speech unto them in these words or words to this effecte following, 'Gentlemen, I know some of you and I think you are men of sense and therefore wonder you should blind your eyes and balk your own reason. James, Duke of York, that vilest of villaines, is a usurper, a murtherer. He poyson'd his Brother, he was guilty of the murther of the Earle of Essex, the Lord Russell, Collonell Sidney, Sir Tho. Armestrong, and did endeavour to stifle the murther of Sir

Edmondbury Godfrey and was guilty of the burning of London, packing of Juries, and false elections for Members of Parliament, and that he was now introducing Popery, Tyranny and arbitrary Government, Witnesse poore Oats that was the saviour of the nation and has been the first sufferer.' And further said, 'you are for the Church of England, I am a dissenter from that Church. We dissenters shall be first brought to the stake but depend upon itt you will followe. And as for the juges they are twelve perjured Rogues and Justice Jefferys is as great a Rogue as ever the nation bore.' And farther said that the late Monmouth was legitimate and lawfull heire to the crowne, and the reason why his ffather did not owne itt was because he had the command of the Duke of York's purse and that Yorke could with itt make him (meaning the late King Charles the second of ever blessed memory) doe what he pleased. And farther said, 'if after all this you wont come in unto us, your blood be upon your owne heads,' and then forced the said members to goe with them into the street. And some one of the said Corporation said they would rather rely on the mercy of their now Sovereigne then trust to their crueltie and therefore through feare of their lives went with them, but read nothing, and what was read was read by some one of the Rebells. And these informants farther say that the said members of the Corporation did att the same time declare that they gave noe assent or consent to what was read, published, or proclaimed. And farther say that on the twentyeth day of June last past severall of Monmouth's souldiers came to the houses of the members of the said Corporation and required and forced them forth, and they went againe to the said Mr. Towill's house to conferre together. And while they were there one Zachary Wyatt, then a Captaine under the late Duke of Monmouth, and many others with swords drawne, carbynes, and pistolls mounted upp, required and forced the said members to come out, and those persons that refused to come out they would run their swords through them, and severall messengers came from the late Lord Grey who was then on horseback in the streete neare the doore of the said Mr. Towill's house, and said the Lord Grey had waited neare an hour for them, and that his patience was quite worne out and therefore they must come out. And with the same forced the said members of the said Corporation out of the said Mr. Towill's house, and that there were about 500 men in the streete with swords drawne and other armes and surrounded the said members of the said Corporation and hooped and hallowed that they had forced out the said members."

Joseph Burne, Thomas Sealy and William Hester depose concerning the seizing of arms in Francis Hobart's house.

Col. Charles Trelawny to ————

1685, Sept. 24. Taunton.—Reports endeavours of two prisoners, Mathews and Annesley, who had already made a vain attempt to escape, to persuade the whole of the prisoners

to break out by the windows, it being better to die by the hands of the soldiers than by the gallows. He has put "those two restless contrivers" into the dungeon of the guard, and hopes to receive immediate directions for their execution.

Sir C. Lyttleton to Lord [Sunderland?]

1685, September 26. Taunton.—"I think itt my duty to acquaint your Lordship that I came hither but last night with the Prince's regiment, and that this morning Capt. Fox, of Col. Trelawny's regiment, who was captain of the guard, came and acquainted me that three of the prisoners in the Castle had made their escape by filinge one of the barrs in the prison windowe, and goeing downe by a rope out of the windowe leaving their shackles in the roome where they lodged, which were opened, not cutt or broke." The daughter of one of them, a girl of about 15 years of age, was known to be with her father in the prison not long before his escape. "I caused her to be seized and brought to mee, who upon examination has ——." [*Next part wanting.*] "It seems to mee not very reasonable nor safe that soe many condemned rebells as are here in this prison should be left to the care and charge of the gaoler's wife and a mayd, the gaoler beeinge at Wells, and I hear of noe body else, the guards beeing only to assist them."

Mr. Bateman.

1685, Dec. 18.—The speech and behaviour of Mr. Bateman at the place of execution.

Lord Grey.

[1685].—Extracts from the confessions of Lord Grey, James Burton, Nathaniel Wade, and others.

Rev. Andrew Paschall to Lord ————.

1686, April 8. Chedzy.—"In the want I am in at present of a skilfull hand that might enable me to serve your lordship with an exact draught of this place (to which God be praised we are returned in safety) I have imployed some of my neighbours to measure the distances according to the enclosed paper, and I make no doubt but they have done it with care. [*In all probability this refers to the plan of the battle of Sedgmoor mentioned below. The handwriting of both documents is the same.*] Sir Francis Compton is very well spoken of heer for his diligence and valour that night, but I cannot attain to an exact account of his motions, which questionlesse your lordship may have from himselfe. It is now confidently reported heer by some that say they were eye witnesses that Captain Hucker (who entertained the Duke at his house in Taunton) was the man who discharged the gun (whether carabine or pistoll) at Langmoor Stone which is sayd to have given the alarme, and that the Duke charged him with treachery, and that he had been shot presently had it not been that they feared to

make more noise; but who then rode to the King's camp to call them to armes, according to my servant's relation confirmed by Captain Mackenzy, both eye witnesses, I do not heare or know. 'Tis certain Hucker was extreamely odious to the party as one that they beleeved had betrayed them, in so much that when he was in prison he feared being torn in pieces by the angry women. It was sayd that at his tryall he pleaded this to my Lord Chancellor, but it did not save him. He had served an apprenticeship with a merchant in Lime. He was the owner of Athelney Farme, that place so famous for King Alfred's lying hid there in the time of the Danes, and breaking out thence into such glorious victoryes and for his building an Abby there, the foundations of which Hucker when a builder tooke up. He was a partner with and right hand to Prince Rupert and Earl of Shafts(bury) and others in their undertakeing for the supposed silver mines in this county about ten or twelve years ago. He was addressed to in Taunton by the agitators which were here to prepare things for the Duke, (I think) before he landed. He then declared to one whome I know that he would not concerne himselfe in anything against the Government because he beleeved himselfe bound in conscience to obey. And being confirmed in that good resolution by that person, he afterwards bitterly repented that he had not taken that good advice, and was seen to lament it with teares even upon the day of the Duke's being proclaimed King. He had the first information of the Duke's landing, and made it known to a militia colonell. He professed that he meant (being marryed but a few dayes before) not to medle, but being made a prisoner by the militia commanders, he made his escape to Lime and then all his good resolutions came to nothing. He gott a certificate from a justice of peace in Devon of his having layd down his armes within the time limited in the proclamation, but on the Sunday before the fight appeared in Bridgwater. His pretence for so doing after he had layd hold on the King's mercy was that he came to state accompts. He was suspected by the Duke. A guard was set on him, or at the gates upon his occasion to prevent his making an escape. It seems to me likely that he had a minde to secure himself which way so ever the chance of warr, then dubious, should fall. When the horse led by the Lord Grey, being fired at by the King's army wheeled off to the reare, he rode from the head of his troop southwards. His troop was led by his lieutenant (Savage, excepted in the generall pardon) back to Bridgwater, who used his indeavours there with them to bring them backe to fight but could not prevaill. He vowed to kill Hucker, his captain, for his base cowardise if ever he should meet him, but the publick justice hath saved him that labour. But my lord, I say too much of this man, all the excuse I have for so doing is that if he were indeed the man that discharged the gun, that with the horseman gave the alarme and so saved the army and kingdom, he was for that considerable."

Probably enclosed in the above. A large sheet containing a plan of the country round the spot where the battle of Sedgmoor

was fought, giving the position of the King's army, and shewing the lines of the Duke of Monmouth's march. [*The names and notes are in Paschall's handwriting.*]

ADAM TURNBULL.

1689, Dec. 19.—Affidavit of Adam Turnbull, servant to Capt. Jones, keeper of New Prison, that John Capell said in his hearing that his being committed to prison would be worth twenty pounds to him.

WIL. COCHRANE to ————.

N.D.—Fragment of a letter docketted "Sir J. Cockram," who was implicated in the Monmouth rebellion, and whose life was only saved in consideration of a bribe of 5,000*l*.

". . . When my Lord Middletone gott that government of my brothers esteet, ther wes a considerable sume of money promised him, and that ther wes noe way to save my father's lyfe and my brother's, but to buy my brother's esteet from my Lord Middeltone, and geave a great sume of money for it, for he said that all the forfautuers beeng annexed to the croune ther was noe other way but this to gett that sume of money which wes promised to my Lord Middeltone, and that yf he were disapoynted of it he would certenly be ane ennemy to us all, and if the money were geaving wee might expect that all our affairs would be done. A few days after Sir William Bruce came to me and said that ther was noe way to save my father's lyve and my brother's, and to gett my wyf's affairs done but to buy from my Lord Middeltone my brother's esteet, and geave him six thusent pound for it, to which I answered that the esteet was not worth two thusent pound, but he replyed that if my grandfather did not geave the money he would be accused for convers and receet. This is a true and just account of what I know. Wil. Cochrane."

II.—LETTERS FROM MARY, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, AFTERWARDS QUEEN OF ENGLAND, TO LADY MARY FORESTER.

MARIE, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, to LADY MARY FORESTER.*

[1685,] Oct. 29. Loo.—"I was very sory to find by your leter Lady Mary Forester that you had at last taken the

*Lady Mary Forester, d. of the Earl of Salisbury, was mother of Mrs. Sambrook and grandmother to Lady George Germain.

resolutione of going into England so sone, for when Mr. Forester was heer he spoke as if it wear yet in dispute, and I had bin very glad your conserns and your condition woud have permited you to stay longer since I have learnt to know you to well to be willing to louse you quite, and I coud now chid you for haveing bin so good humourd when your wear hear, but that your grave leter makes me think that I am writing to that sober Lady M. Forester I once knew at the Hague, if you had allways bin seen at the basset table makeing al pios and wanting an interpreter to ask for what you won you might have gone away allmost without being mist, but since you have been at Loo working walking and ramping, you must not wonder if I shoud have bin very glad to have found you still at the hague for all you deceived me so much as you really did when we play'd at hide and seek in the litle wood, if I had then known your conditione you had never got the reputation of as good a walker as myself, at least we had never pased ditches as we did togethere, but I am very glad it has suxceeded so well and hope you will get well into Englande and have a good deliverence which I think is the best wish can be made you now and that I do very seriously, if there be anything in this leter that is not so 'tis because I think I know you so good humord and so litle formal that you will bear with it, and I hope you have learnt to know me enough to belive tho' I can make no compliments that no body can wish you better or will be more glad of an ocatione of shewing the esteem I have for you by actions as well as words then I, Marie." *Holograph.*

Marie, Princess of Orange, to Lady Mary Forester.

[1686,] February 13. Hague.—"By the leter I received [*several words erased*] I was overjoyed to find you the same Lady Mary Forester I knew at Loo, and before I say any more must assure you such letters will be always very welcome to me for I am not changed in my humour tho' I am in my shape, but that not by so good a reasson as you had when I saw you last, but meer fatt. I like this subject so litle I shall say no more upon it but wish you joy of your daughter. I was extream glad to hear you wear well brought to bed and hope before this you are well up, I own 'tis a shame for me to come so long after, but good wishes never come to late and that you will never want from me. The death of Mr. Wharton is indeed a sad tragedy,* I wish poets had more witt then to fight, 'tis a cruell thing to hazard both body and soull for a jest. I find we wemen have the beter of the men for that since raillery does not cost us so deer. The charitable Scotch lady you spake of has mist of her aime since Lady [M—h (?) put Ld. M. (?) *erased*] to the nessessity of endevoring a rape to satisfy his heroick passion, I belived his pride to have bin to great to stoop to such beast like inclinations, I thought his love had bin more refined and woud

* Fatally wounded in a duel on February 2.

not have gone beyond ogleing, tho now I think ont his great eys may gogle about for fashions sake, but he is to pur blind to see at a distance or els his friends belye him. I find Lady [Mordaunt's *erased*] adventure as plesant as tis extraordinary, if ever any ons fortune wear told them that thay shoud marry twice, twoud to some be a disapointment to find the prophecy so fullfiled. 'Twas well 'twas a cold seasson and the Lady's blood not very warme at this age, or els certainly too wedings at once might have put her honor into a feaver, [if shee allways takes so much pains as I am told she did with Lady Salisbury *erased*] but my Lord Clifford* and his Lady are of an age that I belive may be left abed togethere, so that half her troble is saved there, and if the Lady be as fruitfull as her sister, tis likely Mr. Boyl who has bin heer lately won't be long the youngest brothere. I am so far from finding faut with your leter that I shoud be very glad of many such, and I belive you write them so eassyly that they will not give you much troble, if I may judg by myself I phansie much lesse then a formall leter, I am sure there is nothing I haet like that and you see I don't write one, neithere is it for fashion's sake but really that I desire you to belive I am treully your affectionat friand, Marie." *Holograph.*

MARIE, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, to LADY MARY FORESTER.

[1688], April 15. Loo.—"Tho' I am very slow in ansereing leters yet I hope Lady Mary Forester will not belive hers is lesse welcome to me for not haveing assured her of it soner. I was extreamly delighted with all the news you write me, but as every thing is but nine days wonder so I hope strange mariages will now be laid asside to make rome for some new marvells† therefore I dare say not spake of such old things for fear of seaming as old fashioned as thay, yet the Bishop of Oxford's death has not hapend so long ago but that I may say I hope he has seen his epitaph, or known himself enough to repent and disapoint the joy of the divin.

"I don't love the wedings of people I am not acquaintd with, yet I shall wish my self [at Lord Morpeth's, *erased*]‡ to see how you woud behave yourself, I phansie that imployment will not become you unlesse you woud put on a forehead cloath like [Lady Danby, *erased*] to which if you will ad a good large mufler so as to hide your face you might pass for as old a lady as she [*word erased*] and then you may give instructions with authority. I have bin but once in the litle wood where we playd at hide and seek since I came hithere, the ill wethere will not suffer much walking, but I never go there without remembring how you ventured your great belly, big enough for you to brag

* Lord Clifford, eldest son of the Earl of Burlington, married his 2nd wife, Arethusa, daughter of Lord Berkeley, at the beginning of 1686.

† Apparently "wonders" was first written and then altered to "marvels."

‡ The erasures in these letters are in a darker ink and very carefully made, probably by Lady Mary Forester.

of as long as you live, I belive there's anothere a comeing by this time, I expect if it be so you shoud be grown impudent enough to let me know it in your next leter for I never knew any body ashamed after one child, I am sory there are no wedings heer, when my maids marry I intend to act Lady [*initial erased*] exactly I warrante they shall know the matrimony by heart and anssere to all with an audible voice, but for want of some such mater I must end my leter, do me the justice to belive I shall ever have all the esteem for you that you can desire. Marie." *Holograph.*

MARIE, PRINCESS OF ORANGE, to LADY MARY FORESTER.

[1688,] September 9. Loo.—I can't hear of the losse Lady Mary Forester has had without leting her know the part I take in her just affliction & by the love I have for my own sister can judg what it must be to lose one who is dear,* but I hope since it has pleased God to take one from you that is so, you will submit like a christian to his will who orders all things for the best tho' we dont know it. I wish I coud say any thing for your consolation but I belive you are to reasonable to want it, onely from that God who is best able and I hope will make it up to you othere ways, but pray do me the justice to belive I shall be glad of some beter ocation then this malancholly one to shew how much reall esteam I have for you. Marie." *Seal of arms surmounted by a coronet. Holograph.*

III.—FAMILY LETTERS.

[CHARLES] EARL OF DORSET to his son, LORD BUCKHURST.

N.D., but before 1706. "Pray do not faile to make what hast you can posibile to come over by the next opertunity with your numerous family. i heare my Lady Northamton has order'd you not to obey me, if you take any notice of what shee sayes to you i have enough in my power to make you suffer for it beyond what shee will make you amends for. But I cannot imagine you to bee such a fool as to be governed by the passion and folly of anybody. Your afectionate father, Dorsett.

"i expect you will come away by the next yocht."

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* Lady Mary's sister Katherine, wife of Sir George Downing, died in August, 1688.

SIR SPENCER COMPTON to [LIONEL] EARL OF DORSET.

1705-6, Feb. 1-12.—Announcing the death of the late earl "last Tuesday" and the steps taken to put his son in possession of the estates.

"It will be necessary for your Lordship to write immediately to my mother [the Countess Dowager of Northampton] and desire her to accept of the guardianship of your estate and person. Care was taken to ask for the Lieutenancy of Sussex for your Lordship, but I believe it has been some time promised to the Duke of Somerset, but the Queen, Lord Treasurer, and Lady Marlborough have express'd themselves on this occasion with all imaginable civility and respect to your Lordship's character."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1705-6, Feb. 8-19.—Relating the progress of the business alluded to in the preceding letter.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1705-6, March 1-12.—"I have received yours by Mr. Smith and am very glad to find you are of the same opinion with all your friends in judging that it will be very improper for you to be in England till you are near of age. I am not very much surprised to hear that the gravity of Utrecht should be disagreeable to you now that you have relished the diversions of the Hague, but my mother is very impatient to have you return to Utrecht. In my own opinion if you spent this summer at the Courts of Hanover and Prussia or at Vienna, I believe it would be both more for your advantage and diversion. . . . Your father has left such debts, legacys, and annuities, besides the joynture, that what remains will be much less, I believe, than what you imagine, so that you must resolve to be a good manager while you continue abroad," though I will try to get your allowance increased, that you may prosecute your travels.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

[1705-6,] March 19-30.—"I have received your letter of the 7-18 inst., and am very glad to find any proposition I have made should be agreeable to your Lordship. I find my mother is desirous you should go to Hanover, and I believe the sooner you comply with her desires it will be more agreeable to her. The differences that have been in the Parliament here about inviting over the Princess Sophia, and the circumstances that attended them, oblidge any English gentleman, and especially one of your rank and quality, to be more cautious in their behaviour than they need to be at any other time or place; but I do not in the least question but your prudence will make you circumspect enough not to commit any great errour, and the best way in my opinion to avoid little ones, in a case of this nicety, is to avoid making acquaintance with the agents of any party or faction here, or with any busy or intriguing person there, but to take the measure of your conduct from the

publick Minister, and Mr. How, who has at present that character, I am sure will be in every respect agreeable to your Lordship, and a friendship with him will be the best way of continuing the good opinion the Court here have entertained of your Lordship." 800*l.* a year is as much as can be spared for your allowance, therefore you should take care to have no more servants than are necessary.

SIR SPENCER COMPTON to [LIONEL] EARL OF DORSET.

1706, April 30–May 11.—On money matters. "We have had great talk of alterations since the rising of the Parliament, but I do not hear that anything is yet done, except Sir William St. Quintin being made a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland, in the room of Sir J. Bland."

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA to LORD DORSET, at Francfort.

1706, September [12-]23. a Herenhausen.—"My Lord, vous m'avez fait plesir de m'avoir fait scavoir qu'on vous a randu a Cassel (?) ce qui vous etoit deu et suis bien aise que ma lettre y a contribué, puis que les occasions me seront tousiour agreable par lesquelles je vous pourres [faire] voir que ie suis, my Lord, votre tres affectionee a vous servir, Sophie Electrice." *Holograph.*

LORD HALIFAX to LORD DORSET.

1706, Oct. 11-22.—"I have made but a very ill return for the obliging and entertaining letter you sent me from Hanover. Mr. Addison and I had a true relish of the ridicule you gave to the wise 'consult' of the swords-men. . . . I acquainted my Lord Treasurer that I found your lordship was concerned that the Lieutenancy of Sussex was so disposed, and he expressed himself to be very sorry that you had any mortification upon that or any other account. He explained the matter just as I had done to you before and desired me to assure your lordship that whenever there is an occasion for the Queen to show her favour to your lordship you will be sensible this was not done out of any disrespect or unkindness to your lordship. Our friend Jacob [Tonson] seems to have abdicated his government of the Chit-Kat. We hear from Amsterdam that his turf and pickled herring is laid in for the whole winter. When I came over I found they had teazed him so unmercifully of late that I fancy he intends to leave them."

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA to LORD DORSET.

1707, [February 22-]March 5. à Hanover.—"Monsieur, je vois dois remercier que vous me temoigne vostre joye pour l'heureux accouchement de la Princesse Electorale d'un fils* qui a este longtems a venir, mais qui est fort et ce [*sic*] porte for bien. Je vous prie aussi de croire que les marques de vostre amitié, dont vostre lettre est remplie, m'ont este fort agreable et que toutte les

* Frederick, afterwards Prince of Wales, born Jan. 20, 1707.

occasions me seront chere par lesquelles je pourres faire voir que je suis, Monsieur, Vostre tres affectionee a vous servir, Sophie Electrice."

Sir Spencer Compton to Lord Dorset.

1709-10, Jan. 31.—Acknowledging receipt of a letter. "My mother . . . seemed very well pleased with the respect you shewed her, but told me you need not give yourself any trouble about it, for her health is so bad that she cannot think of a journey. She told me that she had received a letter from my Lady Dorset and commanded [me] to let your Lordship know that she returned my Lady many thanks, which she would have done herself, but that her hand is so weak that she cannot hold a pen.

"I beg the favour of your Lordship to let me know when my Lady is brought to bed, and if you design to invite my mother to be godmother, pray let me know it before you make any step in it."

The Earl of Dorset to the Countess of Dorset at Knole.

[1710-1714.]—Eight letters without definite date, but some of which can be dated by their contents and by the postmarks.

Tuesday, March 7 [1710].—"I hope in God your toothake and headake and all your other uneasinesses is quite over . . . Nobody can give a judgment when this nasty tryal will be over. You may be sure I'll come to you as soon as possible. I have not had time to enquire about Mrs. King . . . "

Thursday, March 9 [1710].—"God only knows when this fine tryal will be at an end quite. . . . By the best enquiry I can make, twenty guineas is what you ought to give nurse King.

Saturday morning [1710].—"I need not tell my dear dear Colly* how heartyly I am vext that it is no way in my power to come down to-day. I dare hope you are well because I hear nothing to the contrary. I believe I shall go to the Queen this afternoon, and when this christning affair is once well settled, I shall have nothing to do but to come to you . . . Adieu, dear, dear, dear girl." [*The trial alluded to in the above letters is probably that of Dr. Sacheverell; Lord Dorset's eldest daughter was born in* 1710 *and the Queen was her godmother; and the dates of the postmarks agree with the days of the week in that year.*]

Sunday, 8 a clock [August 1, 1714].—"I was at Kensington till very late last night, expecting every minute when the Queen would expire, but she held out till seven this morning, and this moment there is news come to town of her death. Everything goes verry smoothly, and I believe the great men of yesterday will submit verry quietly. The Parliament meets to-day . . . I wish you a good journey to the Wells." Remember the venison for Sir John Percival."

[The other four letters are quite unimportant and contain no clue to their dates. There are casual allusions in them to Lord Dorset's sister, Lady Shannon, and her husband; and to Lord Portmore, Lady Dorset's uncle.]

*Her maiden name was Elizabeth Colyear.

Lord Sunderland to Lord Dorset.

1717, July 16. Whitehall.—"I have the King's commands to acquaint your Lordship that he has no further occasion for your service in the severall employments you held under his Majesty. The esteem and regard I allways had for your Lordship makes it a great concern to me to write to you upon this occasion."

Duke of Dorset.

1720.—Preamble, drawn up by Prior, for the patent creating the Earl of Dorset a Duke. *In Latin and English. Printed.*

Lord Chesterfield to the Duke of Dorset.

1728, [Aug. 27-] Sept. 7. The Hague.—Naming William Blakemore for some place which the Duke has put at his disposal.

Geo. Doddington to the [Earl of Wilmington].

1741[-2], Jan. 25, Monday. Pall Mall.—"The very unfeigned respect and duty I have for your Lordship which makes it difficult to say some things to you forces me to lay them this way before you, at this very critical period.

"I suppose it is agreed that this man* or this country must sink.

"Lett us suppose that by giving him time he should re-establish himself; I presume it is clear that he can govern (after what has happened) no other way but by military force or by the most corrupt and profligate means and men: I presume your Lordship would not (if he would let you) continue in such an administration. Would it not, then, be too late to quitt it with effect to your country? Would your strongest, would any efforts, then, bring about *what slight ones, now, cannot fail to effectuate.*

"If he should fall, will it be consistent with your *glory* and interest to have gone on with him to the very last without having it known that you were instrumental to the delivery of your country from him? *Is it not become necessary that you should give the publick some demonstration that your going on so long with him* proceeded from no other motive but the want of an opportunity to rescue it out of his hands effectually without throwing the King's affairs into confusion?

"I have many good reasons to believe that C. is (and has been for some time) strongly at work with N. and C.† *to deprive you of the honour of this great event*, and our country of the advantage of it. Be pleased to consider what *a diminution this would be to your glory*, what a loss to our country! For you know, from what I have had the honour to explain to your Lordship, that you and you only can settle the King's affairs at this crisis upon that extensive bottom, and his person in that universal affection of all his people, where only lasting prosperity and advantage for the one, and lasting security *and glory* for the other, can be found. How fatall to both, therefore, to lett it slipp!

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* Sir Robert Walpole.

† Duke of Newcastle, Lord Carteret, and perhaps the Chancellor.

"*Remember, my very good Lord, how dear your over caution, fourteen years ago, cost your country, and then—*

"Lett me with the *utmost humility*, with the *most unfeigned duty and respect*, with the *most sincere and unaffected desire of pardon* for this great liberty, and with assurances (to induce you to grant it) that I will never again presume so far, lett me earnestly and humbly for God's sake, *for the sake of your own glory*, for the love of your King and your country, which I know is sincere and ardent in you, lett me entreat your lordship to go to the King, without loss of time, and say to him *what your own honour and excellent understanding* shall suggest to you upon the present occasion. You are unsuspected by him on all sides; he cannot, in thought, object anything to you with relation to his son. You and you only have *all the talents* and *all the requisites* that this critical time demands to effectuate this great event, and save your country, if it is to be saved." *Endorsed by Duke of Dorset* "Mr. Dorington (*sic*), advice," *but see Coxe's* Walpole, iii. 588.

Lord Orford to the Duke of Dorset.

1741-2, March 20. New Park.—"It is through the course of many years that I have with great sincerity called the Duke of Dorsett freind, and have been honoured with the same title from him. The fury of the present times gives me an occasion to make use of that freindship and to beg your Grace will diffuse your influence through all your acquaintance to attend on Tuesday next and to oppose a measure which to me personally is the greatest injustice that ever was attempted, and if I was out of the question is an attempt upon Government of the most fatal consequence. It is greatly in the power of your Grace and your particular freinds to render me this piece of justice and to contribute towards preserving the Government from the dangerous innovation."

G[eorge] Bishop of Kildare to the Duke of Dorset.

1743, July 14. Dublin.—I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's letter, informing me of Lord George's success, which must make him and his friends extremely happy, but it was a cruel misfortune to him not to have been at Dettingen. My brother had told me of Lord Wilmington's death and that no will had then been found. I verily believe that he may of late have withdrawn his favour from the object where it seemed once to be placed [Lord John Sackville] and destroyed his former dispositions; "that he had very well considered what the Law would say for him in case he should be taken off suddenly without having time to speak for himself, and found it perhaps what he might very well like should be done, though he might not like to do it, and this fell in with the favourite policy of not declaring, which is now kept up to the last." My concern therefore is only personal, but it is very sincere, and I pity him from my heart. "Lord George's success (though not equall in degree to poor Lord John's disappointment) gives me more joy than I am able to express, for there is nothing I can have so much at heart as his happiness and I am sure he

will make the best use of every advantage that is given him . . . No person in the world, not even your Grace, knows him as well as I do, and it is impossible without that knowledge to think so well of him as he deserves.

"Dublin is at present very empty, and I see few people except the company that I am entitled to as Dean of Christ Church. I went with the Primate yesterday to Rathfarnam, which he has improved already by cutting down a great number of old elm-trees and turning them into pipes, to serve Dublin with water. When he has finished this work, he says he'll have a bout with the oaks. His chaplain, who followed us in the garden, said to himself, without intending to be heard, *here's a fine figg*. His Grace turned about with great vehemence. 'A fine pig! Where? Has the Tallagh sow farrowed?' 'I said a figg, my Lord.' 'A fig, you blockhead; what's a fig to me?' . . . I hear that your Grace has been at Drayton. I hope Lady Betty is well."

Endorsed:—"Bp Stone."

The Earl of Bristol to Lord George Sackville.

1751, January 28.—My grandfather was buried on Sunday night. Lady Ann is very ill, and Lady Louisa unfeignedly concerned for her father. Sir Robert Smyth and she have promised not to leave me alone at Ickworth. Lady Betty will have told you about the will. After annuities to his children amounting to 1,200*l*. a year, and legacies (including Mr. Felton's 4,000*l*.) to the sum of 5,200*l*., with mourning and a year's wages to the servants, the whole real and personal estate is given to me. There is much more money than I expected. "You would be surprised to think that even already I have had overtures made me with regard to opposition interest in this county; but I feel myself too well-affected even to listen to them." My brother Augustus has made me strong promises of attachment, and I pity the situation I formerly condemned. He, Mrs. Phipps and my other two sisters, set out in a few hours. Frederick returns soon to Cambridge and carries William with him, but I propose asking Mr. and Mrs. Charles Harvey to come here for a few days.

Lord John Sackville to his brother, Lord George Sackville.

1753-1754.—Five letters, all dated from Vevey, chiefly about his own affairs.

July 8, 1753.—[The first part of the letter relates to the stopping of part of his allowance to pay one Mr. Duffield, who would appear to have resigned a servant called Bradley to Lord John's use, on condition of an annual payment during his absence.]

"The last letter you was so good as to write to me has made me very happy, because it has inspired me with a confidence in you that I must own I had not before. I now flatter myself that I have a friend in you that will do me all the service he is able, and will hear the voice of reason . . . We were lately very much alarmed at the news of the King's death . . . I should be extremely sorry it was to happen before the Prince of

Wales came of age, or rather before he could be able to govern himself . . . I hope Mr. Killigrew will succeed in his attempt upon the rich widow, for I look upon him as a man of merit. What is become of Amherst and his General Ligonier? Somebody told me the Duke of Kingston was seperated from Madame la Touche, and married to some woman of low extraction.

"Lady Betty Germain has been so good as to send me a work entitled Hanway's Voyages. In the title page it mentions four volumes in quarto and I have received but three. I should be glad to know of you if there be a fourth . . . I shall take the liberty of sending you a true Spanish gun baril, which is very hard to meet with, because they are strictly forbidden coming out of the country. These passed under pretence of their being for the service of Don Philip. If I thought it was consistant with his Primatorial dignity to make war against the long-billed foreigners, as Jan James used to call them, I would also send your friend Stone one. . . How does Lady Caroline [Milton] go on? Does not her ladyship lose her rank as Duke's daughter on account of the Irish peerage her husband has accepted of? . . . You enquire very kindly after my health. It is much as it was. I think if there be any difference the low fit does not last quite so long as it used to do, the good spirits two or three days longer; but whilst it does last, the low fit is more violent and the high fit less so."

April 23, 1754.—Acknowledging his faults, begging his brother to intercede for him with the Duke, their father, and for his "last trial," to let him be his own master, that he may have some comfort of his life, Mr. Villettes having positively refused to have anything more to do with his affairs.

April 25, 1754.—Stating that a very worthy gentleman, Mr. Gressier, a relative of Sir John Ligonier's, has offered to undertake his affairs and also to accept the office of inspector of his conduct, which Mr. Villettes has declined; and that he shall be more inclined to follow this gentleman's advice, as he is convinced of his good-will. Mr. Gressier left his estate in the island of Guadaloupe on account of his religion and has built a handsome house at La Tour, close to Vevey.

P.S.—Finds that Mr. Gressier is not personally acquainted with General Ligonier, but "is intimately known to M. Montenquet, brother to the General, whose son had married his neice."

June 5, 1754.—I am very sorry you still advise me to reconcile myself to Mr. Villettes. Though he knows I am greatly in debt, he sends but just enough to pay for my board and my servants' wages, so that I have to borrow money where I can get it, besides contracting debts with tradesmen for clothes, &c. Moreover, he makes a great merit of what he does, in the country, and declares "it is undertaking a commission much below the dignity of his Brittanick Majesty's minister." Could I be re-instated in my full income of 400*l.* a year, I hope my future conduct would prove satisfactory to the Duke and Duchess and all my friends. Mr. Gressier has offered me part of his chateau to live in, which I should be able to do cheaper than where I now board. About two years ago I recommended an English gentleman to board in

that family, who was so well pleased with them, and especially with the daughter, that he is gone to England to try to obtain his father's consent to marry her. His father lives in Cavendish Square, and is very rich, most of his estate lying in Jamaica. This young gentleman is his only son. I gave your letter to Mr. Gressier. You feared there were many faults in the French, but I was surprised to find there were so few.

"I wrote word to Lady [John] Sackville that she should come and live with me in this country, and bring master and miss along with her," but I think I had better get settled and free from debt first. "She sent me word some time ago that when you returned from Ireland, Master Sackville was to be sent to Westminster School . . . she also sent me some of his handwriting, which I was glad to see was a good deal better than my own.

"I heartily rejoice that your election met with no difficulty, and that you routed Sir Edward Deering. There is a young Sir Brook Bridges at Lausanne that will be glad to hear of that piece of news . . . There is also at Lausanne a young Irish gentleman whose name is Burton, a very pretty behaved man. He drank his Grace's health to me, and added *quoique Irlandois*. He seemed to blame the Primate, but praised his Grace. . . . It gives me great comfort to think I have so good a friend as you to back my demands and to plead my cause, which I am resolved for the future shall be no longer a bad one."

September 4, 1754.—I received your most obliging letter just as my melancholy fit came upon me. It has been a pretty severe one and lasted a long time. Mr. Villettes has taken the worst possible method to prevent my committing irregularities, as I have been obliged to furnish myself on credit, and borrow money where I could get it. "He still continues to persecute me, and acts in regard to me in a most scrubby manner . . . I wish with all my heart, for my own interest as well as that of Great Britain, that he was dismissed his Majesty's service, for I verily believe he is in the French interest more than in Great Britain's." He has frequent interviews with Mr. Chavigny, the French ambassador at Soleure, under pretence of ancient friendship, and I have heard him very much blamed upon that account. He has often declared that England did not agree with him, and that he should never return there; is himself originally of French extraction, has married a French wife and gives himself the title of Baron de Villettes. "His conduct at Turin was very far from being void of suspicion of sharing in great sums of money with the King of Sardinia that were granted to his Majesty from England, and if one Mr. Alouet, a banker at Geneva, had lived, most likely that roguish transaction would have been brought to light. I am also of opinion his great protector, Sir Luke Schaub, is in that interest, and paid as a spy by the French court. It is very well known in this country that he was upon that honourable footing at Berne in Cardinal Fleury's time, but, as he was discovered, he did not succeed in his business, and had liked to have been very ill-used by some honest gentlemen that scorned to listen to his dirty proposals. Do not

think that I am induced to say this of him because he wrote that remarkable letter the Duke of Dorset sent to Mr. Villettes and which I think had been much better left alone, especially as Mr. Gressier's kind offers were accepted of." I hope the Duke of Dorset will let me have the 400*l.* a year without any deduction. I am sure Duffield has been already paid more than he has any pretension to, and "I am convinced that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales designed I should have the whole sum of 400*l.* a year remitted to me without any deduction whatsoever. Duffield neglected to demand it for a long time, till after the unfortunate death of my benefactor." Mr. Gressier proposes to borrow a sum of money to pay all my debts, paying interest and reducing the capital as expeditiously as possible.

"I am very glad I am mistaken in the opinion I had of the Master of Westminster School. [ ] I thought I might have depended upon it, as it came from a young lord that I saw at Vevey, and that had passed through the school. Most of the letters that I have wrote to Lady Sackville by her accounts have miscarried, which quite discourages me writing any more to her . . . Be so good as to let her know the reason and that I should be always very glad to receive letters from her. . . . I suppose before you receive this letter your marriage will be consummated. I wish you all the happiness you yourself can desire or imagine. I cannot better express my sentiments upon this than in sending you an epigram I remember to have read in Martial upon the like occasion:

Candida perpetuò residat concordia lecto,
Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo
Diligat illa senem quondam, sedet ipsa marito
Tunc quoque cum fuerit non videatur anus.

I should have been glad to know more of your Lady's fortune. "I remember her very well at Lady Fitzwalter's and at her mother's assemblies, and am very glad you have found so agreeable a companion."

C[aroline] Lady Milton to her brother, Lord George Sackville.

1753-1754.—Six letters on family affairs, all but one dated from Milton Abbey.

July 25, 1753.—"I am glad to hear you have met with such good success in your election affairs; but I fancy you will not be sorry when the Canterbury races are over, then I suppose you will have some rest . . . I have been very impatient to hear from you an account of your visit to Mrs. Sambrooke. I have had two letters from the daughter (indeed she writes charmingly). She is cautious of what she says about you, but I find that her mother is much pleased with the frankness and candour of your behaviour. . . . I think, as you say, it depends greatly upon you after you come from Ireland, and upon your behaviour there, for to be sure they will be upon the watch, and hear every little silly story. I make no doubt of you liking her better and better the more you know her. She is certainly very sensible and clever, and indeed I believe very

good-tempered. I want very much to know if you have mentioned this to father and mother or if you intend it before you go to Ireland . . . The boys are very well; as you did not enquire after the girl, I shall say nothing about her."

June 26, 1754.—Has had a letter from Miss Sambrooke, and is glad that she is so well recovered from her illness as to be able to go to Vauxhall and Ranelagh. Fears that Lord Milton's health and business will prevent their being at the wedding.

July 26, 1754.—"Be sure to let me know as soon as you can guess when the wedding will be . . . To be sure somebody has told you by this time that you should have more than a new coat. You should have two or three at least new suits of clothes besides frocks, for I believe Mr. D'Oilly will expect most of your old clothes upon this occasion; I don't mean very fine clothes such as you made last year for the birthday and to make a figure last winter in Dublin, but all half dirty scrub things should be given away, and new linnen without you have made any very lately and certainly some new laced ruffles."

July 27, 1754.—"Lord Milton would have been very glad to have attended upon Miss Sambrooke and you upon this occasion, but it happens just about the time that he proposes going to bathe in the sea; and it is rather inconvenient to me, but as they are so desirous of having me with them, I will certainly wait upon them . . . You are to be married in town as private as possible, so far I know, and I suppose go to Knole directly. Are you to be there in private, or are you to have the Assembly and all that rout, because I must prepare my cloaths accordingly." I can imagine how busy you are about your house in Pall Mall.

August 10, 1754.—I return you many thanks for your long letter. I expect by next post to hear from Miss Sambroke, and hope to get such intelligence that I may fix the time for my journey. Lord Milton desires me to assure you you was very welcome to name him for one of your trustees without making any apology about it, and to repeat how sorry he is that he can't wait upon you upon this occasion. We shall both be very glad to see you and my lady at Milton Abbey whenever it is most convenient to you. The children are very well, and obliged to you for remembering them.

October 5, 1754. Weymouth.—Both she and Lord Milton are sorry that their little expedition will delay their seeing him; but they will be at Milton Abbey and expect him to dinner on Thursday. Sends compliments to Lady George.

William Byrch to Lord George Sackville.

1754, April 18. Dover.—Will with pleasure obey his commands by attending the election and voting for Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Watson. His only hesitation arose from gratitude to the Archdeacon of Canterbury [John Head] who for many years has been the chief support of himself and his family, but he is now assured "that though out of regard to his relation to Sir Edward Deering as his parishioner he votes for him himself, yet that he does not desire to influence his friends; in which as well as his other professions" there is no doubt that he is very sincere. Is not

unmindful of what he owes to those kind benefactors who have made him happy at Mongeham.

[Sir] R. W[ilmot] to his Brother.

1754, July 20. St. James Street.—Concerning certain covenants in relation to a lease, which Lord Cathcart has signed, and which Lord George Sackville must sign also. Wishes "to do the thing in few words and without much expense, as they would for themselves." With postscript over leaf, on the same subject, signed E.W. [*See p.* 213.]

Lionel, Duke of Dorset, to Lady Betty Germain.

1754, September 3, Tuesday, 9 in the evening.—"We are just going to the wedding. On Thursday night the bride, bridegroom, &c., &c., hope to get to Drayton; if they should not happen to arrive, you must not fright yourself, for they are not quite sure they shall not stay upon the road. There was a report this morning in town that the King was ill, but it was a secret at Kensington, I came a little too late to see him, but those that did say he was perfectly well. The Dutchess goes to Comus to-morrow night; there is news for you. So God bless you. D.

Lord Bateman to Lord George Sackville.

1754, September 14. Shobdon.—Wishing him joy in his marriage, and hoping that Lady George will make him as happy as her sister has made himself.

Col. Irwin to the Same.

1754, Sept. 15. Kinsale.—Congratulating him on the occasion of his marriage.

Lady George Sackville to the Same.

[1756 ?]—Containing many assurances of her affection for the "dearest everlasting object" of all her care and tenderness. Begins to hope that he may not be sent abroad, and feels a dawn of happiness after her excess of misery. The Tuftons have sent word that they are coming to her a week hence, but if her "dearest man" is sent away from her, she will be quite incapable of seeing them.

M. Lady Southwell to the Same.

[No date.]—Concerning a request already made, apparently on behalf of her son; the granting of which she has no hopes of, except from the Duke of Dorset's and Lord George's goodness.

Horace Walpole to the Same.

1757, August 6. Arlington Street.—"I am perhaps doing a very impertinent thing, and very malapropos, giving myself an air of consequence; but it is of consequence to me not to forfeit your good opinion very innocently. I came to town last night, where

I have not been two days together these three weeks or more. The bookseller, who printed my simple Chinese Letter, told me with a very significant look that he heard I had writ something else since, with which it seems I had not trusted him. This was a Letter from the Elysian fields. It struck me that the Speaker had a few days ago, with more earnestness than I then minded, pressed me to tell him who did write it. I told him very honestly that I neither knew nor had ever inquired. I read it when it came out, and did not admire it enough ever to inquire. Since I came home I have sent for it and read it, and that makes me now trouble your Lordship. I would flatter myself even as an author that it is not like me. In the impertinences to some for whom I have the greatest regard I am sure it is most unlike me. I can guess no reason for its being imputed to me but its being a letter like the Chinese one.

My dear Lord (I hope I may say so), I am not apt to be serious; I am on this head, and very much hurt. I never thought any kind of my writing worth preserving. I should beg this letter may be, that if the most distant day could bring out the least trace of that Elysian letter being mine, my honour, which I most seriously give you, that I know not the least tittle relating to it, and my own hand and name may rise in judgment against me. When I have said this, I hope you will not tell how much I am punished for my writing follies, and that I, who care not a great deal for what is said of me that is true, am so liable to be wounded by lies.

Lord George Sackville to Hugo (his aide-de-camp at Minden).

1760, August 27.—I have received your letter of the 15th, but fear you have not got mine, sent by Capt. Edward Smith of Cope's Dragoons, as soon as I heard of your misfortunes, to assure you of the part I took in them and to express my strong regard and friendship.

"Your sentiments in regard to entering into the service of another sovereign are becoming your former behavior. Most people would have forgot to what country they had belonged, had they met with the same treatment you have done. I should be happy if I could contribute to the establishing you either in the King of Denmark or King of Sardinia's service . . . but I really see no other channel through which I or any of my friends could assist you but through the means of the ministers of those Princes here, or of the English ministers residing at their courts; and then after the resentment his Majesty has been pleased to show both against me and you, I am persuaded no minister would venture upon any private recommendation to interfere in an affair which might draw upon himself the strongest displeasure of the King. On my part, I must have recourse to patience till time shall alter circumstances . . . You say your family has connections in Denmark, and that they will be ready to exert themselves in your favour, but that commissions there are not to be had but for money. Let me entreat you, my dear Hugo, not to let so trifling a consideration

stop your endeavours. . . . I thank God I have sufficient for myself and my friends, and I do insist upon it, if you have the least regard or friendship for me, that you would call upon me for whatever may be necessary . . . I really make you but a little compliment in offering you what I do not want myself."

[Lady Betty Germain to Lord George Sackville.]

[1760, August 28.]—"Drayton Hall, for so I had a letter directed, but I suppose 'twas because we are jolley all. The Miss Coats Lady Temple brought is a mighty pretty woman, well-bred and sensible; sings both French and English, though never learnt either French or to sing; has prodigious fine black eye-brows, and half her eyelashes are white, the other half black. She is a grand-daughter of a Lord William Digby; I don't know whether that was our Lord Digby. She is a parson's daughter and but a small matter of fortune; I fancy Lord Temple makes pure work with his love to her, for that, you know, comes of course. Considering what short dabs I have from Stoneland, this is a pretty long Drayton answer. So God bless you all." [*Name and date given only in the endorsement.*]

Sir Henry Erskine to the Same.

[1760,] December 11. Cavendish Square.—Your friend [? Hugo] can expect no public relief during the war, but a private one may probably reach him through a secret friend. Either of the services you mention is unexceptionable, but my advice would be for him to remain where he is till a more favourable opportunity offer.

"My friend Wedderburn is very indolent, 'tis long since he promised my friend Mr. William Mayne to request his Grace the Duke of Dorset's interest for him in Canterbury, where he has declared himself a candidate. Mr. Mayne is attached to Lord Bute, who espouses his interest. May I presume to ask the favour of your Lordship to request the Duke of Dorset to recommend him to Sir Thomas Hales, Dr. Curtis, and such gentlemen as have influence in Canterbury, that he may not appear as one totally unknown, which they endeavour to represent him in that city. I understand he can now bring upwards of three hundred single votes to the poll, and he thinks he must succeed. He has not yet joined with any other of the many candidates in the field, and has left it to his friends in the Corporation to determine which of them he shall join. The Duke of Newcastle has a disposition to support Sir James Creed, but it is thought that he cannot possibly carry the election. The Duke of Richmond has thrown up his place in the bed chamber, but not his regiment. Lord Fitzmaurice being appointed aide-de-camp, and his brother Lord George not being appointed, is the cause. Some conjecture that he expected to be pressed to keep the employment of Lord of the Bed Chamber and was disappointed. General Armiger is appointed to the 40th Regiment, late Barrington's, Lord Malpas to Armiger's and Col. Haviland to an American battalion. I believe Col. Harvey is also an aide-de-

camp. It is thought Lord Downe cannot survive his wounds.* The appointment of the three new Lords and the three new Grooms is a measure of Lord Bute's avowed. Some of Mr. Pitt's friends give it unjustly to him."

SIR H. ERSKINE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1762, October 26. Cavendish Square.—Requesting his support for a friend of his own in the borough of East Grinstead. Mentions that General St. Clair is not well, but Lady Erskine is better.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to his brother, LORD MIDDLESEX.

[1765, October.†]—"Lord George has nothing more at heart than to preserve that union in the family which he flatters himself now happily subsists, and as he is sensible that any disagreement between Lord Middlesex and him will lessen the credit and consideration of them both, Lord George is resolved on his part to take every step that may prevent even the appearance of any misunderstanding, and trusts that he shall find the same friendly disposition in Lord Middlesex.

"The interest of East Grinstead requires an immediate consideration, and though Lord George understands that he is entitled to all the Burgage Holds which the Duke of Dorset died possessed of, yet as Lord Middlesex apprehends that under his settlement he has a claim to some of them, Lord George is willing to give up the recommending any particular friend of his own, upon the present vacancy, and will join in supporting some gentleman in this neighbourhood of fortune and independency, whose principles and connections have induced him to act with this family, and it is equal to him whether it should be Sir Charles Farnaby, Mr. Warde, or Mr. James of Ightam, if his health could permit his undertaking the attendance, in which case Lord Middlesex would have the credit of bringing into Parliament a neighbour of his own, and by showing attention to the old friends of this House preserve that interest in the county which is at present so firmly established, and Lord George will have the satisfaction of proving himself united with the head of his family and contributing, as far as is in his power, to the weight and consequence of it.

"If Lord Middlesex should have had any thoughts of proposing Sir John Dyke, Lord George begs leave to offer three very material objections to him. The first is the imprudence of trusting a man with the possession of a borough in which he has so formidable an interest of his own. The second is that the adopting a man of connections and principles so different from those upon which we have ever acted will argue unsteadiness on our part, and will alarm every gentleman in this county who calls himself a Whig. The third is more of a private nature, and relates immediately to

* Lord Downe was wounded at the battle of Campen, October 16, 1760. He had died two days before this letter was written.

† This letter is undated, but was written immediately after the death of Lionel, Duke of Dorset, on the 10th Oct., 1765.

Lord George's own situation, as it is impossible for him, either from a regard to propriety, decency, or duty [to] exert the interest left to him by the Duke of Dorset in favour of one who would have been his strongest opponent. Lord George has no more to say upon the ensuing election, but as he most sincerely wishes to have the dispute settled as to the property of the Burgage Holds in the least public and most amicable way possible, he is willing to refer his title to any two persons eminent in the profession of the law which Lord Middlesex and he shall mutually agree to, and abide by their determination, and in case the right to those in dispute should be in Lord Middlesex Lord George is then desirous of entering into an agreement of nominating one and one at the next general election, trusting always from the reasons above given that Lord George will never be desired to vote for Sir John Dyke."* *Draft.*

George, Viscount Sackville, to Mr. Alexander Lindsay, "late sergeant in the 20th regiment."

1783, Aug. 14, Drayton; 1783, Dec. 13, Pall Mall; 1784, June 30, Stoneland Lodge; 1785, June 29, Pall Mall.—Four letters respecting Lindsay's desire that he may be placed upon the list of Chelsea Hospital. In the third of these letters, Lord Sackville says that Sir George Howard, Governor of the Hospital, has complied with his wish. This turned out to be a mistake, and in his fourth letter he writes, "Mr. Lindsay, I am sorry that I should have sent you an account of the assurances I had received of your being placed upon the list, but upon inquiry finding there was a mistake in that business by having placed a person of your name upon it, I cannot permit you to suffer by such an accident, and therefore I enclose to you an order for ten guineas which I desire you to accept as a mark of my regard, and you may depend upon my sending you the like sum every year as long as I live. The next payment shall be made in the month of March upon receiving a line from you. I am your friend and well wisher, Sackville."

Viscount Sackville to his son Charles.

1785, May 4. Pall Mall.—I shall be at Drayton on the 9th, and the sooner you meet us there the better. Caroline has a bad cold, made worse by her going to Ranelagh. "Mr. Sackville returned last night from Paris, where he left the Red Monk in high spirits and delight. The Duke of Dorset can fix no time for making us a visit, as he waits the event of war or peace between the Emperor and the Dutch. . . . George is impatient to be gone; Herbert is upon a fishing party, and Bess attends; what a bout for her."

* "30th Dec., 1765, Sir Charles Farnaby, bart., of Sevenoaks, county Kent, [returned] vice Charles Sackville, commonly called Earl of Middlesex, called to the Upper House as Duke of Dorset."

Viscount Sackville to his son Charles.

1785, June 17. Pall Mall.—These Irish propositions are still depending in the House of Lords, and when they will be finished I cannot guess, but I hope to get away from town in about ten days. "The Herberts had the happiness of catching and eating several pike. I told them their equipage and attendance were the subject of conversation at Oxford. Bess laughed, but Herbert thought I had invented the story and rather looked grave . . . Miss C. Leighton honours Caroline with her company to Stoneland when we settle there. In the meanwhile, she lives in Berkeley Square at Mrs. Corbett's, her sister in one apartment, and she in the other. They only meet at dinner to quarrel. . . Your house at Whitehall is preparing for you. So many repairs are wanting that you must not be surprised if you hear that I am ruined.

"The Red Monk is at last gone to Withyam. G. Damer went to the cricket match at Peckham, and was much entertained with seeing old Cumberland directing all the players, and Charles acting first part in the game, but unfortunately Tunbridge lost the match, and the only comfort the father had was that his boy had done his duty. We have had a little rioting about the taxing of shops and maid servants, Mr. Pitt was hissed and pursued in going to and from the House of Commons, and in the evening the Guards were sent to disperse the mob collected about his house. Even Mr. Pitt must share the fate of all ministers in this country, and submit to be for a time unpopular.

"The Prince of Wales has given a magnificent ball, and is now wise enough to go to Court and behave with seeming propriety to his father."

H. A. Herbert to [Charles] Viscount Sackville.

1792, January 23. Dublin, No. 69 Dame Street.—"I had hoped long before this time to have met you and your brother in England, and to have consulted with you on several points relative to my unfortunate wife and my children now deserted by their mother," but my lawyers think that for at least ten months I should not enter the same kingdom as your unhappy sister. "When I left Muckross last week your nephews were both perfectly well. They are fine boys; the eldest remarkably handsome." I have found a school in every way eligible for a year or two and shall hope for your opinion as regards their future education. In a will made last October I have taken the liberty of nominating you one of their guardians.

Lord and Lady Bateman to Mr. Gladwell at Viscount Sackville's, Drayton.

1797, August 3, *and* 1799, August 5. Shobdon Court.—Relative to leases of the Rushden Estate, the Rectory of Rushden, and the tithes of Higham Park.

The Earl of Middlesex.

N.D.—A paper headed, "A full and true account of the Horrid, Barbarous, and unnatural Murther committed upon the credit, quiet, and estate of the Earl of Middlesex by Charles Sackville, Esq. 'Spare my Life and take *all* I have.'" Apparently a list of mortgages, with amounts of principal, interest and arrears.

IV.—HOME AFFAIRS, 1755-1784.

Henry Fox to Lord George Sackville.

1755, Sep. 29.—"The King has declared his intention to make me Secretary of State, and give me the conduct of his affairs in the House of Commons. If I might flatter myself that your lordship approves of this and would support me in my new station, I should be happy and obliged to a very great degree. I know your lordship's abilitys, and should esteem your friendship and be proud of it. I am not to take the seals till after the meeting of Parliament, because a debate is expected the first day, on which subject I will say nothing here, proposing to wait upon your lordship as soon as I hear you are in town."

Annexed,

Draft of Lord G. Sackville's reply, hoping that the plan upon which the new system is formed and the measures which are to be passed in consequence of it may be such as will enable him to prove his friendship to Mr. Fox, whom he congratulates upon the great confidence which the King has reposed in him.

Memorandum by Lord George Sackville.

[1755, November?]—To return thanks to the Duke of N[ewcastle] for the honour he does me in thinking me worthy of his attention. That I hope to deserve the King's favour by expressing the strongest zeal for his service, but that I desire to remain free from a particular connection with any of his ministers. I cannot ask for distinction or emolument in my profession, since I am to obtain it by resolving to support future measures of which I cannot have the least knowledge, and defend those that are past, which I cannot yet comprehend.

I trust that by saying this I shall not be represented to his Majesty in the light of a person discontented or desirous to distress those ministers he may please to employ. I heartily wish I may be able to join in the support of every measure they may propose, for I do declare that I have neither political connection nor engagement with any party or person whatsoever, and I farther hope that I shall not be driven into it by being misrepresented to the King, and consequently debarred from those marks of his favour which my rank in the army or my services may give me reason to hope for.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[1755, November ?]—"I took the liberty of fully explaining my situation to your Grace when I last waited upon you, and if you will be pleased to recollect what I then said I flatter myself that you will see how impossible it would be for me to take a part which would declare the strongest attachment to the present administration. *Draft.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to [HENRY FOX ?]

[1755, November ?]—Regrets that he is obliged to decline the Duke of Newcastle's and his offer of moving or seconding the address in conjunction with Lord Hillsborough.

HENRY FOX to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1756, Oct. 28.—"The Duke of Newcastle has retired from the King's service without either place or pension. He might, you may beleive, have had either. His Majesty sent for me yesterday, and told me this; said he had sent to Pitt; but that treaty was off. He might perhaps, however, join with me, on terms of common sense at least, though he would not with the Duke of Newcastle upon any, and commanded me to try him. Would it be too much, my lord, if I should beg of your lordship to let me see you on this occasion. Things are in such a crisis that the wise or foolish conduct of so inconsiderable a person as I am, may be of the utmost consequence. I will do anything to join with Pitt, and nothing more willingly than declining the station I shall be forced into if we do not join. For, as the King says, he must be served by somebody, and things must not be suffered to go into confusion if it can be avoided. I doubt much whether, but by our junction, confusion is avoidable, and therefore there is no part I will not act, and our junction, let my part be ever so subordinate, will do the business. No time is to be lost, my lord, and therefore if you will honour me with a meeting it must be soon."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1756, Oct. 30.—"I have not heard particulars, but only in general, that Pitt was more moderate to the Duke of Devonshire to-day than he had been to others. That moderation not extending, however, to act with me as a minister.

"If I know more I'll tell your lordship more to-morrow. I am sure I ought to apprise your lordship of everything relative to my situation, and the situation of the publick after your coming on my invitation to consult on both."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1756, Nov. 4.—"You may wonder at not hearing from me an account of our proceedings here. But they have varied so

perpetually and so strangely that till something seemed near fixing, I would not perplex myself with writing, nor your lordship with reading, on so confused a subject. The matter now stands thus—The Duke of Devonshire, after having long refused, yesterday told the King he would be First Lord of the Treasury, with Legge, his Chancellor of the Exchequer. The offer now is with Pitt thus, Duke of Devonshire, First Lord; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Pitt, Secretary of State; Lord Temple, First Lord of the Admiralty, with 4 or 5 Lords of the Admiralty of his own naming. All their friends provided for according to their own modest demands. I might be Paymaster, though Mr. Pitt thinks that would be too like Mr. Pelham in the year 1742, and that I had better let G. Grenville have it, and be Treasurer of the Navy. I desired to be excused from any employment and in the offer [as] it stands, Mr. Fox will have no employment. Pitt demurs to the whole of this, because Lord Holdernesse is not out, and his Majesty won't promise *him* the northern province. But he will consult Lord Temple and give his answer to-morrow night.

"Now, my lord, this is *not* my doing, but I approve of it since it is the only method of gaining peace and quiet in this sessions. Three months domestick quiet is as necessary to this country as ever a night's sleep was to a man dying in a fever. If I undertake it, there must be such contention in the House that nothing could be well done out of it. Mr. Pitt is arrogant, and I think dishonest, if not mad, to take the whole upon him. I had rather he should be so than I, and I will assist him, being out of employment, and endeavour to make his administration as little detrimental as may be to the public. Am I not in the right, my Lord? But all this may perhaps be altered by Mr. Pitt's answer, and as soon as I know it, I will send it to your lordship."

William Pitt to Lord George Sackville.

1757, Oct. 15.—"I am honour'd with your lordship's letter of the 12th and feel a very particular satisfaction in knowing that you do me the justice to believe nothing can be indifferent to me about which you can form a wish. The favourable and kind sentiments with which your lordship is so good to accompany your commands to your humble servant must ever be rank'd among my most valuable possessions, and I assure your lordship that (however ill I know my title to be), this is the property I intend the longest to defend. I dare say Mr. Cunningham's affair will meet with no difficulty, but whatever I am able to do shall be employ'd if necessary with the utmost zeal on the occasion.

"Total inexecution of plan in America, and the unhappy retreat from the coast of Rochefort, *re intentata*, have on various accounts sunk me into little less than despair of the publick. I shall abstain from giving and indeed from finally forming an opinion concerning the conduct of any, in a matter so serious, till full information enables and compells me to declare one; in the

meantime I see no end of the train of mischiefs following such events. The state of the nation is indeed a perilous one, and fitter for meditation than discourse ; at least not subject matter of a letter by the post. I hope it will not be long before I have the succour and consolation of full conversation with your lordship on a scene of distress and danger that demands all the ability the age can furnish and the best portion of which your lordship has to give."

Lord Bristol to Lord George Sackville.

1757, Oct. 26. Turin.—" . . . You judged very right in saying that I should not have liked being at home during the agitations of last winter ; I was very well contented to be at a distance, for I am not of the same opinion with an acquaintance of mine about troubled waters. We are entirely quiet in Italy, and there is no prospect of any disturbances on our side the Alps. Our campain in America has, I find, been an unactive one ; it would have been well if that in Germany had been the same, for we and our allys have been losing ground since the King of Prussia's fatal battle on the 18th of June, for to that I ascribe all the misfortunes in Bohemia as well as those in Lower Saxony ; since, in case the Austrians had been beat that day, a considerable detachment might have been made from the Prussian army to enforce that of observation, and then they might have kept their ground. Admiral Watson's success in the East Indies has been the only sort of good news we have received for a long time. We hear nothing of the great fleet since the commanders have thought proper to retire from the western coasts of France ; our enemy either was or pretended to be very apprehensive lest that force should have fallen upon Rochefort, as there were four ships of the line there, and very considerable stores of all kinds; whatever is the destination of that armament, I hope success will attend it."

Lady Betty Germain confirms the bad accounts you sent me of Lady Vere. Mr. Compton is at Florence. Lieut.-Col. Otway who lived at River-hill, close to Knole park, is now here with Lord Mandeville.

Lord Temple* to the Same.

1757, Dec. 21. Stowe.—" I cannot possibly let the messenger return with your commission† sealed by me and not avail myself of this pleasing opportunity of expressing to you with how much satisfaction I executed this part of my office. I rejoice for my own sake as one poor individual of the public at large at every step that your lordship takes towards the head of your profession, because it affords to me the flattering prospect that I may live to see the military glory of this country once again retrieved, and hear from you and of you as important and decisive news as your

* Then Lord Privy Seal.
† As Lieut.-General of the Ordnance.

messenger has just brought us from Silesia. Add to this every private consideration of friendship and esteem with which I am," &c.

Postscript.—The brotherhood here, George and Jemmy, join with me in sincerest compliments of kind congratulation.

Duke of Marlborough to Lord George Sackville.

1757, December 31. Blenheim.—Will come to town next week. A list of officers whose turns it will be to be promoted is said to be enclosed.

Lord Mansfield to the Same.

1758, Jan. 1. Kenwood.—Chiefly concerning the behaviour of Mr. Lindsay.

Lord Ligonier to the Same.

1758, Jan. 12. Cobham.—"Hotham tells me he acquainted you with the King having named the staff for 1758. I only say in addition that his Majesty struck off with his own hand Mordaunt, Conway, and Cornwalis. I have no more to say but that Lord George Sackville will be declared Lieutenant-General next Monday, and that I have laughed more in two hours at Cobham this day than in two months in London; and so I leave the pen to Hotham, a gentleman of wit and humour." Hotham adds a few lines of congratulation.

Duke of Newcastle to the Same.

1758, Oct. 31. Newcastle House.—Condoles with Lord George upon the loss which the King, the nation and his friends have suffered by the Duke of Marlborough's death. "I immediately acquainted the King with the full contents of your lordship's letter, and his Majesty was pleased to declare his intentions that your lordship should be appointed General and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Germany in the same manner that the Duke of Marlborough was, except as to the posting officers upon vacancies." The reason for this is explained, with the assurance that the same stipulation would have been made whoever had succeeded the Duke of Marlborough. Urges the keeping down of expenses, and the continuance of that good understanding between the British and Electoral troops which the late Duke of Marlborough so successfully maintained.

Lord Ligonier to the Same.

1758, Oct. 31. London.—"I am extreamly and sincerely concerned for the death of the Duke of Marlborough, and would have felt it more as a publick loss if you had not been there to supply his place. The King has appointed your lordship Commander-in-Chief in his place, and I wish it had been with all circumstances

that might have made it entirely agreable to you. But some incidents that arose from commissions filled up by Mr. Bligh has made his Majesty take the resolution never to give powers, even of posting officers in Europe, nor could all the ministers, and after them your humble servant, move him. He said you might recommend those you thought worthy, and he would then confirm or not your recommendations. Now, my dear lord, you will judge wrong if you think this is done to Lord George Sackville, for that is not the case. The Master-General [of Ordnance] is not named. . . . The Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt say (who they mean they did not say) that there was but one man could have it." Major McDowall of Woolff's is dead. I mean to recommend your friend, Capt. Bowyer.

Lord Bute to Lord George Sackville.

1758, Nov. 17. London.—"I hope you won't think it flattery in me to say that your accounts are so clear and so ably drawn that I fancy few like them come over to this countrey. I rejoice extremely at your having the command, it was your due every way. At the same time I observe with indignation that it is given by halves, but you'll easily guess where the hitch was, as Lord Ligonier assures me every method was taken by your friends to make it compleat." I beg your protection for a very pretty young artillery officer, son to one of the Prince's pages. His name is Richard Chapman, lieutenant in Gen. Belford's regiment, and he wishes to purchase the adjutant's place, hearing that Capt. MacLean wants to sell out.

The Same to the Same.

1759, April 26. London.—I thank you for your two kind letters, and for the great insight you give me into the situation of our military affairs in Germany. I lament the check which Prince Ferdinand has met with, and the inactivity of Prince Henry, who seems for ever to disappear at the critical moment. I have nothing from here worthy your perusal; "factions, jealousys, heart-burnings, would fill the empty pages . . . Lord Derby made a severe attack upon the additional salaries voted to the Judges, and was upon that occasion seconded by a friend of ours who appeared by his speech to intend the same attack against our little friend that he suffered in your house. If this goes on, a rupture must ensue. I have been obliged to declare loudly that this little personage was under the same protection with other gentlemen; that it was very difficult to force young men in exalted situations to abandon their friends against their declared will; that it would produce bad effects &c.; but all hitherto to litle purpose. I see plainly private animosity gets the better of publick, nay of prudential considerations. In all events I am determined on the road I'll take, and no party prejudice shall make me turn one minute out of it. . . . . Poor Pitt has had a dreadful time of it; near three weeks of gout with a high feavear; he is out of pain but pulled [down] extremely.'"

CHARLES FREDERICK* to [LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE].

1759, May 5. Berkeley Square.—Clothing is to be sent to America and artillery officers are to go with it. The French fleet at Brest is formidable, but we are in a condition to resist their efforts and to issue what ordnance may be required at home or abroad. There is no news from Guadeloupe or the East Indies. The report I gave you of changes is now discredited, but people still say there is a want of harmony. Lord Ligonier has been ill; the post of Master General is not filled up. "Yesterday Mr. Pitt came to the House after having been at court for the first time since his late fit of the gout. The order of the day was the Bill for restraining privateers, which had met with opposition. Mr. Pitt spoke the second in the day, in favour of the Bill and in answer to Mr. Beckford, and declared, if he was sure to be single he would divide the House, being so thoroughly convinced of the utility and necessity of the Bill's passing; that every neutral power expected redress, and moderation now would be justice, whereas in a little time, perhaps, it would be construed to be fear. His speech had its desired effect, and stopped all opposition. He was supported in this by all the ministry. I forgot to mention his saying he was as inclinable to an honourable peace as any man, but if any declared we were unable to go on with the war it was in fact throwing a carte blanche to the French, and such a declaration could only proceed from timidity of temper, ignorance of our state, or a worse motive than he would name." The Lords of the Treasury have purchased Mr. Price's powder mills, which I foresee will be a most expensive purchase. Mr. Price has 600*l.* a year as a sinecure, he knows nothing of the mysteries of making gunpowder, and in 13 years the greatest part of the purchase, being upon lease, goes out of the power of the Crown.

"Sampson Gideon being a Jew could not be made a baronet, therefore his son is to be one, who eats pork and is a Protestant." The two post masters places are not filled up, they talk of dividing them into three. Mr. Hammond, whom your lordship sent a warrant for to be a cadet, was examined, but not being found to be properly qualified was advised to go to an academy and to report himself again.

THE SAME to [THE SAME?].

1759, May 29. Berkeley Square.—On the subject of the expense of the Hanoverian Artillery. The Office of Master-General is still vacant, though it is rumoured that Lord Ligonier is to have it. "Lord Besborough, Hampden, and Lord North kissed hands this day. The Cambrick Bill was before the Lords yesterday, when Lord Ravensworth made a long speech for encreasing the salary of the Prince of Wales, it alarmed, but was unsupported, and consequently dropped."

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* Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Frederick was one of the Board of Ordnance. Lord G. Sackville was still Lieut.-General of the Ordnance. This letter and the three following are bound up with those relating to the Seven Years' War.

Lord Ligonier to Lord George Sackville.

1759, May 29. London.—Has received his letter of 20th. They talk of invasion in France ; the militia is to be called out. Hawk (*sic*) is blocking up Brest. The Ordnance is still vacant.

Lord Holdernesse to the Same.

1759, June 5. London.—" . . . We rub on pretty much as when you left us, nobody quite pleased, nobody openly angry as yet, but there is that sort of combustible matter dispersed amongst us that any small spark may set fire to the train and blow up the fabrick, and yet with all this possibility of mischief I am not without hopes that things will go on without any material crash, at least till the campaign is over.

" The enemy threaten us with invasion from all parts, it is certain they are building and fitting numbers of large boats at a great expence all along their coast, but what can they do with them unsuported by a fleet? The most that can be said is that there is a bare possibility that in a dark night some might scramble over ; but can it be supposed that any civilized thinking nation would risk troops upon so desperate a scheme. I own to you my thought is that they mean by alarming us to take off our attention from what I suspect to be the true design, viz., sending a squadron to America, which joined to Bompart's may either attack Saunders in North America or try to prevent our progress there ; or else to attempt Commodore Moore and aim at conquests to the southward ; this last scheme cannot take place just at this time as the hurricane season is setting in. This is conjecture, but at all events I have the comfort to think that all proper precautions are taken, and you may be easy as to the consequences of invasion *as the Yorkshire militia is ready to take the field.*"

Lord Bute to the Same.

1759, July 2. Kew.—Lord George's letter has brought the fullest information of the present situation of the army that Saville House has yet seen. People at home seem to be greatly pleased with the Guadaloupe conquerers. " Your lordship has heard, no doubt, of our preperations here against the impending danger, of our camps and their commanders. I own I most sincerely wish you here, though I don't expect you'll thank me for it."

Lord Holdernesse to the Same.

1759, July 3. London.—By letters from North America it appears that the fleet under Admiral Saunders, and the troops under General Wolfe, were proceeding up the river St. Lawrence. Admiral Rodney sailed yesterday to attempt to bombard Havre de Grace, and to destroy the boats the enemy are building there. The King's confidence in Prince Ferdinand increases every day. He has sent him the fullest powers to act as he thinks best.

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord George Sackville.

1759, July 5. Newcastle House.—Partly upon official matters and the exchange of prisoners. "We civil gentlemen don't understand cartels, &c., and therefore you military commanders must direct us. . . . The King tells me that he leaves the affair of the cartel entirely to Prince Ferdinand, and therefore you will concert with his Highness what to do in settling these matters. My dear lord, your combined army gives me more trouble than all the other *extensive* parts of my *agreable* employment. . . . This affair of the prisoners will be solely in your power; paid for they must be, and you must tell us, after you have examined the accounts, how much. There is also a terrible grievance about magazines. . . . For God's sake my dear lord assist me, and comfort poor Hunter. It is not now a time to have grievances. We are impatient every post for more news from you. *We* repose an entire confidence in you. I am sure you will do for the best, and God grant you good success. One happy blow on your side would disperse many clouds which are now hanging over us. The French think that their affairs upon the Continent will go to their satisfaction. In that I both hope and will believe they are mistaken. They push their flat-bottomed attempts with the utmost vigour. . . . That the attempt will be [made] I verily believe. I know what they have said of it in so many courts that it would be ridiculous to doubt it. I fancy their scheme is to keep our fleet [with] Admiral Hawke at bay with theirs at Brest, and that they will risk to run over their men in these flat-bottomed boats, as they are called. . . . Admiral Rodney is sailed with nine ships, bombs, &c. God knows where he is gone, but wherever he is gone I most sincerely wish him success. . . . I wish to God we could increase your army with any foreign troops from some of the ill-used, disgusted allies of France. Everybody would concur in it. But God knows how we should pay for them, *but that is no matter, that is a trifling consideration.* Holland will certainly rub on as she has done, not worse, and we may have some very little chance of their doing a little better. Denmark is a great object. I can hardly think they will act against us, at least the pretence of not having justice done them in their maritime disputes must soon be at an end, for all their ships are released, except I think *three*, and they will be going on and soon determined."

Lord G. Sackville to Lord Bute.

[1760, end of October.]—News of the King's death has just been received. Wishes to know whether it is proper to pay his duty at Court as early as possible.

Privy Council to the Lord Lieutenant, and in his absence to the Lords Justices and Privy Council of Ireland.

1760, December 3. Council Chamber at St. James'—Stating that the Bills sent up do not appear to the King "to contain

causes and considerations sufficient for the calling a new Parliament" in Ireland, and requesting that others, of more importance, may be prepared and transmitted. 34 *signatures*. *Copy*.

Lord Mansfield to Lord G. Sackville.

1763, Jan. 4. Kenwood.—"Revolving in my mind the measure you mentioned this morning, I incline to think there must be an Act of Parliament. The precedent of 1756 is not applicable, because you mean the proposed augmentation should be perpetual, that it should be limited not to exceed a number named, and that they should be paid by Ireland.

"I have just received, under a blank cover from Lord Halifax, the Attorney-General's Report. I shall return it to-morrow and propose to him to direct the Attorney and Solicitor-General to draw a Bill that you may be prepared. The framing of it may require some little nicety and judgement."

Henry Fox to the Same.

1763, Jan. 5.—On the same subject as Lord Mansfield's letter.

Lord Bute to Sir Henry Erskine.

1763, April 8.—"I perceive by all you have lately hinted concerning Lord George Sackville that he is very impatient to know the King's sentiments concerning him. I have (with a view to clear up this matter, and to serve him as far as lay in my power) had a long conversation with the King on this subject, when after urging his merit and abilitys, his hard usage, ever censured by his Majesty himself, the great use he would of be at this critical juncture, the King admitted all to be true, and even added that he had flattered himself with the hopes of shewing him at this period strong marks of his favor; but though the time was come, it was attended with too many untoward circumstances for him to venture taking a step that to his knowledge would revolt numbers about him, and greatly disturb the union now more than ever necessary to carry on the only government he could form to defend himself in the priviledge of the meanest subject; that he could not help thinking that if Lord George had a real regard for him, and was engaged by principle in the just support of the Crown, he would not press him to do what he declined out of no want of esteem, but from reasons of state alone; that if he came to Court he would soon be convinced of this, and that at a proper opportunity offices might open to him that would lead to higher ones, and then what appeared dangerous now would become easy and even palatable.

"And now let Lord George, Sir Harry, seriously reflect on this, and on the part you tell me he meditates if not humoured at present. What, join the greatest enemy ever man had, who aimed at no less than his blood, because the most benign of

princes cannot do for him now even what the prince himself wishes, without shaking an administration that is his last resource. If these be Lord George's sentiments, if he be so * he is the man his enemy took him for, and unworthy of the opinion I have instilled into the King about him, and one whose very name he will never suffer to be mentioned to him again." *Extract.*

Lord G. Sackville to Sir Henry Erskine.

1763, April 10. Pall Mall.—"I am obliged to you for communicating to me Lord Bute's letter. I certainly was very impatient to know what his Majesty's intentions were in regard to me. I could not doubt of his gracious disposition in general from the moment I was assured that he was sensible of the hard usage I had met with, and I rely'd with confidence that I should *now* have received marks of the King's favour, because that period was come which my Lord Bute himself had fixed for my being released from that situation to which I was reduced by the violence and iniquity exercised against me in the late reign.

"I now perceive that many untoward circumstances are said still to prevent his Majesty from doing me that justice which the goodness of his heart and the benevolence of his mind would naturally incline him to, for I am persuaded that the injured and the oppressed are particularly entitled to the King's compassion and protection, but if I am to continue unrelieved till every part of administration should wish to see me restored to favour and employment, I may pass the remainder of my life in vain expectation, for I am sensible that till his Majesty declares me not unworthy of his countenance, those who from the fashion of the times or the malevolence of their own hearts are conscious of having injured me will never wish to see my persecution cease, and when I was formerly promised support, I could not understand it as depending upon the circumstances now mentioned.

"His lordship is pleased to say that if I went to Court I should soon be convinced that the King declined to what I desired, not from want of esteem but from reasons of state alone. You know very well why I have not pay'd my personal duty to his Majesty. It was not from choice but from want of knowing whether my appearance there would be proper after the hint I had from you about it. If I now am to depend upon being looked upon with that graciousness which his Majesty usually shows to those who are honoured with his approbation, I should be most happy in receiving that as the first mark of his favour, for you may be sure after what happened at his first coming to the throne I should be most cautious of ever risking my returning to the King's presence without an assurance of such a reception as might be a credit and honour to me.

"As to the latter part of the letter, it must have been in answer to something you wrote from your own ideas of what I might be

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* A blank in the MS. here.

reduced to do, as I do not recollect I desired you to mention anything relative to my future conduct. I hope my behaviour for many years past may have convinced my Lord Bute of my ever having acted in support of the Crown upon just principles. I will go farther, I have lately acted not only from duty but, if I may be allowed the expression, from affection. I have admired the King's character, I have respected his virtues, and I trust nothing will ever induce me to enter into faction for the distressing the Crown. My particular circumstances prevent my correspondence with those who were the authors of my misfortunes. Nothing but the utmost necessity shall oblige me to give any degree of opposition to such ministers as the King may employ, but if I am sensible that those about his Majesty shall persist in preventing me from receiving those marks of the King's justice which his own benign and amiable disposition would incline him to show to the meanest of his subjects, surely I may be allowed to declare in Parliament my disapprobation of the measures of such men, as the only constitutional resentment which can be shown by individuals to the servants of the Crown, without being thought deserving of such terms of reproach as are expressed and insinuated in his lordship's letter.

"I cannot conclude without thanking you very sincerely for the many instances of your regard and friendship, and begging you to assure my Lord Bute that had he continued in business I should have been happy in exerting my little abilities in support of his administration, and that I now wish he may enjoy that satisfaction in his retirement which he either expects or desires." *Draft or copy.*

Duke of Newcastle to the Hon. Charles Townshend.

1764, April 29. Claremont.—"I take the earliest opportunity to return you my most sincere thanks for your very kind letter, which I received yesterday morning by my first post. I am very sorry to hear that your indisposition remained so long, but I hope you are now perfectly recovered, and that I shall soon have the honour and pleasure of your company here. I entirely agree with you in everything you say upon the cruel and alarming treatment of that meritorious man, General Conway. You have, in the prettiest and most obliging manner to him expressed all I think or fear upon the subject, which I am afraid will be attended with real bad consequences, if not taken up with the spirit it ought as soon as the Parliament meets.

I am very sorry (you will forgive me for saying so) that I cannot totally agree with you in your observations upon our present situation. I hope it is not so bad, but it wants a great deal of spirit, care and attention to rectify it. Had these acts of violence been vigorously taken up in the case of the Duke of Devonshire, as I then was of opinion it should, no administration would have ventured to have followed them in the manner that has been done; some stop must be put to it. I don't think the spirit in the nation is altered, or, by my accounts, any material

alteration in the City; the true way of judging of the sense of the City is by the state of credit, and I don't find that that is mended by creating a new debt to pay off an old one, and leaving an arrear which grows worse every day, and will, if that goes on, make the payment impracticable at last. The impression which the Court has made upon the liberty of the Press is too certain, and much to be lamented. An exhorbitant fine upon a poor printer for abusing *Mr. David Hume* will have more effect upon the Press than even any act of Parliament to restrain it.

I have seen from the beginning a disposition to lay our misfortunes and want of making use of the great advantages gained the beginning of last session, to too great an attention to our Cambridge affair. I am sorry for it, though it heightens the obligation to your humble servant for the great benefit which we received by it. My Lord Hardwick's success is certainly owing to *that*, and I would ask any gentlemen that wish success to what *they* call the Opposition, whether the eclat of my Lord Sandwich's being as much master of one University as my Lord Litchfield is of the other would have been an indifferent event, or for the honor and credit of an Opposition founded upon whig principles, whig measures and *whig persons*.

The Administration, give them their due, do their part to enable us to get the better of them; and I hope and believe we shall make the proper use of it. I hear the Duke of Devonshire and my Lord Rockingham dine with you this day and I hope you will agree upon something that may be a general measure for our conduct, for we must have a summer plan as well as a winter one, and that well pursued, with the help of the ministry, will still do. The Dutchess of Newcastle is much pleased with your kind compliment to her, and returns you thanks for it." *Copy.*

Hon. Charles Townshend to the Duke of Newcastle.

1764, April 30.—Copy of reply to the above letter. *Printed in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners upon Marquess Townshend's MSS.* (*Report XI., appendix, part IV., p.* 398).

Lord G. Sackville to Charles Townshend.

[1764, between April and August].—You must have heard the reports about the intended changes in the Administration. "There seems at present among the Ministers neither union sufficient to promise stability nor that kind of disunion that calls for any immediate alteration. They go on in their different departments with an awkward indifference towards each other and do not appear to give that attendance at Court which former Administrations looked upon as essential to their existence. . . I do conjecture . . . that our present great Ministers have daily less solid ground to stand upon in the closet, and whilst the opinion of their ability decreases, they are gaining no hold upon the affections of their Master."

Lord Bute's friends say "that he has no wish but for the ease and the honour of his Majesty's government; that he does not desire to see the Ministers either dismissed or distressed, nor has he any degree of connexion with those now in opposition, and consequently can have no plan for bringing men into power with whom he has neither friendship nor communication. If his intentions are contrary to these avowed professions, he works with the utmost caution and secrecy, for nobody can pretend to assert and prove any fact in contradiction to them; yet his frequent interviews with the King, his constant attendance when in town at Carlton House, must give rise to many conjectures, and those who have been educated in Court intrigues cannot suppose such private conversations can turn upon any other than the most interesting public subjects.

"However, if his Lordship is capable of resentment, it is impossible he should not feel with indignation the treatment he has met with from particular persons; but his judgment and his prudence may prevent his taking any direct step towards the dispossessing men of that power which they originally derived from his influence; as he may perceive from their situation at Court, and from the little cordiality subsisting between them, that without any interposition on his part, new arrangements will become unavoidable, and then he may be applied to, entreated and commanded to become a mediator, and to attempt the forming an Administration which may have the appearance of weight, dignity and permanency.

"I do not conceive he ever wishes to return to the most responsible offices of government, but I am persuaded he may be prevailed upon to take a share in any well-regulated system.

"The Duke of Devonshire is returned to Chatsworth. His Grace's conversation whilst in town was moderate and rather languid, and seemed to have lost that spirit with which it was animated by Mr. Conway's dismission.

"Mr. Pitt is either at Hayes or upon his progress. The Duke of Bedford at Wobourne and soon sets out for Trentham &c.; Mr. Grenville in Buckinghamshire, and Lord Sandwich showing the humours of Huntingdon races to the Conte de Siclem. Lord Halifax, left in town, is the pillar of the State. I go to Bath to-morrow with Lady George. . . .

"I sincerely wish to see you in a situation in which your ability might be employed for the service of the public, but that must soon happen." *Draft in Lord George's hand and endorsed* "Lord Geo. Sackville to Rt. Hon. Chas. Townshend, between April and August, 1764." *Bound up in the volume of Miscellaneous Papers.*

Charles Townshend to Lord G. Sackville.

1765, July 9.—"I steal a few minutes to inform you that Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, Mr. Conway, and Mr. Dowdeswell, will kiss hands to-morrow. As to me I remain as I represented myself in my last conversation with you, and from the motives which I then stated to you, with the frankness due to your friendship.

"Permit me to ask you, whether any *communication* has been opened with you *lately*? Whether your lordship has suggested any *rank* in office as a sort of *direction* to those who opened the matter to you? and particularly whether you have expressed an inclination to connect with any of the present ministers, or any *lately* intended, upon a *general* understanding, leaving the *actual* appointment to any future reasonable time? Forgive me putting these questions to you, as I have reasons for doing it, and my anxiety proceeds from regard. I have never lost sight of your interest in *any one* turn of the last fickle years, and I wish to hear from you the exact state of whatever I collect from others relative to you, especially when I know a negotiation has been resolved upon, and have been told in what light your sentiments are understood by persons now become essential. Upon my last mentioning you, as all men do who speak justly of your abilities and consequence in Parliament, I found a disposition to treat with you, and as I learnt at the same time that the measure had been under general consideration, I imagined it might be serviceable to you to apprize you both of the information and of the discourse which followed it. Perhaps I may *now* not be able to promote, nor even so likely to learn anything as I have been; but, my dear lord, I shall be the more sollicitous; and nothing would make me happier in this present strange time, than to find that necessity had removed those prejudices which reason ought to have conquered with respect to you, for it would be a real pleasure to me, in whatever situation I may be, to see you received and established in a manner you approve. I write in a hurry, from a mind much agitated, in a temper not quite easy and therefore, instead of blaming my style, which is not indeed as I am wont to write, you should consider the very act of writing at all in such a turn of thought as a strong proof of my attention and solicitude for you."

Lord G. Sackville to [Charles Townshend].

[1765, July 9 ?] Tuesday morning. Knole.—"I am extremely obliged to you for the continuance of that friendship which you have shown for me upon so many occasions, and I shall in return take the liberty of relating to you the substance of a conversation which I had with Lord Egmont on Sunday morning last. His lordship having called at my door on the same day he wrote to Lord Townshend and having inquired about my being in town, I waited upon him to know if he had any commands for me. He told me very openly that in the course of these jumbles he had more than once thought he should have been under the necessity of being at the head of the Treasury, and that in that case he should have been anxious to have known the sentiments of individuals and to have secured to himself the support and assistance of men of ability, &c., &c., but that fortunately for him those negotiations were in other hands; had they continued in his he should have been anxious for my being placed in a situation agreeable to myself. We

then of course entered into general conversation upon the King's situation and the practicability of forming an administration upon the present plan. I told him very naturally my sentiments upon it and said the success of it in the House of Commons depended in my opinion principally upon the part you might incline to take, that I knew no other person who could with propriety act as minister there. As to myself, that I stood entirely free from connections, that I had a friendly intercourse with you, and that I had always wished to have made a part of a system in which you might take the lead, because I was certain I could have acted with pleasure and satisfaction under you, and that I did flatter myself you would not be sorry to see me in that situation. We then argued upon the probability of your accepting the seals and the difficultys which you were under, and concluded by sincerely wishing that you might take that part in the present arrangement which the King had proposed for you.

"He entered further into my views and past conduct. I freely told him that I had kept myself as much disengaged as possible, having nothing in view but expressing my duty and gratitude to the King and the attempting to establish myself in Parliament; that I had been in hopes his Majesty would have so far exerted himself as to have called such individuals to his service as he might think ready and able to have carry'd on his business, but that if in changing hands he gave himself up entirely to the direction of any one man, or to any set of men, I did not see that either his authority or his dignity were increased by such a step, and that the natural consequence must be that everybody would seek out for those connections which most probably might in the end prevail, without looking upon his Majesty as the great object of their attention, and that I did conclude that those who were not part of the present arrangement would of course in another session of Parliament engage in opposition.

"I mentioned nothing in regard to my own views but in general, only declaring that I should be extremely sorry to be in any office of responsibility. His lordship concluded with all expressions of good wishes towards me, and I with all proper acknowledgements of the opinion he had been pleased to declare he had of me.

"I believe you will not think that in this conversation I have said anything you did not know before. I spoke to his lordship as a person not concerned at present in making arrangements, and I do not suppose that either good or harm could arise from it. If any overtures are ever made to me, you may be assured I shall take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with them. I cannot repeat too often that no situation can ever be so agreeable to me as to act with you, as I shall always acknowledge myself under strong obligations to you, and shall be happy in every opportunity of expressing them both in public and private." *Draft.*

Charles Townshend to Lord G. Sackville.

[1765, July 12 ?]. "Friday noon."—"I have the honour of your lordship's very kind letter, which I have since considered

with great attention and with that exactness which is habitual to me in every matter essential to your lordship.

"I do not learn from your answer that any communication has been opened with you since your meeting with Lord Egmont, and therefore I presume that the *circumstantial* answer given me upon my last mentioning your name has been founded upon the report of some passages of that *general* conversation; your own representation of which, at the same time, does not entirely confirm the inference which seems to have been drawn from it. I therefore confess to you that I much wish to have you clearly understood at this conjuncture, and as Lord Egmont lately began the communication with you, and has a real friendship for your lordship, I wish some method could be taken of knowing from him how far any part of the former conversation has been repeated, and whether any conclusions have been drawn from it and applied to the present situation of things. This *may* and *should* be done in a natural manner, and it will be a mortification to me if it is not done, because I really think it material, from some expressions which I have heard dropped, from the delicacy of the hour, and from a solicitude for your interest. It is my opinion that you should avail yourself of the present minute with dignity and prudence; it is my opinion also that for this purpose you should be known exactly by the King. I think Lord Egmont's evident favour at Court, and the part which he lately took towards your lordship, both open to you, if you were in town, an easy opportunity of stating yourself with precision, propriety, and dignity.

"As to me, I am not in Council, else I should *act*, not advise, but it is pleasing to me to show any degree of attention to you."

Lord G. Sackville to Charles Townshend.

1765, July 13. Knole.—"I am greatly obliged to you for the letter which you sent me by Cuninghame. I have reflected often upon the conversation I had with Lord Egmont, and I cannot recollect that I omitted acquainting you with any one material circumstance relating to my past conduct, my present situation or future views, and I am most certain that he did not mistake what I said in regard to the necessity everybody would be under of taking an explicit part either with the present system or with the opposition, and that I did not give the slightest hint that I should act in support of Administration upon the expectation of any subsequent arrangement, but directly the contrary, because that part of the conversation was introduced upon his saying that however the administration might be now formed, many changes must naturally happen in the course of twelve months.

"I am inclined to believe that from the time of my conversing with him to the time of your intelligence, he had had no communication with the ministers, and I should think they were speaking more from general opinion than from circumstantial information. I shall, whenever I see Lord Egmont, renew that part of the conversation with him, though I am sure he has not mistaken me. If any other person speaks to me I shall avail

myself of your advice and leave no doubt about the part I am to take, for I never will bind myself to an administration constituted as this is upon the strongest assurance of future consideration.

"I have said all I think to Cuninghame of affairs in general and of your situation in particular. I shall only add that the opinion of permanency cannot be established in favour of this ministry till you have the avowed and real management of the House of Commons. Whenever that happens it will be a mortification to me if I am not permitted to assist. As things now are I cannot say my anxiety is great. I only wish I may remain at liberty to show every regard and attention to you in return for your constant goodness to me." *Draft.*

General Conway to Lord George Sackville.

1766, July 30. Pall Mall.—"I can't help accompanying my disagreeable letter of form with a word to say how uneasy it is to me to be the channel of such messages, and especially to your lordship, who has honoured me with so much civility in the course of a long acquaintance."

The official letter is as follows:—"I have his Majesty's commands to signify to your lordship that in the new arrangements making in the disposal of many offices in Government his Majesty has no farther occasion for your service as one of the joint Vice-Treasurers of Ireland."

Lord G. Sackville to General Conway.

[1766, July 31 ?]—Acknowledging the letter informing him that his Majesty has no further occasion for his services as one of the joint Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, and thanking General Conway for the obliging manner in which he has executed the King's commands. *Draft.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord Rockingham.

[1766, beginning of August.]—"I cannot quit the employment which I held through your Lordship's favour and goodness without repeating my acknowledgements to you, and assuring [you] that I shall ever retain the most grateful sense of the honour which I received from your protection.

"If I considered only your lordship's personal ease and satisfaction I should congratulate with you upon your retiring from an office of business and responsibility to the enjoyment of ease and independency, but in every other light I must lament your continuing no longer in his Majesty's service, as I am persuaded your Lordship's conduct and integrity had justly gained you the good opinion and confidence of the publick." *Draft. On the same sheet as the preceding.*

Charles Townshend to Lord G. Sackville.

1766, Aug. 1.—"I will not omit writing by Colonel Cunningham, especially as I have learned from him that his Majesty has been

prevailed upon to remove you. Indifferent as this matter may be to you, it is painful to me, and I think it equally inconvenient to the public service. The King's commands have carried me from a lazy to a laborious employment,* from chearfulness to anxiety, and from indifference to some degree of responsibility, and I am sorry to hear that, in the same instant, the Government has lost the communication and aid of your talents and experience. Colonel Cunningham will detail to you every step of the present change, and I have informed him of everything relative to myself for that purpose. From him you will know how entirely everything proceeds from Lord Chatham to the King, from thence, without any intermediate consultation, to the public, and I am confident that no other man has the least previous knowledge or influence. I will only add that in this, as in everything, I have the feelings of a sincere friend, and shall ever prove myself to be with the truest esteem, my dear Lord, your affectionate humble servant."

Lord G. Sackville to Charles Townshend.

1766, Aug. 3.—"I am very sensible of your goodness and attention to me upon every occasion, and I am persuaded, had it depended upon your advice, his Majesty would not have removed me from his service. I should have had great satisfaction had I continued in employment in endeavouring to have been of some use to you. However trifling it might have proved, I should at least have had the pleasure of making the best return in my power for the many marks of friendship which I have received from you.

"Your accepting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer is the strongest proof of your duty and attachment to the King, and I trust he is sensible that few of his subjects would have acted with the same zeal and disinterestedness upon such an occasion. I confess I have my doubts how far you will be able to execute the parliamentary part of your office to your own satisfaction, unless you have a greater share in advising the measures you may be expected to support than seems at present to be alloted to you, but possibly when the first arrangements of Government are perfected, a more free and open communication will be established, and then I am certain your abilitys will give you that weight and secure to you that influence which I have longed wished to see you possess, and from which I shall expect the greatest advantages to the public. I cannot conclude without assuring you that I shall be happy in every opportunity of expressing the sincerest regard, friendship, and esteem for you." *Draft.*

The Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Grafton.

[1767, before Jan. 22.]—Complaining that the latter has promised the support of Administration to Mr. Evelyn in his attack upon the Duke of Dorset's family interest at Hythe, which was never what is called a government borough. The writer's father "for many years contested it, whilst parties ran high,

* The Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

with the Tories of that place. He by degrees established his interest in it and Whigs prevailed." Lord Holdernesse, having sold his own borough, may desire to exert his influence as Lord Warden to procure another, but his Grace "knows the satisfaction and the credit of possessing a family interest in many places," and will therefore, it is hoped, not disturb Lord Dorset's at Hythe.

The Duke of Grafton to the Duke of Dorset.

1767, Jan. 22.—Stating that no one interferes less in election concerns than he does, and that if he has assured Mr. Evelyn of his best wishes for his success, it is on account of his standing in the interest of the Lord Warden, "which I must always consider as the leading one at that place, and by the advantages of which office I have ever understood that interest to have been founded which your Grace there claims."*

Thomas Whately† to Lord G. Sackville.

1767, July 21. Parliament Street.—"I gave your Lordship some reason to expect from me an account of the present negotiations before I went to Wotton. When I came there, Mr. Grenville particularly desired that the whole might be communicated to you, and he has taken my word that your Lordship will excuse his not writing to you himself, as he has so much upon his hands. . . . Your Lordship therefore will permit me to carry you back to so distant a day as Tuesday the seventh instant, when the negotiation which had been for some time hovering without any apparent authority between General Conway and Lord Rockingham assumed a new face by the interposition of the Duke of Grafton, who, clad in all the ensigns of power, pronounced the destruction of it by delivering to Lord Rockingham a message from the King importing that his Majesty wished Lord Rockingham should return to the Treasury and form his administration, in which arrangement the Duke offered to take a part, expressing at the same time a desire that some indulgence should be shown to the remains of Lord Chatham's friends, which expression he explained to relate particularly to the Chancellor. His Lordship asked whether he was at liberty to consult any besides his own friends, in answer to which he was told that the question had been foreseen, and that he was at liberty; but that licence seemed to be confined to the friends of the Duke of Bedford, as the Marquis himself expressed it in the letter he wrote to Lord Albemarle, then at Woburn, in which he informed him of the particulars of the conversation . . . desired him to communicate his letter to the Duke of Bedford, and offered to wait upon his Grace at Woburn, if the Duke and his friends were inclined to act with him. The Duke's answer was

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* *See* as to this, the letter of Lord George Sackville on p. 118.

† Secretary to Mr. George Grenville.

that he could take no step without previous concert with Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville. Mr. Rigby therefore came to town, saw Lord Rockingham, and told him the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville were one and were resolved never to be seperated. He then proceeded to Wotton, from thence to Stowe, again to Woburn, back again to Stowe, and on Sunday afternoon met Lord Rockingham at Woburn. . . . On the part of Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville, the answer was, their perseverance in their opinions concerning America; their resolution never to depart from them; their determination to take no office themselves in the new arrangement and never to be obtruded on the King, but accompanied with a declaration that they concurred in the idea of [a] comprehensive plan as the only administration likely to be permanent; as such they would support it fairly, out of office, if the measures adopted, and particularly the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies, were such as they could approve of, and if an honorable share in Government were alloted to their friends. . . . Fraught with this concurrence, Lord Rockingham returned to town, and on Wednesday, 15th inst., met the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, to whom he said that he could not proceed without knowing whether it was his Majesty's intention that he should prepare a comprehensive plan of Administration. Upon a suggestion from his Grace that this might extend to a dismission of *all* now in office, he declared that he did not mean to convey that idea, and he declined, though much pressed, to give an answer to the proposition of Lord Campden remaining Chancellor. At the same time he desired that if the affair proceeded any further, he might be permitted to lay his ideas before his Majesty himself. Some questions were asked tending to insinuate that an administration formed of Lord Rockingham's and the Duke of Bedford's friends might have met with great facility, but that on so very comprehensive a plan, the idea might be too alarming to the Court. . . . Lord Rockingham's answer produced a letter from the Duke of Grafton, informing him that the King wished him to specify the plan on which he and his friends would propose to come in, in order to extend and strengthen his Majesty's Administration. Lord Rockingham replied that the principle on which he would proceed would be to consider the present Administration as at an end, notwithstanding the regard he had for some of those who composed it, and that if his Majesty thought it for his service to form a new Administration on an extensive plan, he desired to receive his commands from himself. Upon which a letter was written to him by the Duke of Grafton, acquainting him that the King's sentiments concurred with his Lordship's in regard to the forming of a comprehensive plan, that being desirous to unite the hearts of all his subjects, he was ready to appoint such a one as should exclude no denomination of men attached to his person and government, and that, when his Lordship had prepared such a plan, he was willing that he should himself lay it before him. On this encouragement, Lord Rockingham desired the Duke of Bedford

to come to town, in order to assist in forming the arrangement, and to bring with him Lord Temple's and Mr. Grenville's ideas, particularly with respect to the situations they wished for their friends. They declined giving any list of the pretensions of their friends, but desired to know more of the proposed plan before they entered into particulars. They still abided by their original system, of acceding only if they approved of the measures, and of applying to their friends to accept, as a favour done, not received. The Duke of Bedford came to town as he was desired, and at a meeting last night* between him and Lord Rockingham, the Dukes of Newcastle, Portland and Richmond, the Lords Sandwich and Weymouth, Mr. Dowdeswell and Mr. Rigby, the conference was opened by Mr. Rigby's producing one of Mr. Grenville's letters, insisting on the condition of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies. To *assert* and *establish* were objected to; the terms ought to have been *maintain* and *support*; then it was an affront to suppose that any man meant to relinquish the sovereignty of the colonies; and lastly, no man had a right to demand of Lord Rockingham his plan of operations, though his plan on this head has been required from the beginning, the approbation of it being always made the condition *sine quâ non* of Mr. Grenville's and Lord Temple's concurrence. . . . The dispute upon this point was, however, postponed to future explanation, and the next step was to consider of an arrangement; but the first person named generally for a ministerial office by Lord Rockingham being General Conway, the Duke of Bedford excepted to him; said that he understood the military line was his choice; that he was a good officer, and he wished him to have any regiment the King pleased to give him, but he could never approve of him as a minister, and the admitting him was contrary to the principle of a total change of Administration. Another altercation hereupon arose, and at two in the morning, no further progress being made, and no explanation being given of the American system, the company parted. The Duke of Newcastle has been to-day with the Duke of Bedford, to endeavour to bring the parties again together, but unless some precise specific idea upon the American measures be stated, I see little prospect of concurrence.

"In the course of this business, Lord Rockingham's profession has always been to subvert the present and to establish an entirely new system. The Duke of Bedford's favourite idea has been to prevent all future instability by removing those he supposes to have been the cause of the frequent changes which have happened. Lord Temple's and Mr. Grenville's principle has been to concur in the support of any arrangement which has the appearance of permanency, provided they approve of the measures. . . . They go no further, are pledged to nothing, and have no knowledge of any designed arrangement, whether of favour or proscription, to any denomination of men whatsoever. . . . ."

* *i.e.*, Monday, July 20. Lord Rockingham's letter to Hardwicke relating this conference "on Monday last," is printed as dated on July 2 in the *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his contemporaries* (vol. II. 50), but that is an impossible date.

With this letter cf. that of Lord Rockingham mentioned above, and also "An impartial account of a late interesting conference" in the Political Register for August, 1767, *supposed to have been inspired by the Grenvilles.*

THOMAS WHATELY to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1767, July 22. Parliament Street.—" . . . At a second meeting desired by Lord Rockingham, and consisting only of his Lordship, the Dukes of Bedford and Newcastle, Messrs. Rigby and Dowdeswell, the same points were started as at the former, but the subject of America was not pushed then very far, a suggestion being dropped on the part of Lord Rockingham that the Duke of Bedford might arbitrate upon that matter between him and Mr. Grenville. He then named Mr. Conway to be Secretary of State and consequently the minister in the House of Commons. Your Lordship knows the manner in which the general idea of his being in a great civil office was received the night before. This more particular nomination was still more strongly objected to, and the conference went to no further arrangements ; the Marquis insisting as strongly on the necessity as the Duke urged the impossibility of this. They therefore parted with mutual declarations that all which had passed during the whole transaction should be considered as if it had never been, and that both parties should be entirely free from all engagements to each other. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Dowdeswell are, I believe, gone out of town to-day. Lord Rockingham had his audience this morning, agreeably, as I understand, to the former appointment, but the result of it I do not know, and speculations I am tired of."

GEORGE GRENVILLE to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1767, July 26. Wotton.—"Our friend Mr. Whately informs me that agreably to my desire he has communicated to you all the particulars which have come to my knowledge concerning the late negotiation opened by the Duke of Grafton with Lord Rockingham, and that your Lordship approves in the most obliging terms of the part which Lord Temple and I have taken, and of the answers we have given upon it. Though I can add nothing to the information you have received from Mr. Whately, nor suggest any comments upon this transaction, or upon the strange state in which things are left, which your own sagacity and knowledge of the world have not already made, yet you will allow me to give you this trouble, to make my excuses to you for transmitting that account through any other hands but my own, to return you my sincerest thanks for the kind expressions of your regard to me, and to assure you of that with which I have the honour to be," &c.

LORD BUCKINGHAM to LORD G. GERMAIN.*

1777, May 24.—"It is rumoured that his Majesty means to visit Oxford. The report really gives me uneasiness, for should he go

*Lord George Sackville, having succeeded to the estates of Lady Betty Germain, had now taken her name.

there without paying the same attention to Cambridge, or in any instance manifest a predilection for the University of Oxford, it will shock the prejudices of many of his most respectable subjects. Prejudices often carry men further than their principles, and in such a country as England, particularly in a turbulent day, should not for a slight purpose be offended. Think of this. I will pledge my credit with your lordship upon its being a serious consideration.

"The Speaker has insulted the King, and the Ministers have asked the Speaker's pardon. The transaction is whimsical." *Bound amongst the Miscellaneous Papers.*

G. Damer to Lord George Germain.

1777, May 27. "Brussels."—Expressing his gratitude for the friendly part taken by Lord George in his affairs, and mentioning a letter received from Lord Milton, desiring him to remain abroad.

Lord Milton to the Same.

1778, Jan. 17. Milton Abbey.—Unimportant, chiefly complimentary.

Lord North to the Earl of Sandwich.

1778, May 8. Downing Street.—"I have shown your Lordship's letter, the letter which you received from Admiral Duff, and the list of the Spanish fleet, together with the enclosed extract of the advices from Paris to Lord Weymouth, Lord George Germain, Lord Gower and Lord Dartmouth; they are all of opinion that nothing contained in these papers will justify a change in the destination of Admiral Byron's fleet. They continue to think that every dispatch should be used to send the fleet off to North America, unless you should, before its departure, receive certain accounts that the Toulon fleet is arrived at Cadiz, and either continues there, or has sailed in a route which clearly indicates that its destination is towards a different quarter of the globe. I think it highly probable that you may already have received by the *Proserpine* such intelligence as must put out of doubt the proper line to be followed. In the meanwhile the sentiments of all the Cabinet Ministers in town are unanimous for sending the fleet to North America as soon as it can sail. It may be the intention of Spain to assist M. D'Estaign with a squadron in his expedition to North America; in that case it is to be wished that our fleet should be stronger, and this contrary wind, if it continues, will afford an opportunity of adding some ships to Mr. Byron's squadron. Although I am not one of those who think an invasion of these islands impracticable, nor am convinced that France and Spain will not attempt it, yet I think the enterprise so arduous that they will not for some time be able to carry such a project into execution. The danger of our army and fleet in North America appears to me more probable and more immediate.

Besides, although I pay little credit to the sincerity of the Court of Spain, and believe that they harbour very hostile designs against us, I cannot conceive it possible that they would hold such a pacific language just at the very moment that they intend to unite in an attack upon our possessions in Europe. If you can contrive to send a ship load of prisoners to be exchanged in America, I should think it advisable to do it without delay." *Copy.*

[Lord George Germain?] to Lord North.

[1778] May 12.—"I understand Lord H[olderness] is dying, I should be happy in succeeding him as W. of C. Pts.,* it has long been the object of my wishes. If your Lordship thinks of asking that office for yourself I can have no pretensions to it; the truth is that when I consider my age I cannot expect to have health and activity much longer to discharge the duty of my present situation. Indeed I have found the attendance of the House of Commons this session too fatiguing and almost intolerable.

"I hope your Lordship will not think I mean to decline services (?) whilst I am able in any manner his Majesty and your Lordship shall require; if any new arrangement is to be made for the convenience of his Majesty's Government, I am ready to return to the private station from which I was called; most undoubtedly it would be more satisfactory to me were I to receive such a mark of his Majesty's favour as might show the public that my poor endeavours in his Majesty's service had met with his royal approval. For that reason among others I have taken [the] liberty of mentioning the Cinque Ports." *Apparently in Lord George's writing. Bound amongst the Miscellaneous Papers.*

Mr. Hutton to Lord George Germain.

1778, Nov. 12.—Announcing that he has just lost his wife.

Lord Shannon to the Same.

1779, April 15. Cork.—A long letter concerning the writer's title to the advowson of the rectory of Canigaline.

The Hon. George Damer to the Same.

1779, Oct. 28. Tavistock.—Complaining of the insufficient quarters provided for his regiment, the 87th, at Tavistock, and asking that room may be found for them in the barracks at Plymouth.

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* Warden of the Cinque Ports. The post was conferred on Lord North in June, 1778.

"Observations in favour of Sir Hugh Palliser."

[1779?]—Unsigned and undated MS. endorsed as above, relating to the trial and acquittal of Admiral Keppel, and the court martial held on Sir Hugh.

Lord John Murray to Lord George Germain.

1780, Feb. 8.—On the raising of Highland troops for the service.

Enclosing,

Major Macleod to Lord John Murray.

1780, *Jan.* 24. *Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye.—Concerning the recruiting of his company for Lord John's regiment, and asking for an extension of the time allowed him, on the ground of the distance and other considerations.*

Memoir by J. F.

1780, Feb. 15. Berners Street.—"Some general objections to Mr. B[urk]e's plan of reform, together with the leading ideas of another system proposed as more practicable, competent, and constitutional." In relation to Burke's measure introduced on Feb. 7. Signed "J.F."

Sir John Dalrymple to Lord George Germain.

1780, June 22. London.—Concerning a dispute between Lieut. Wightman and Captain Carden, both claiming the right to carry a despatch from Sir John Dalrymple's brother to the King. Sir John's brother intends to try Captain Carden by court martial for aspersing his character.

Lord John Murray to the Same.

1780, Sep. 2. Kensington Gravel Pits.—Concerning the Highland regiment now being raised by his Lordship.

Lord Townshend to the Same.

1780, Sept. 7. London.—Stating that he finds that the place lately Capt. Brisac's is not in his but in the War Office's gift, and complaining that the person represented to him as a meritorious distressed officer is about to fall under such powerful patronage, that he might have relieved him from the disagreeable restraints he was under, and have enabled him to prove to his Lordship that though a hurt, he is not a soured man.

Lord Lisburne to the Same.

1780, Sept. 16. Admiralty.—Requesting permission for his brother, Major General Vaughan, to return home.

LORD NORTH to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Oct. 28. Downing Street.—"My dear Lord, will you permit me to ask the favour of you to make the motion for calling Mr. Cornewall to the chair. It ought to be done by some person in high office and a Privy Counsellor, and it would not be proper for me to do it myself, especially as I proposed Sir Fletcher [Norton] for the chair, not many years ago, with a due proportion of eulogium. I intend to desire Mr. Ellis to second you, that our new Speaker may be chosen and introduced in the most respectable manner."

JOHN ROBINSON to the SAME.

1780, Nov. 5.—Requesting him, on Lord North's behalf, to take an active part in support of the motion for an address to his Majesty, which will probably come on in the House next day, after the business of the election for Coventry. Lord North's health will not permit him to attend himself.

W. HARCOURT to COLONEL SMITH.

1780, Nov. 18. Bath.—On behalf of Major Stockton, of the New Jersey Volunteers, who is to be tried by court martial for a murder.

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[*1781, January. Between the 6th and 12th.] Whitehall, half-past two p.m.—Reports that Sumpter's Corps is demolished. Also that on Friday night 3,500 French surprised the town of St. Hilliar and made the Governor and garrison prisoners. The ships in the Downs, Portsmouth and Plymouth, with Sir James Wallace to command, were to set off immediately. On Saturday evening at nine our troops and militia attacked the French and defeated them. Major Peirson, in command, was killed.

SIR CHARLES DOUGLAS to the SAME.

1781, Feb. 10. *Duke*, Spithead.—Asking to be appointed to the colonelship of Marines if it should happen to be vacant by the death of Commodore Walsingham.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

1781, Feb. 16. At the Court of St. James's.—Resolution of the Privy Council for the discharge of all ships and merchandise of the States General seized before the order for general reprisals against the States was passed.

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* General Sumpter's corps was destroyed the 18th August, 1780, but the defeat of the French in Jersey was on January 6, 1781.

LORD BELLAMONT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, March 8. Mount Street.—Requesting an appointment, as it is most important that he should see Lord George before his return to Ireland.

LORD BUCHAN to THE SAME.

1781, March 21.—Asking for Lord George's interest to secure him the reversion of the office of Vice-Admiral of Scotland.

LORD AMHERST to THE SAME.

1781, March 21. Whitehall.—Stating, in answer to an application made by Lord George on behalf of Lord Lisburne—that the rank of Major by Brevet might be given to Captain McAllister—that the King does not approve of the request..

LORD AMHERST to LORD VERE.

1781, March 25. Whitehall.—Stating that the King has been pleased to grant a commission to his grandson, in accordance with his request.

LORD BUCHAN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Oct. 13.—Asking him to support a request from the writer to the King, which Lord Stormont has promised to carry. The subject of it does not transpire.

LORD NORTH to THE SAME.

1782, Jan. 20. Sion Hill.—"I have just learnt with great surprize from Mr. Robinson that your lordship has been for two or three days past in constant expectation of hearing from me in consequence of orders which I am supposed to have received from the King, and particularly that you understood the card sent on Friday to your lordship, desiring the honour of your company yesterday, to relate to the same business. My memory has for some years past been gradually growing so weak and has so often failed me that I durst not speak with the same confidence as I formerly did, but I give you my word that I do not recollect having lately received any orders from his Majesty to confer with your lordship. As to the meeting at my house yesterday morning, it had been fixed towards the beginning of the week at Lord Sandwich's earnest request, and very much to my inconvenience, who had promised to attend at the same time another small meeting to take into consideration some proposals respecting the taxes of the year. This is the exact state of the case, and will I hope serve to remove from your lordship's mind any suspicion of my having intentionally omitted to pay you every proper attention. I am not only ready but willing and desirous to talk with your lordship fully, freely and confidentially, over every subject upon

which you may wish to have any conversation with me, and I am confident that your lordship will have no reason to complain that my conduct is deficient in fairness, candour, or respect towards your lordship. If we can meet either at your lordship's house or at mine on Tuesday morning or on Tuesday evening I shall be very happy to see you. I shall be obliged to go into the city between twelve and one, and, upon my return, to the House of Commons, but as there is a ballot that day I do not imagine we shall be long detained. At any hour on that day before twelve or after eight in the afternoon I shall be at your lordship's service."

Lord G. Germain to Lord North.

1782, Jan. 30. Whitehall.—"When I had the honour of seeing your lordship yesterday sevenight in Downing Street, you were so good as to assure me that on the next day you would send me a note acquainting me with the King's pleasure whether I was to continue in office or resign the seals. A decision upon that subject is absolutely necessary, as my remaining in this precarious state prevents all business being done in my department, and till the measures of administration are finally determined, no preparations can be made for carrying on the war, for maintaining our present possessions, or for taking any steps towards propositions of peace. The mails for North America and the West Indies are to be made up on Wednesday next, and it will be highly expedient that proper instructions be then sent to the Commander-in-chief, and some answer should be given to the Duke of Newcastle, who on the part of Sir Henry Clinton presses for his recall, and his Majesty, it is to be hoped, will be pleased to declare in whose hands he will trust the command, that Sir Henry Clinton may be enabled to return to England. I need not repeat to your lordship that I have no view in thus importuning you for decision [other] than to promote as far as depends upon me the good of the King's service and the honour of your Administration. The uneasiness which is universally expressed at the inactivity of Government, the conjectures which are occasioned from those high in office and supposed to [be] high in your confidence absenting themselves from the House of Commons, call aloud for some declared plan of Government, and exertion in every department of business, and I should think myself inexcusable if I did not in the strongest terms again beseech your lordship to dispose of me in that manner which may best answer your lordship's views for his Majesty's service and the public good." *Copy.*

Lord North to George, Viscount Sackville.*

[1782, February 16.] "St. James' Square, Saturday morning."—Respecting Mr. Knox's claim for a pension, to which he expected more objection in the House of Commons "than to any other in Lord George's list when it was moved for in the last session but one," it being so much larger than any other pension granted to

* Lord George Germain was created Viscount Sackville, Feb. 11, 1782.

persons who had held the office of Under Secretary of State. "With respect to your lordship, I owed to your politeness and friendship to me a return which I always have been, and always shall be, ready to repay. I wrote in a hurry to your lordship to give you notice of Mr. Ellis's* acceptance, and did not think it necessary to add anything, as the King had written to me his intention of speaking to your lordship fully upon everything relating to the business of your resignation of the seals. In that case I thought it would be unnecessary and perhaps improper for me to anticipate any point upon which his Majesty might probably discourse with your lordship."

W. Hawkins, Ulster, to the Same.

1782, February 23. Dublin.—Congratulating him on being called to the House of Lords.

William Knox to the Same.

1782, July 6. Soho Square.—"I could not decide upon the truth of any of the different accounts I received yesterday of the causes or extent of the dissolution of the new Ministry. I therefore deferred writing to your lordship until this night in the hope of being able to send you more certain information. At the Council which I told your Lordship had been held at the Duke of Grafton's before Lord Rockingham's death, the ultimate terms of our enemies were considered. Absolute independence I am told was demanded for America, Gibraltar for Spain, and France, retaining Grenada in the West Indies, was to be put in the East on the footing of 1754. Lord Shelburne combated the yielding to such disgraceful and ruinous terms, asserting that the nation was not in so distressful circumstances as to require the submitting to them. This opposition, with the Bill he had brought in for obliging the civil officers to reside in America, strengthened the jealousy which before had been conceived of him, and it was discovered that he was practising with Pitt and the Grenvilles and Townshend to separate from Fox. The Lord Advocate and the Chancellor were suspected of being in intelligence with him, and Fox saw matters were coming to a crisis even before Lord Rockingham expired; his death made it necessary for Lord Shelburne to determine, and he resolved to step out and assume the lead. Fox, apprised of this, took the occasion Hartly's objection to Lord Shelburne's Bill afforded him to declare the grounds upon which peace was to be had, in order to lay upon Shelburne the odium of continuing the war. He has, however, found that yielding to the Americans' claim of independency is far from being popular, and his imprudence in declaring his resolution to yield to it, pending the Treaty and without any equivalent, has furnished all of the party who wish to keep their

* Mr. Ellis succeeded Lord G. Germain, now Viscount Sackville, as Secretary of State on Feb. 17.

places, as well as those who were in the confederacy and expect promotion, with a good plea for not following him. His friends, Keppel and Jack Townshend, were the only persons who actually tendered their resignations upon his delivering up the Seals. Lord Shelburne very wisely and temperately disavowed any purpose of making changes, on the contrary he expressed his hope that everybody would continue where they were; he even hopes Lord John Cavendish would continue Chancellor of the Exchequer, but if gentlemen quit their offices he must endeavour to supply their places. This temperance of Shelburne has undone Fox. The Duke of Richmond sees no reason for his quitting the Ordnance, but desires to be excused going to the Cabinet; Gen. Conway has no cause for resigning and poor Keppel repents of his precipitancy and is negotiating to continue. Nay, I am told Fox himself wants to get back.

"Thus has the King been delivered from his bondage and the nation rescued from certain destruction by his Majesty's prudence, aided by the providential removal of the Marquis. No arrangement has yet been made. Pitt, Lord Temple, Sir Joseph Yorke and the Lord Advocate are the four candidates for the two Secretaries' offices, and Pitt and the Advocate are likewise the candidates for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Cornwall* is also mentioned, but I should think him too wise to change. If Keppel leaves the Admiralty, Lord Howe is to succeed him. Fox said nothing yesterday in the House, but he and Burke took their seats very quietly on the Opposition Benches, and W. Pitt his upon the Treasury Bench. On Tuesday it is given out he will open, if he be not made quiet before then. The Lord Advocate being in Scotland is, I presume, the reason no appointment in Lord Shelburne's room has yet been made. I have a whisper that Lord North has promised to support the new arrangement out of office, upon the principle of withstanding the demand of independency. Peace, I presume, must now be postponed, and I should hope that some plan for negotiating with the people of America will be formed and pursued. If such there be, I shall not refuse to take a share in the business, for I think I could be of more use in bringing about a reconciliation than in any department here, and I really feel so much zeal for the King's happiness and the good of my country, independent of my own stake in the game, that I should prefer the situation in which I thought I could do the most service, though subject to the miseries of a double sea voyage and an unhealthy climate, to that of more comfort and profit if attended with less hope of doing good. I wish your Lordship were now to come forward and carry into execution your own plan, all my purposes would then coincide with the attachment to your Lordship which will ever be retained."

General Riedesel to Lord Sackville.

1782, August 16. Quebec.—Thanking him for the many favours he experienced while his Lordship presided at the head of his department.

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* Speaker of the House of Commons.

Lord Thurlow to Lord Sackville.

1783, Dec. 29.—"I need not explain to you with how much concern I heard from Lord Walsingham that you were offended at the choice which has been made of Lord C[armarthen] for Secretary of State, because I flatter myself you know the esteem I have always entertained for your person and character. But perhaps it may require more apology when I proceed to beg that you will forbear any demonstration of your resentment at the present moment. I certainly have no pretensions to do that, if publick considerations do not call upon you to the same effect.

"You may easily imagine, from my habits of thinking of men and measures, that I wish the administration had been formed on a wider bottom than this, which those who only could form it thought consistent with those connections which they were immediately obliged to look up to. But I am able to assure you that they went upon no idea of excluding any denomination of men, and more particularly still that in naming the person in question, the part which he had taken occurred to nobody, of which forgetfulness I must take my full share. Nor was there any kind of indisposition to shew you in particular every degree of attention.

"As things now stand, if everybody who has respectable pretentions will urge them at this moment, or pursue the new ministers with the weight of their resentment, to be sure they will not swim out the storm, and things must relapse into their former condition, with still greater means of binding both King and country in fetters of iron. This appears to me a calamitous prospect for the whole, although it is more particularly painful to me who have taken a part in the effort to deliver them. This is the consideration which stimulates me to give this trouble and to beg that you will give them an opportunity of shewing, as I believe them sincerely disposed to do, that they are very far from intending you disrespect, and me an additional reason for professing the respect and esteem with which I have always been, &c."

Lord Sydney to Lord Sackville.

1783, Dec. 29, "Monday night." Albemarle Street.—"You will not be surprised that, situated as I am, I feel extremely anxious that the administration to which I belong should have the honour and advantage of your support. I must therefore confess that we feel ourselves mortified at Mr. Herbert's declining to take a place at the Board of Admiralty—which from Lord Temple's conversation with you we had been led to suppose would be agreable to your Lordship as well as to Mr. Herbert. The office still remains within his reach, if it should be thought acceptable, measures having been taken to manage that matter so as to shew the inclination of the Government to meet any wishes of your Lordship or your friends.

"When I state the consequence of your Lordship's support to the King's affairs under the present Government, as well as the

necessary effect of the victory of its enemys, I do not hesitate to assure myself that your Lordship, who knows well how little I wished to return to my present situation, will not impute this anxiety of mine to private considerations. However, if in such times as these they could have weight, you know equally well how great a value I should set upon your friendship and assistance.

"I can answer for the rest of the King's ministers as well as myself that they will have great pleasure in shewing every attention to your Lordship in their power. I say nothing of Mr. Pitt in particular, as he will have the honour to write to you by the messenger who brings this."

William Pitt to Lord Sackville.

1783, Dec. 29. Berkeley Square.—"In the arduous situation in which his Majesty has condescended to command my services at this important juncture, I am necessarily anxious to obtain the honor of a support and assistance so important as your Lordship's. I flatter myself Mr. Herbert will have had the goodness to express my sense of the honor your Lordship did me by your obliging expressions towards me. Permit me to add how much I was mortified in being disappointed of his assistance at the Board of Admiralty, which I took the liberty of proposing to him in consequence of the conversation Lord Temple had had with your Lordship. I should sincerely lament if any change in the arrangement, produced by Lord Temple's resignation, should deprive the King and country in any degree of a support which the present crisis renders so highly material to both. If your Lordship will still allow us to hope that you might be induced to mark by Mr. Herbert's acceptance your disposition in favor of the present Government, the opening may be made with the greatest ease at any moment, and your Lordship's commands on the subject would give me particular satisfaction."

Lord Sackville to Lord Thurlow.

1783, Dec. 30. Drayton.—"I think myself highly honoured by your very kind and obliging letter. Few things could give me greater concern than finding myself under circumstances which would prevent my supporting any administration of which your Lordship made a part.

"I was far from expressing myself offended at the appointment of Lord Carmarthen to be one of the Secretarys of State, but I confess I was much vexed that so unexpected an event should deprive me of the opportunity of avowing my earnest wish for the supporting those ministers in whom the King had placed his confidence.

"I am sensible of the folly of taking objections to any individual to what might have passed whilst I was in office, but when I was no longer in that situation the attack made upon me by Lord Carmarthen was so unprovoked and became of so personal a nature, that I can never act with or have the least connection

with him, and whilst he bears so principal a part in Administration I cannot ask or receive any mark of the King's favour. I trust you have too good an opinion of me to imagine that the personal resentment which I feel against one man will induce me to engage in any measures which may be disrespectfull to his Majesty, or be prejudicial to the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I should hope, when the House of Commons meets, that those with whom I am connected will act upon those principles.

"Your Lordship may be assured that I am fully persuaded that more attention has been shewn to me by your Lordship and his Majesty's ministers than I could have expected, and I hope I shall have frequent opportunitys of acknowledging it.

"I have so many obligations to your Lordship for your goodness to me, and the assistance which I received from your support and countenance when I had the honor of sitting in the Cabinet with you, as will always claim my sincerest thanks, and I shall ever feel with particular gratitude the manly and able part which you took in defending me against the illiberal attack of my Lord Carmarthen, and I should be happy indeed if I should ever have an opportunity of proving to you with how much respect and attachment I have the honour to be," &c. *Copy in Lord Sackville's hand.*

Lord Sackville to Mr. Pitt.

1783, Dec. 30. Drayton.—"It gave me the greatest concern that Lord Temple's resignation of the seals and the appointment of his successor made it impossible for me to advise Mr. Herbert to accept of the office which you were pleased to offer to him. The same objections still remaining, I must content myself with expressing my sincere acknowledgments for the very flattering and obliging manner in which you have acted towards me and those with whom I am connected, and I beg leave to assure you that I should have been happy had I been able to have added in the most explicit manner any little assistance of mine in support of your administration, having as great a respect for your private character as for your publick abilities.

"Any personal [motives] which may now influence my conduct will never induce me to enter into any measures which may be disrespectfull to the King or may affect the honour and dignity of the Crown, and I trust you will find those who are connected with me acting upon those principles." *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

The Same to Lord Sydney.

1783, Dec. 30. Drayton.—"I should have had the greatest satisfaction in acting in support of an administration in which you hold so high an office. I wish Lord Temple had contynued to keep the seals, and then I should have been happy in seeing Mr. Herbert at the Board of Admiralty as a mark of favor to him and of attention to me.

"The change that has happened makes it improper and indeed impossible for me to advise him now to accept that or any other office, but I shall always acknowledge it as a particular obligation, the having kept the Admiralty so far open as enabled him to have availed himself of it.

"The zeal I have for the King's service, and the gratitude which will ever bind me to his Majesty, make it particularly disagreeable to me that I cannot take the avowed part which I had intended, but I shall most carefully avoid entering into any measures which may be in the least disrespectfull to his Majesty or derogatory to the honor and dignity of the Crown.

"The principles upon which you act do you honor, and will if possible add to the regard and friendship which I have always professed for you." *Copy, on the same sheet as above.*

The Duke of Dorset to Lord Sackville.

1784, Jan. 3. Grosvenor Square.—"As I was a stranger to the intended appointment of Mr. Herbert to the Admiralty in the first stage of that transaction, I waited till it was finally settled before I wrote to you upon it. Mr. Pitt yesterday communicated to me the contents of your letter to him, and seemed very much flattered with the good opinion you have of him, but would have been better satisfied *could* you have consented to have permitted Herbert to have formed part of his administration. *My Master* asked me a good deal about your opinion of things, &c., in the most gracious manner, and I am convinced he would not have modelled the ministry in its present shape, had not the critical situation he was in demanded immediate determination and despatch. He has *empowered* me to mention *his* name to *you*, and to assure you how much he has at heart the success of his present servants in the present struggle, and trusts much to the support of those who wish him well, amongst whom he hopes you would appear one of the foremost. After what you had expressed to me upon that point, I told him I made no doubt of your assistance where his honor and dignity were so much concerned, independent of the personal respect and regard you had always shewn towards him, and I could venture to say he might safely rely on your support upon the present interesting occasion independent of every other personal consideration. It is needless for me to say anything upon my own account. You must feel how much happier I must be in the situation I am placed [in] to have your concurrence and support. It has been a long time before I could have the least relish for politicks, but now having entered the lists earnestly and heartily, I must say to you *pray go along with me*, or otherwise I shall be afraid (like the children) to go alone, as I have no *political* connection whatever independent of *my master*. I feel my letter is likely to be spun out to an unreasonable length, so that I shall say no more, being convinced that you must feel how unpleasant[ly] I must be situated if you do not cordially support the King against Boreas [North] and F—x. We have great hopes of success

at the meeting of Parliament. The Duke of Newcastle and Duke of Marlborough are both come over, and Robinson says *it will do*. I set off* the latter end of next week, if you have any commands pray send them, I will execute them as well as I can. There is no news to-day in particular. The King does not return to town till Wednesday. I am in hopes of getting an increase of salary, but I cannot yet say for certain anything about it."

V.—LETTERS FROM LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE TO GENERAL IRWIN, 1761-1784.

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1761, Aug. 26. Knole.—" . . . I am obliged to you for your news, and I am of your opinion that peace is not so far off as we imagined, for when once a difference of opinion in council is avowed, such a war as this cannot go on. Unanimity only can support it, and when once it is known that ministers disagree, every body's tongue is let loose, and arguments will not be wanting to shew the inability of this nation to make war upon so destructive a plan, and the notion that a bankruptcy may happen will create an alarm that may give a real shock to credit. I wish I had seen in the division you mention, the two secretarys on different sides, but the council held subsequent to that debate proves that nothing then was ultimately fixed. I only hope that all may end well. I wish, to corroborate that hope, I could believe all really meant the welfare and prosperity of this country."

The Same to the Same.

1761, Sept. 30. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . You really surprize me about our poor friend Sporcken. I rejoice at his escaping so well out of the service, for Prince Ferdinand always meant to disgrace him. He will now probably receive some honourable reward from his Majesty, and I verily believe he leaves few behind him that are at all equal to such a command. All these things will rise up in judgment against his Serene Highness if he ever lives to see a day of adversity. At present nothing can hurt him ; success covers a multitude of sins. I had heard something of ministerial differences, but more about Spanish than French affairs. It is not possible that Mr. Pitt can act with other ministers. If they will follow he will lead, but if they will not follow he will attempt to drive ; so I am only waiting in expectation of seeing the ministerial herd kicking their driver and laying him on his back. As you say nothing of Hugo, you probably have not heard of his being restored to the

* For Paris ; to which court he had been named Ambassador in succession to the Duke of Manchester.

Hanoverian service . . . I am greatly pleased that his sufferings are at an end. I do not think we shall soon have a battle in Germany. Prince Ferdinand is trying to alarm M. Broglie for his communication with Cassel, &c. If his Serene Highness crossed the Weser, I should think he was going to make a desperate push. Prince Soubise surely now will attempt Munster. If he does not, he loses the only opportunity he may have of retrieving his credit. . . ."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1761, Oct. 6. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am not surprised to hear of ill humours among the ministers, but till I am assured that another Secretary of State is appointed I cannot persuade myself that Mr. Pitt will resign his employment.* He has so often threatened us with that misfortune, in order to carry the particular point of the day, that I cannot believe him more in earnest now than I have done upon former occasions. Nothing is so easy as to declare war, nothing so difficult as to make peace. The boldest counsels are the most popular, and whoever calmly considers and advises that the true interest of this country should be pursued, will, instead of receiving thanks, be accused of pusillanimity. Mr. Pitt also knows how difficult it is to find a proper successor to him should he quit his employment, and therefore may safely bully, for where is the man who, with abilitys, has ambition enough to venture so principally into the Administration in this most intricate situation of affairs, with a certainty of being told that, however successfully he may act, that it all falls infinitely short of what was expected of his predecessor. So that the only chance I see of Mr. Pitt's real going out is from his own conviction that he cannot hope to steer the ship safe into port, and so takes the present pretence of leaving her, that if she sinks it may be laid to the unskillfulness of the next pilot, and not to his own mismanagement of bringing her into such troubled waters. . . ."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1761, Oct. 11. Knole.—"Your letter, though directed to Knole by the last Tuesday's post, reached Stoneland that evening, so that I am to thank you for your two letters, and indeed it is very obliging in you to send me all the news that is going about this important resignation. We are at a loss here to understand why Lord Temple is to resign when there is so much appearance of Mr. Pitt's having made so great a bargain for himself and family, and without referring to the Gazette it is impossible to guess at the meaning of such a step, but as we there learn that this honour† and emolument are given for past services, perhaps present good humour and future services are to be the objects of another treaty. In that light my Lord Privy Seal's resignation

* The Earl of Egremont succeeded Mr. Pitt as Secretary of State on October 9th.
† This refers to the title of Baroness Chatham bestowed upon Lady Hester Pitt.

is to be understood, but in no other by me without further information. How lucky a man Mr. Pitt has been to be permitted to take his own time of resigning, and to be magnificently rewarded for leaving the King's service in a time of the greatest distress and difficulty. But with all this will he be happy? That will depend upon his own conscience and his own temper.

"We seem, however, to have been fortunate in not engaging in a Spanish war. If Lord Bristol's information be true, as published in the Gazette, the resolute part of the Council who withstood the warlike proposition must feel the highest satisfaction in having so publick a testimony of their having acted with steadiness and judgment. . . . I think our German operations are not the most prosperous. The losing the magazines at Osnaburgh and all supply from East Friesland will soon be felt, especially as I conclude all Westphalia will be ruined by the French army, as they do not seem to intend establishing their winter quarters in that country, so that the chief of our support must come from the Bas Weser."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1761, Nov. 16. Pall Mall.—"I thought of writing to you by the last post, but I had not time, as I was obliged to send to his Grace at Knole some account of the debate in consequence of the Address. You will have heard a variety of accounts about it. In the first place your friend Lord Middleton* passed through the ceremony of moving well and creditably. A new Scotch member, a Mr. Dempster, showed a strong desire of speaking, and seems to have abilitys sufficient to make him an object. In short, he promises well, and though he diverted the House by a becoming ignorance of its forms, yet he proved he neither wanted language, manner, nor matter. Another new performer was Mr. Harvey, the lawyer, brother to the Quarter-Master General in Germany. He spoke ably and like a gentleman, and was attended to accordingly. There was likewise a Mr. Cust, a merchant (brother to the Speaker), who seemed in six sentences to answer the wild flights of Alderman Beckford. The Alderman was as strong as ever for continental measures. The other three were absolutely against them, as having neither an object or an end. As I am a new man in this world I could not help smiling at hearing Germany mentioned without the least ceremony or respect, and doctrines relative to our connections there were advanced that day which would have been reckoned as indecent insults upon the Sovereign in the late reign.

"Mr. Pitt spoke with great ability, his ground was tender and he possessed his temper through the whole debate. Garrick never acted better. He was modest, humble, stout, sublime, and pathetic, all in their turns, and though the matter was as open to reply as possible, yet the manner and language was not to be equalled. He attempted to justify his conduct both as to past

* M.P. for New Shoreham.

measures and to his late resignation. He hinted strongly at the reasons for declaring war against Spain, but waited till a future day to speak more largely upon the subject, trusting in the nobleness and candour of Government for laying before the House the paper which he and Lord Temple signed and delivered to his Majesty, in which would be found the true state of affairs and a full justification of his conduct. If that was [not?] done, he must then stand as an evidence for his country and relate the whole transaction to Parliament. He complained much of his want of support in the Cabinet, but added that he believed those who differed from him did it from conviction, and as the probability was so, he trusted it would appear to the public that the noble Lord and he had erred in their judgments, since the contrary opinion had been supported by so many men of rank and abilitys and had been adopted by his Majesty. In that situation he could not make himself responsible by signing what he thought criminal, and therefore nothing was left for him to do but humbly to implore the King's leave to retire from his service.

"The Continental war was supported by the old trite argument of being connected essentially with the conquests in all parts of the globe. He vowed perseverance in that opinion though the torrent should turn against it and he was left single in support of it. You may believe many other topics were touched upon, too long for a letter, and which a memory such as mine could not retain; but upon the whole he promised the strongest support to measures in general, at the same time that he left himself a latitude to oppose each separately. Mr. G. Grenville spoke after him and rather avoided entering into matter foreign to the present subject than attempted to answer the different points of Mr. Pitt's speech. All the ability Mr. Grenville showed was by making no declarations of what might hereafter be the measures, so as to give anybody a handle for fixing him down to any particular system. The Address was unanimously agreed to, and we poor spectators diverted ourselves with observing the temper and complexion of this new assembly, and I could say a good deal upon that subject, though I do not chuse to write a word upon it, as it can be nothing but mere conjecture, and I may probably be mistaken. . . ."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1762, July 6. Pall Mall.—Announcing the birth of a daughter. "Before five, the young lady was making an uproar in the family, and Di was pacifying it in French, whilst the nurses kept talking nonsense to it. A more ridiculous scene you never saw." Lady George Sackville is as well as possible.

The Same to the Same.

1762, July 10. Pall Mall.—On the same topic. "I always was an excellent physician in other branches. I pretend now to some knowledge in midwifery, and I offer my advice gratis whenever Mrs. Irwin pleases to consult me."

"We have no news, but much speculation about the rising of the stocks. I believe there is no real foundation for it but the opinion of the Amsterdam politicians that a peace is soon to be concluded between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. . . . A city brother of some consequence very seriously attributed this rise of stocks to Bussy's late lodgings having been hired by Comte Viri for a foreign gentleman, and Change Alley argues thus: This gentleman must be a Frenchman; this Frenchman must be a minister, because the last negotiations have gone through Sardinia, and consequently, Comte Viri has been employed to secure a house for the residence of this new negotiator. Unfortunately, the foreigner proves a Genoese and all our refined reasoning falls to the ground.

"I hope you approve of the Tower and the Band of Pensioners, a good honest Tory promotion. We old Whigs burn with envy and resentment, but Sir Harry smiles and thinks it right, consequently I ought to approve."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1762, Aug. 20. Knole.—" . . . The news from the Havannah must be most acceptable to the present ministry. Surely nobody will dispute with them the merit of that expedition. If Prince Ferdinand engages, it must be his own seeking, for the French have been acting defensively for some time past, most probably with a view to the present negotiations. If he should be beat it would be highly provoking, as it may alter the terms of peace, but I do not conceive why the ministry have not given him orders not to risk an engagement if they apprehend a peace so near as we imagine it to be. If Prince Ferdinand should be successful and the Hereditary Prince receive a check, his Serene Highness will be at the summit of human happiness, that is, as far as so wicked a mind can taste anything that resembles happiness. . . . I hope to hear by the next post what has happened in Germany, but I have no notion of the French army behaving well, after showing so little spirit during the whole course of the war."

The Same to the Same.

1762, Oct. 13. Knole.—"Many thanks for your good news. It is most surprizing that the French cannot behave like men. The taking of Newfoundland so easily and so expeditiously must be of the greatest service to the ministry, and will at last convince all but the news writers that spirit and vigour are to be found in other places than at Hayes.

"If our little parcel of ministers begin to divide, Lord Bute must have recourse to the old stuff. The arduous task of peace I should fear is too strong an undertaking for the ingenuity of G. Grenville. Lord Bute's understanding is more direct and manly, and I wish he would take the negotiations into his own hands, for I foresee, unless the war ends immediately, nothing but confusion is to be expected.

"I am glad to hear you and Mrs. Irwin got safe to town."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1762, Oct. 15. Knole.—" . . . A new scene of business is now opened and I think a system formed, one that will carry affairs through Parliament but not without a formed opposition. The immediate object I conclude is peace; in that light I like it, as to any other I see no reason to rejoice. Mr. Fox will lead with ability. He must have power, and he will use it in rewarding old and attaching new friends to him, and in a few months I know in whose hands this country may be. If Lord Bute means to be minister, this system is a temporary expedient; if first Lord of the Treasury satisfies him, it may last more than one session. In short, if Mr. Fox has health, he may give the law.

"I shall be curious to hear in what manner the Duke of Cumberland looks upon the exaltation of his late Minister. If reports are true, the measures probably to be pursued are not agreeable to his Royal Highness's sentiments or declarations. The Duke of Newcastle I do believe is farther removed from Court than ever, but things take such sudden changes that it is in vain to argue at this distance upon them. All I beg is that you would give me as good information as you can, for I think we may expect to see not only an opposition in Parliament but one carry'd on with spirit and virulence."

The Same to the Same.

1762, Oct. 17. Knole.—" I am not surprized at the variety of reports in these unsettled times. I can believe anything in regard to Mr. Rigby or any friends of Mr. Fox, as I take for granted the personal attachments to Lord Bute are so few that whoever leads the House of Commons will have the naming to every vacancy, and Mr. Fox will not want subjects to propose on whose fidelity he will rely.

"It is said here, and not from bad authority, that Lord Bute has offered great terms both to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, but that they were rejected with disdain. In regard to the first I can believe it to be true. As to the last, Lord Bute must be mean indeed to be capable of such a transaction. . . . The long conversation Mr. Fox had with the Duke of Cumberland causes great speculation. I suppose by the length of it neither could convince the other. I hope by the next post you will have heard something more of the peace. When that great event is over, the agreement or disagreement of ministers will be diversion to us standers by, but in the present situation it is a most serious consideration. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1762, Oct. 20. Knole.—" . . . In regard to the vacancy at East Grinstead, the Duke of Dorset intended bringing you in, if upon inquiry he found he could do it without too great difficulty. The way now is open, and his interest is at your service."

Probably enclosed in the above,

Private. "*Les cartes etant brouillées by the letters of this post in regard to Grinstead, I had an opportunity of bringing about what I had despaired of, of your being the member. I shall make you laugh when I relate all the particulars. For God's sake not the most distant hint of the person first designed, and which for these last three days had been consented to.*"

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1762, Oct. 22. Knole.—"It is real pleasure to me to hear that your coming into Parliament in the manner you do is so very agreeable to you. . . . His Grace seems much pleased with your letter, and indeed he has been in better humour since he took his resolution about Grinstead."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1762, Oct. 24. Knole.—" . . . This last cabinet I presume has fixed the negotiation to some point which may be the foundation of the King's Speech at the opening of the Session, for they cannot depend upon hearing from Madrid in consequence of these last deliberations before the day of meeting. France and we I suppose are agreed not only in regard to the preliminaries relative to our disputes with that country, but also to our demands upon Spain, otherwise I see no end to delays, but we shall hear all these particulars from Wedderburne, as the French Ambassador will on Monday communicate his secret instructions to him. . . ."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1762, Oct. 30. Knole.—"As I did not expect to hear from you this morning I was surprized at seeing a letter directed by you, but the name of Devonshire struck my eye directly as I was opening the paper, and then I guessed partly the contents. I never could comprehend to what purpose his Grace had so long been continued in employment and so much courted, when everybody knew that he did not intend to act as the King's servant. But, however, in my poor opinion it would have been unbecoming his Majesty had he permitted him quietly to have resigned without receiving some mark of disapprobation. I have no conception how any man of rank and fortune can prevail upon himself to continue in office when he can no longer approve of measures and of those the King places his confidence in, but many such there have been notwithstanding my want of conception.

"I am glad my letter was approved of by our friend. I cannot say I agree with you in thinking it would be any distress to me to receive a letter from Mr. Fox. As I have no objection to him personally I can have none to his present connections, and I suppose any correspondence between us could only end in mutual civilitys upon a supposition of the same attachments."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1762, Nov. 3. Knole.—"I can hardly believe that the Duke of Rutland will resign unless he is absolutely engaged by a previous concert with the Dukes of N[ewcastle], D[evonshire], &c. The woman that lives with him is too well pleased with the sweets of employment to permit his Grace wantonly to forego them. However, be it as it may, I differ entirely with Cunningham, for I see not the least necessity for extending the bottom, and if the present ministry appear firm and determined they will be surprized at the little following these great names will carry into opposition with them.

"I did not expect any answer to my letter. Caution is a good thing till it grows into reserve and diffidence. On my side I find I am to be open and explicit; on theirs nothing but mystery. However, there will be a fortnight before us, and in that time I shall endeavour to understand in plain English whether I have a friend upon whom I can depend, and five minutes conversation or three lines in writing could clear up that point as well as a month's mysterious negotiation, but we must take men as we find them, and indeed I have seldom seen business done but with much unnecessary parade. . . . I expect Cunningham to-morrow. He will be so full of politics that his Grace will question him for at least two hours."

The Same to the Same.

1762, Nov. 5. Knole.—" . . . What you say of the preliminarys rejoices me. I suppose they fix the 17th upon the calculation of the courrier's return from Madrid, from whence I conclude the ministers are fully assured of the consent of the Court of Madrid. I had no faith in the Duke of Rutland's resignation before I received your letter. I should be glad to see a white staff in Lord Charles Spencer's hand. He would become it at least as well as his predecessor."

The Same to the Same.

1763, April 5. Knole.—The Duke of Bedford is expected daily in town and no arrangements are to be declared till his arrival.

The Same to the Same.

[1763], June 15. Pall Mall.—" . . . As to politics they are much as they were when you left us. The Duke of Bedford's arrival produced some speculation. He declares vehemently against employment and speaks of retirement with the highest satisfaction, but those most conversant with his Grace's constitution do imagine that his strongest resolutions are not as fixed as fate, and that before winter he may be prevailed upon to act directly contrary to his own, and exactly conformable to the intention of his friends, who, as report says, mean he should lead probably for them to guide. The Earl of Bute sees nobody,

meddles with no business, and, if I guess right, has no ground to stand upon. The Earl of Shelburne is not so well with his lordship as was given out, and Mr. G. Grenville is the only one of the *Three* that has communicated with Lord Bute since his arrival from Harrowgate. Mr. Pitt is gone to Stowe and so is the Earl of Bristol. One part of the King's servants, not any of the *Three*, wish both Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute in employment, but such wishes are too full of speculation to ripen into realities. "Lady B. Germain is still in London. . . . Lady Milton is now on her road to Knole, and Lord Middlesex intends going when he can settle his affairs with Stephenson, but his Lordship does not ride post in business. . . . The Hereditary Prince [of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel] is expected now the middle of July, but all that transaction has changed appearances so often that I shall believe he has arrived when I have seen somebody that has seen him in England.

"I have bad accounts of Lord John from Switzerland. I shall not be surprized to hear of his death in a post or two."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1763, July 1. Knole.—" . . . Lord Middlesex is arrived among us. He looks over the old place with a degree of curiosity and pleasure, but does not seem surprized at his having been absent from it these twenty years. . . . The conversation of the Stirling Governor does not surprize me. They mean an alteration, that is they intend to govern in the Duke of Bedford's name to the utter exclusion of Mr. Pitt, who probably might not have that deference to the school of virtue which is necessary to the support of his Majesty's Government. All I can learn from the present intrigues of ministers and sub-ministers is that there never can be a period in which any set of men can be contented with the share of power allotted to them by any particular system, for surely if such a period could be found, those who now compose Administration and fill great employments might have thought their weight, their abilitys, and their integrity were amply rewarded. . . . I believe I sent you word how extremely ill Lord John had been. He is now out of danger."

The Same to the Same.

1763, July 13. Knole.—" . . . Lord Middlesex stayed ten days with us, and seemed really happy at being at liberty to please himself; and the air of Knole worked miracles in his favour, for he grew young and lively. He is to return when he has settled some business still depending with my Lady's executor.

"Mr. Wilkes and his friends exult at the success of the late trials, and promise themselves magnificent damages from the two Secretarys of State. The question now determined does not appear similiar to what is to be tried, but however, the juries of London show their disposition to favour the name at the expense of real liberty."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1763, July 20. Knole.—" . . . I hear of nothing new in politics. The Duke of Bedford has been at Rigby's and I suppose will be kept in good humour there. Mr. Pitt's indignation at the Corporation of Bath for their presuming to address upon the peace is much talked of. He has set a mark of infamy upon them by declaring his firm resolution of never serving again in Parliament as their representative. I have not heard in what manner they have received this harsh sentence. . . .

" The wedding [of the Princess Augusta] is delayed, for how long I know not, but Lady Bateman writes word from Spa, where the Hereditary Prince is, that it is said there, he is not to come to England till September. Possibly the Queen may wish to do the honours upon that occasion, and that her lying-in may be one reason for postponing it."

The Same to the Same.

1763, Sept. 2. Knole.—" If the treaty is at an end, the ministers ought to lose no time in filling up the vacant employments, that people may know to whom they are to look, but in my opinion when once a garrison is reduced to ask a capitulation, the terms imposed, however hard, are sooner or later submitted to.

" The meeting at Mr. Calcraft's must have been with somebody, though perhaps Mr. Calcraft himself might have been the plenipotentiary on the part of Lord Shelburne, &c., to promise all duty and allegiance if they could be excepted from the threatened proscription. In short, till some system is held out to the publick, the stock of the present ministry will fall daily, and I doubt much after this fatal step whether it will ever be brought to par. If Lord Bute really goes abroad he will equally please both partys. Had he never returned from Harrowgate till all bustles were over it had been more prudent, for to be catching at the shadow when he had lost the substance neither showed judgment, firmness, nor greatness of mind. I am obliged to Whateley for the regard and friendship which he expressed for me. I long have flattered myself that I had his good opinion and good wishes. As to Mr. Grenville's* blaming me for not taking a more warm part last session, all I have to say is that when any minister lays a wrong charge it proves that he is searching for what he cannot find. He did not care to say abruptly to Whateley that he did not mean me well, so he was to attempt to give some reason why on his part I remained unnoticed. But let any impartial person say whether he or I acted with the greatest warmth and explicitness in the only material question of the session, and if I have anything to repent of, it is having left the impression of my being strongly joined and connected with what is thought the remains of my Lord Bute's Administration.

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* First Lord of the Treasury.

"As to your paying any personal compliment to Mr. Grenville I can have no objection to [it], but if it can be construed any advance of mine towards a man who has shown me not the most distant degree of civility, I should wish it to be avoided. My inclination leads me to do what is most agreeable to the King, but I must contrive to have it understood that I am free from every ministerial engagement.

"I am sorry Mrs. Irwin wants the cold bath, and particularly as we have not the least convenience of that sort here; so that she had better send her bathing tub by the waggon."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Aug. 5. Knole.—"I was surprized this morning when I saw by the direction a letter from you, and indeed I think the contents were curious and interesting. The conclusion to be drawn from this information is that his Lordship [Lord Bute] is irritated against the ministers and would rejoice in their distress, provided he could say to his Majesty that he was always ready to support the Administration in whatever hands he was pleased to place it in, and if other men would contribute to his elevation, he would then graciously condescend to distribute the favours of the Crown in the manner most agreeable to himself. That part of my letter to C. T.* relative to his Lordship's conduct, views, and expectations, is absolutely confirmed by this event. I should have been glad to have talked to our friend [C. Townshend] upon the subject you mention, more glad to have partaken of such an entertainment than that of turtle eating, in which last my education has been much neglected. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1764, Aug. 22. Knole.—"I am obliged to you for your long letter and I am glad to find by it that we had not been mistaken in our notions of the present political situation of individuals, and by all I have learned from you and by other channels of intelligence my sentiments are not the least changed since I communicated them so fully to C. Townshend.* It is really surprizing that Lord Temple, whose mind is so constantly agitated with the operations of party, should be left for months together without the least communication of what is either acting or contriving, or without so much as one sensible correspondent to relate to him the news or the conjectures of the day. Mr. Calcraft's visit would have raised the same suspicions in my mind as it did in yours, for I can have no idea of that man going a mile out of his road without being employed by his patrons or without consulting his own private emolument. But if his appearance was the means of procuring you C. Townshend's company, you must acknowledge yourself under an obligation to Mr. Calcraft, though it is for a favour he did not intend to confer upon you.

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* *See* p. 61.

"We have had a visit from the Primate of four and twenty hours. He is now gone to Mr. Grenville's, but though in your neighbourhood, probably you may not hear of his making part of that society. I asked him if he would not take the opportunity of riding over to Stowe, but I found the tide did not set that way. He had been at Lord Bute's, the Chancellor's, and Duke of Bedford's, and from the few sentences which could drop from him in the time he stayed here I am the more and more confirmed in my former opinion of the present state of partys. I see no prospect of any union among the discontented, and unless the strange behaviour of the French in the West Indies should create an alarm among the ministers I shall not be surprized if the next Session should begin upon the ground the last ended. As to propositions coming from any other quarter than that of the present ministers, it will be in vain to expect, unless union and system should show opposition in an alarming light to the Court. As that is not the case, the only chance of a treaty being set on foot must be the diffidence of ministers in their own strength, both in Parliament and in the nation at large. If France should disavow their officer and give every necessary satisfaction, our Secretarys will plume themselves upon their spirited dispatches and will be looking out with eager expectations for popular applause, but if there should be the smallest appearance of a rupture with that court, there is not a man among them except Lord Sandwich who would presume to take the lead in so dangerous a conjuncture, and would [not] be happy to lay the burthen upon those more accustomed to bear such uneasy loads. . . ."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Sept. 5. Knole.—" . . . As to Mr. Nugent, he is, as you observe, the most uninformed man of his rank in England, and the short reason of it is that nobody can depend upon his attachment. His great aim is to keep his present employment, and upon the least appearance of ministerial jumbles he is in violent agitation till he has found a safe harbour to protect him against the impending storm. I am much obliged to him for his advice, the more so as I am persuaded he would act in the manner he wishes me to do, but I cannot say I should expect (if I was to comply with it) the approbation of any one man in England. A garrison never surrenders at discretion till deprived of every means of offence and defence. Thank God as yet I have some ammunition left and plenty of provisions. Mr. Grenville,* I know not why, has never shown any inclination to be even upon civil terms with me. I suppose he sees it his interest to be otherwise. Take away the cause, the effect ceases, but according to Mr. Nugent's plan, instead of removing the cause I should add to it by subjecting myself to the contempt of one who, before he can be my friend, must feel I can be an enemy worthy his attention. What Mr. Townshend may be about I cannot guess, but if he will

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* Cf. p. 117.

make good his ground with Mr. Yorke it will be the most creditable and the most advantageous situation he can place himself in, for in that case such a connection must hold the ballance in their hands. If Mr. Townshend was to come to Knole it would add to the tremblings, for I can tell you he thinks your staying so long at Stowe a certain sign of deep opposition next winter, and now and then grumbles out a sentence to that effect. As to Sir J. Cust, I do not believe a word of the report of his resigning. It took its rise upon his going to Spa that his health would not permit him to continue in the chair, and eventual applications were made. Forrester is the Duke of Bedford's man, but surely the minister acting in the House of Commons must expect to be indulged in placing a friend in that station, and Moreton would in my opinion be the abler man of business though less pompous than Forrester. Dowdeswell could fill the employment with credit, but if he rises the Excise must fall. . . . I am fully persuaded that the Primate had not any commission from any person whatever to treat with G. Grenville, and if you see Townshend you may assure him that had I been in the most distant manner the object of that visit, he should have been previously acquainted with it."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Nov. 2. Knole.—"I am glad to hear of your good reception at Court, from which I conjecture our affairs there stand upon the footing they did in August last. It is always desirable to preserve that degree of countenance and civility which makes the necessary attendance at a levee an act of inclination as well as of duty. Your conversation with Mr. G[renville] affords matter for speculation. Nothing could be more proper or prudent than your manner of receiving it, for whilst you intimated no disinclination to be his friend, you gave him no reason to suspect that there was any eagerness on our part to court his power or to sue for his protection. One cannot imagine that the love of talking alone could have induced him to have entered into such a detail of his situation. It is amusing at least to hazard a conjecture upon the motives of this conference. It seems to me to be addressed to you as having passed your summer at Stowe and at Knole, in hopes of your communicating to the inhabitants of both places his power at Court, his strength in Parliament, his spirit and perseverance, and lastly his disinterestedness and moderation. In those different views he gratify'd his pride in respect to his former connections in showing how far he despised their resentment or attacks, and he held out to us how idle a pursuit opposition would be against a ministry so resolute and so well supported. You may then say, if he is as powerful as he represents himself to be, to what purpose did he take so much pains to dissuade us from exposing ourselves in an unsuccessful attempt upon his authority. In the first place, if he were exactly as he wishes you to believe him to be, he would not be sorry to see us added to his train of admirers, if our dependance

upon him could be obtained by fair words and gracious smiles; and, in the second place, he may not be sorry to keep a channel open through your means for negotiation in case any disagreement among the present set of ministers may put him under the necessity of calling in men of some ability to his assistance who may be at liberty to join with and support him against his worst enemys, his nearest relations. But I am strongly of opinion that if the Duke of Bedford and the two Secretarys of State should continue firmly and cordially connected with him, that not only no alteration will happen before the opening of the session, but that no negotiation of consequence will be set on foot, and that Mr. Grenville will depend not so much upon his own strength as upon the disunion and upon the impracticable temper of his opponents. . . ."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Nov. 9.—" . . . The Duke of Cumberland has been extremely bad from the loss of seventy ounces of blood which was taken from him to prevent his choaking with a sore throat. After his other evacuations one should have thought he could not have survived it, but they now say he is so well as to be removed in a few days to London.

"I do not understand why the Duke of Bedford should so seldom appear at Court. The ministers talk so confidently of their own strength that I should imagine it would be not improper to confirm the belief of it by the appearance of union and cordiality among themselves. I conclude Mr. Grenville and Lord Bute are good friends, and probably that is thought sufficient. Mr. Rigby is to meet his Grace at Wobourne. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1764, Nov. 18. Knole.—"The post before I received your last letter I heard from London that the Duke of Bedford was expected in town and that he was in perfect good humour. If the accounts we hear from different quarters of his Grace's humour be true, it seems to be of the intermitting kind, for it seldom holds two days the same. Mr. Rigby was to meet him at Wobourne on the 10th, and possibly his report is now current.

"That part of the conversation which you did not mention in your first letter confirms in some degree an opinion I formerly held, that the influence from a certain quarter was not so absolute and extensive as is generally imagined, but in all these events it is impossible to proceed upon certain intelligence because it may vary when taken from the best authority.

"Col. Greeme, I hear, is returned from Ireland, and Chas. Townshend is expected in town the 20th. He writes to Ross that for his own part he would have chosen to have stayed till the 9th of January, but that Lady Dalkeith found the air of Adderbury too sharp for the children. How happy she is to have so

indulgent an husband. . . . The Primate* is out of immediate danger, but the physicians have no hopes of his recovery. The dropsy is gone, but some of the vitals are bad. Cuninghame says he bears his illness with great firmness of mind."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Nov. 25. Knole.—"You will have known that Mr. Yorke is returned to Court, but whether he is to be Master of the Rolls or Attorney-General I have not yet heard. My correspondent tells me that Mr. Yorke had been with Chas. Townshend and had convinced him that the behaviour of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt justify'd the step he had taken, and I am apt to believe that Mr. Yorke's regard to his own character would not suffer him to quit those with whom he was connected without his appearing in the right to all unprejudiced people.

"Mr. Townshend, I am told, says he will receive no proposals but through his brother, and those must be in writing; that he has communicated whatever has been said to him to Lord Temple and should continue to do so. My remark upon this his resolution is, that he may wait long enough before the ministers enter into such a treaty with him, and that whenever they intend to bargain for my Lord Temple it will be through Mr. Pitt's and not through Mr. Townshend's mediation. I hear likewise that Townshend was graciously received at Court, which put him in high spirits. I am glad he is happy with that event, but I do not see that it tends to any immediate good.

"What you say of the Chamberlain's staff is the report of London, and I suppose not entirely void of foundation. I cannot believe that the event will happen without many material changes. It will be a load upon the present ministers, as it will confirm the too general belief of their acting as his deputys. But if Mr. Pitt is to lead him into office, much room must be made for their necessary attendants, and I think that can not happen so immediately before a session of Parliament.

"I propose being in town in the course of next week, by which time I conclude we may be able to guess at what is intended. In the present view of affairs it looks as if the ministers had an easy game to play. What their internal state is I cannot assert, but so much depends upon the mysterious situation, intention, and influence of Lord Bute that there can be no certain conclusions drawn from such unclear premises."

The Same to the Same.

1764, Dec. 18. Pall Mall.—" . . . The Primate is again dangerously ill. They say it is a fever and not his old complaint, but I doubt much of his having strength to get over it after all he has suffered. If he dies, it is the received opinion that my Lord Northumberland will not return to Ireland, and I hear of no

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* Of Ireland.

willing successor to him but Lord Hertford. Mr. Yorke, as you observe, does not meet with approbation from many people, but as he now stands in that rank from which he may naturally take the seals, he will not repent of what he has done unless he should be disappointed by not obtaining the great and sole object of his ambition.

"I cannot conceive from whence arises the report of the Parliament's being prorogued. It is absolutely without foundation, and Mr. Grenville has wrote circular letters to his friends, signed with his own name, to bring them to town by the 10th of January, saying particularly that business will be brought on immediately after the meeting. As to the two points of business that are expected, I believe that relating to Conway will not be proposed; at least in a long conversation I have had with his most intimate friend I cannot find there is anything determined about it. As to the money plan being attacked by Chas. Townshend, there is no such general intention. All that he proposes is to fling out his own ideas as to the state of the revenue, the debts and the means of reducing or attempting to reduce them, leaving himself entirely at liberty to agree or disagree with whatever may be proposed by the Treasury upon those subjects, wishing at the same time that he may have the credit of suggesting some things which may be adopted, or at least appear to the generality of the world as if they ought to have been adopted. In short, he wants to be looked upon as capable of any business, and ready to assist Government in whatever department may be allotted to him, if the situation of affairs ever requires the looking out for men of Parliamentary abilitys. But what he earnestly desires is his preserving the good opinion of the King, which he has some reason to hope he now possesses. This short account will show how moderate a part he is likely to act, and I encourage the idea because it would be too provoking to work at the odious task of systematical opposition to serve the purposes of the Master of Hayes without his entring into one measure of spirit or vigour.

"Lord Temple returned to Stowe in the same undetermined state of mind you left him in, and purposes being in town but a few days before the meeting of the Parliament."

Postscript. "I am glad Sir Lawrence Dundass is known to Lord Chesterfield. Approbation from such men as his Lordship must be most acceptable, as it cannot be purchased even by his great fortune."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1764, Dec. 27. Pall Mall.—"There is as yet no new Primate.* The report is that Newton and Keen (?) have refused it because whoever accepts it must not expect to be in the Government. Dr. Ewer, Lord Granby's bishop, sollicits for it most vehemently

* Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Kildare (afterwards created Lord Rokeby), was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1765 in succession to Dr. Stone.

and they say he stands the fairest for it. Keppel is also talked of. Carmichael* is mentioned as a proper man if his country did not render that promotion unpopular. It is curious to see the present Administration so carefull of their popularity. I suppose they have it to lose.

"The Primate's will is very short and was made for him when Cuninghame attended him, and it was the first he ever executed. He leaves his sister in Ireland all he died possessed of, and they compute when everything is turned into money she may have near ten thousand pounds. This may be a decent provision for her, and it was very right in those about the Primate to remind him of what her situation would have been had he omitted the taking this care of her.

"I hear no more of Parliament than if the session was not approaching. The question upon the warrants is what the ministers expect, and Mr. Grenville thinks it may be a particular distress upon Mr. Yorke, as his argument remains in full force. You perceive by this that they are preparing people for Mr. Yorke's acting in that point against them to prevent it being thought that he still remains unconnected with the Administration. I have read the pamphlet you mention. They say Dunning wrote it. There are many good things in it and some new, and much enlivened with abuse, of which he is most bountiful. It would do better for a speech in Parliament than for a book, but surely the man must have spirit and genius and I dare say your Whigg blood was animated by him.

"Lord Legonier has had a fresh attack of his ague, but he is recovered; in short he seems to be immortal, and whoever is looking out for his regiment must think him the most unreasonable of men. Col. Draper's letter affords some conversation. The Spaniards have found out a very extraordinary reason for refusing the payment of the money. Why Draper did not take hostages for such a sum, I have no conception. . . ."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1765, July 29. Knole.—"I hope that this will find you and yours perfectly well and happy in a scene [Gibraltar] so different from that you have lately been in. I shall be disappointed if you do not by this time begin to look out with impatience for the arrival of English letters, though you will learn from private accounts little more than appears in the publick papers of the day. The news writers seem now to be in the confidence of those who are, as well as those who wish to be, ministers. When you left us, Mr. Conway was not thought of as Secretary of State. He then stood Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I am told he expressed great happiness from being excused from undertaking the money department. The seals I suppose he looked upon as better adapted to his

* The Hon. W. Carmichael was translated from Meath to Dublin in 1765.

capacity, though I should imagine he would find full employment for his abilitys, especially if we are to strike into confidential engagements in consequence of Mr. Pitt's Prussian ideas, and I should apprehend the system to be entirely adverse to the House of Austria by the little share I hear Lord Egmont has in the present councils.

"You cannot conceive how loud the clamour is against Lord Temple. His Lordship's arguments have convinced not one friend of his party of the propriety of his conduct, and Mr. Pitt laments his state of health particularly at this time, as it prevented his undertaking the administration without the assistance of Lord Temple, which he otherwise was ready to have done. His Lordship always ends his explanations with talking of certain delicacys, but what they mean nobody can understand, and in short the whole of that transaction appears equally absurd and unintelligible. Lord Temple, I suppose, is aware that he will be suspected of some secret negotiation with his brother, so he now amuses himself with abusing Mr. Grenville's administration in the grossest terms, and says there was hardly an article of it that must not have been changed or amended. In putting all things together I am apt to imagine that his Lordship found himself unequal to the undertaking and was conscious that he should have made a poor figure in succeeding to his brother, and therefore had recourse to such awkward excuses as he is now reduced to, and rather submits to the disapprobation of his family and his friends than to the loss of his popularity, which he knew must have been the consequence of his not giving a sudden spring to publick credit.

"The present ministers perched for some time upon Mr. Pitt's shoulders, but he thought the weight troublesome and he has brushed them off, and he desires those who are immediately attached to him to declare that he has not the smallest share in the advising or the directing of measures. In this humour he is set forward to Somersetshire. The Duke of Newcastle began his old tricks by meddling with everything in every department, but the Duke of Grafton called him to order, and he promises to behave better for the future. Sir Fletcher Norton is out and shows a letter from Mr. Pitt strongly in his favour. Mr. Yorke has not yet accepted, he declined doing it till Sir Fletcher was satisfyd. The vacancy now being made, he has the offer of it, and if he does not immediately take it Hussey is to have the next refusal, but it is generally believed Mr. Yorke will not be cruel. Lord Howe is Treasurer of the Navy, with the late Vice Chamberlain quartered upon him. I have not heard for certain whether Ellis is to return to be one of the Vice Treasurers or not. If he does, I do not see the use of putting him out of the War Office for Lord Barrington to succeed to it. Colonel Barré is in France and certainly has the offer of being Vice-Treasurer. It is thought he will not enlist, as Lord Shelburne declines taking part in this administration. However he is wrote to, and I think the offer sufficiently tempting. I wonder what the plan of Government is for the House of Commons, for they seem displeased with Townsend and they have turned out Norton, Hay (?), and Dyson, three men

whose assistance I should imagine most essential in different branches of business.

"Lord Bolinbrocke has resigned, they say Lord Darlington is to do the same, Lord Frederick Campbell has likewise given up, and it is now believed Lord Kinnoul will succeed him, though his Lordship keeps close to his retirement in Scotland. What diverts me is that the Duke of Argyle is to have the Green Ribband. He must be very fond of adorning his person to accept of such an ornament under such circumstances. As to myself, I must remain as I did, and I think it is well for you that you are at such a distance, for probably next session may not pass over without some disagreeable altercations. . . ."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1765, Sept. 14. Knole.—" The new ministry are just in the same situation they were in two months ago. I hear of no acquisitions to their party, and I know of no defection from it. They have not yet filled up the Vice Treasurers' employments. Ellis pushes hard to be one. Colonel Barré has certainly the offer, and though the resolution of giving it to him was taken long agoe, the letters were not sent to him till within this fortnight. But most people imagine he will decline, as he left full powers with Lord Shelburne to treat for him, and as his Lordship is silent upon the subject, Barré's answer it is thought will not be favourable, though I confess the temptation is as great as he could have expected. . . .

"Lord Lorne's getting the Royal [regiment] is extraordinary. I am not pleased with his accepting it, and look upon it as the second part of the Green Ribband, and I must now not be angry with his father adorning his person since the son condescends to accept favours from Government in the particular situation in which his family stands relative to the late Adminstration. However I am told Lord Lorne when he accepted wrote Mr. Conway word that he should look upon himself as bound to express his regard and his obligations to the Duke of Bedford. What all that means I know not, and we must wait the event of next session. In the mean while I can not learn that the Privy Seal of Scotland is yet disposed of. . . .

"The town is fuller than usual at this time of the year. The christening of the young Prince* and the arrival of the Prince and Princess of Brunswick have given many people the pretext of leaving the country. Townshend is in the midst of them. He was sent for to have the offer of Secretary to the Treasury for his friend Cowper, who is so wise as to refuse a precarious employment for which he must quit his profession and by which he already gets a thousand pounds a year. Mr. Pitt is still in Somersetshire and they say has the gout. I should think he may remain there to avoid taking any part in Parliament.

"I have just had a letter which says Cowper has now accepted, by which I conjecture they give him something more certain than

* William Henry, Duke of Clarence.

Secretary to the Treasury in case he should be dismissed from thence. Townshend does not look upon Cowper's accepting, or rather upon the offer made to him, as any compliment to himself. He says he knows nothing of their measures, doubts if they have any. He proposes going to Lord Holland's for a few days as next Fryday, from thence to Adderbury till the meeting of the Parliament, the time of which is not yet declared."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1765, Oct. 25. Knole.—A long letter announcing the death of the Duke of Dorset, giving the particulars of his last hours, and his disposition of his property.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1765, Dec. 23. Pall Mall.—" . . . I am writing to you a little before I set out for Hythe in hopes of being re-elected. I vacated my seat last Fryday by accepting the office of one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, and immediately after kissing hands I was sworn of the Privy Council in the King's Closet. I cannot acquaint you in this manner of all that passed previous to this event, but you may remember you always wished me to be in employment, were it but for a week. I am now undergoing that kind of abuse in the newspapers which I knew was to happen whenever I returned to office, but among other things it was said that my being employed would be taken ill by the House of Brunswick, and the Hereditary Prince being here made it particularly improper. However, the appearance did not answer the assertion, for he happened to be at the Levee when I was presented, and as soon as the King was out of the room he walked up to me and in the most polite manner wished me joy. The talk of the town now is that Mr. Pitt is expected in London from the Bath, and that he is, in conjunction with Lord Temple, Mr. Grenville, and his connections, to make up a wise and permanent Administration; and, to prepare the way, Lord Temple sets out to-morrow to concert the previous steps to this important event. Whether this be true or no I cannot say, but the Ministers have no reason as yet to imagine he is adverse to them, and the majority in both Houses does not call for any immediate alteration. Be that as it may, I am not sorry I am now once more belonging to Court.

"The vacant garters are to be given on Thursday to the Prince of Wales, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, and to Lord Albemarle. Everybody is distressed about America. The spirit that rages there is beyond conception. God only knows how it will end, for as yet I have heard no human reasoning that promises a happy issue to it."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1766, Jan. 17.—"You will be impatient to hear in what temper the House met after the adjournment. Any conjectures which might have been formed in consequence of former proceedings

will not be found to answer, as the appearance of Mr. Pitt and the avowed part he took with America has given a new turn to the minds of many, and as Mr. Conway at once adopted his sentiments I conclude the ministers intend to direct their future proceedings by what he then declared. It seems we have all been in a mistake in regard to the Constitution, for Mr. Pitt asserts that the legislature of this country has no right whatever to lay internal taxes upon the colonys; that they are neither actually nor virtually represented, and therefore not subject to our jurisdiction in that particular; but still, as the Mother Country, we may tax and regulate their commerce, prohibit or restrain manufactures, and do everything but what we have done by the Stamp Act; that in our representative capacity we raise taxes internally and in our legislative capacity we do all the other acts of power. If you understand the difference between representative and legislative capacity it is more than I do, but I assure you it was very fine when I heard it. Mr. Grenville did not submit to these doctrines, and in my poor opinion spoke incomparably well, and showed at least as deep a knowledge in the Constitution as the Great Commoner did. But, however, Mr. Pitt says the Stamp Act must be repealed. Mr, Beckford and Mr. Cooke entirely agreed with him. Mr. Secretary Conway was equally zealous for it, and we begin the enquiry into these matters on Tuesday sevennight, and if the great lawyers continue in their present apparent opinion of the full right of sovereignty which the legislature has over every part of this extended Empire, and that they should be supported by many in employment who have publicly avowed the same doctrines, I should imagine the debates will become most interesting and the event a little doubtful, if some saving cannot be found for the honour of legislative supremacy. The adulation of those in employment to Mr. Pitt was beyond conception. He returned compliments to individuals, but he declared himself unconcerted and unconnected with everybody. He abused the late ministry without reserve and condemned all their proceedings. He talked of secret influences which he had opposed and which had prevented his being in employment, and, lest we should mistake him, he disavowed all national distinctions, and [said] that he judged of men by their principles and their measures and not by their places of nativity. He took credit to himself for the sending the Highland regiments to America, and in short held out to the North Britons that they might hope for his protection. He also talked of influences at present, but he was called upon for an explanation, otherwise he would have fixed my Lord Bute as part of the ministry, but he declared he meant nothing but the influence of individuals in office whom he did not approve of, and I was told he pointed at the Duke of Newcastle. Now the best joke is that the Duke of Newcastle has been so violent for bringing Mr. Pitt into employment that he has disobliged many people by it, and yet Mr. Pitt looks upon him as his greatest enemy. The most surprizing part of the whole transaction is that Lord Temple in the House of Lords joined entirely in sentiment with G. Grenville, so that his Lordship and Mr. Pitt are no

longer politically connected. It is generally believed that Mr. Pitt intends coming into employment soon, or avowedly supporting the present ministry. Mr. Conway wished himself out of his employment and said in the House how happy he should be to serve under Mr. Pitt whenever his Majesty chose to place him at the head of his councils. Mr. Pitt was at the Levee on Wednesday, at the Drawing-room yesterday, and further the deponent knoweth not. God bless you and yours. There is but one opinion about your behaviour at Gibraltar.* Every body commends you, and you really have gained as much credit as your best friends could wish."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1766, Jan. 31. Pall Mall.—"Since I wrote last Mr. Pitt has given a second dissertation upon Government. It was upon a petition proposed by Mr. Cooke from what is commonly called the American Congress, though not so stiled in the petition. But, however, there were inaccuracys in the signature and much exceptionable matter relative to Parliamentary jurisdiction, which determined the House not to receive it. Mr. Pitt pressed hard to have it admitted, and at last grew so warm as to declare that in his opinion the original contract between the Sovereign Power and the Americans was broken, and consequently they had a right to resist and refuse obedience to an act which this legislature could not enforce without injuring them in the most essential point of liberty, as taxation could only be consequential to representation &c. &c. Sir F. Norton, thinking he understood something of the law of this country, stood up and attacked this strange doctrine in his roughest manner, and when he had fixed Mr. Pitt (who by explaining made it still worse) to avow the opinion, he then declared that such assertions were highly criminal, and the proposer of them ought to be sent to another place. The House immediately joined in the idea and gave such shouts of applause as I never heard, so much that Mr. Pitt seemed greatly disconcerted and got off awkwardly enough when he was permitted to speak in his justification, but I cannot say he retracted his opinion. . . .

"About Tuesday next some resolutions will be proposed, and I trust that the Legislative supremacy will then be clearly declared and asserted notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's opinion. After that the merchants' petition and those from America and many of the trading and manufacturing towns will be entered upon, and when all their allegations have been considered, then the House will determine which of the grievances complained of call for redress, and whether the whole or any part of the Stamp Act is to be repealed. . . . Mr. Pitt said one thing which I was sorry to hear, that if he was an American he would not thank the Parliament for the repeal of the Act if it was not done

* Major-General Irwin was at this time Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces at Gibraltar.

upon the principle of our having no right to lay an internal tax upon that country. In the temper the colonists are now in, such a declaration will be seized with eagerness, and his authority will be quoted as a sanction for their wildest pretensions of an exclusive legislative right of taxing by their assemblys. All report of Mr. Pitt's coming into employment is now subsided. He is at Hayes and will attend this great question in its progress through the House; whether after it is over any negotiation with him will be resumed is above me to guess, but in general his conduct in this transaction has hurt him with many of his warmest friends, but then he will be the idol of America and of those immediately connected with the colonies. Lord Temple perseveres in his former conduct, and is as violent in his support of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain as Mr. Pitt is in opposition to it, and his Lordship sits at the bottom of the House of Commons smiling and condemning everything Mr. Pitt says and applaudiug the sentiments and behaviour of Mr. Grenville. Lord C[hief] J[ustice] Cambden confirms Mr. Pitt's notions of the law, and they say he is to support the same propositions in the House of Lords, but then if he prevails he must convince their Lordships that he understands the true principles of this constitution better than the Chancellor and Lord Mansfield and every other man of eminence in the profession that I have heard of except Mr. Serjeant Hewitt. . . . I forgot to tell you that I am much obliged to Mr. Grenville. He spoke about my going into employment in the civilest manner possible, and thought me in the right to accept, and gave some reasons very satisfactory why he could not come to a full explanation with me. This he told to a friend of mine in a manner that showed he meant it should be repeated. I mention this circumstance that you may know there is no ill humour in that quarter. Affairs in Ireland go on hitherto prosperously for Lord Hertford, but that firebrand Lucas is making the mob uneasy and possibly may create ill humour in the country."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, Feb. 10.—"For some days past we have been in a strange state of confusion. The House of Lords was the object of attention, and the Opposition in the course of last week carry'd two questions in the American Committee against the Court. The first division was 62 to 60, the second was 58 to 54. The questions were upon the alteration of a word or two in the stating, of no great consequence. The first was whether the Crown should order the Governors in the provinces to *recommend* to the assemblys the indemnifying the persons who had suffered in the riots. The question was whether "recommend" should be left out in order to introduce the word *require*, and the latter opinion prevailed. The other was more immaterial, and at the time most of those who voted knew nothing of the matter. The great event was that Lord Bute voted with the Opposition in both the questions, and drew after him very many Lords in employment. On the second

debate, which was on Thursday last, his Lordship spoke with propriety and firmness, declaring that it was not time then to give his opinion upon the Stamp Act, but that in general he would declare that he should not be satisfied with supporting the legislative authority of Great Britain by resolutions only, and that if the ministers of the Crown acted upon other principles he was resolved, nothwithstanding his duty and affection for the King, strenuously to oppose them. Five or six sentences of this sort he delivered in a very proper manner, and the two Lords who applauded him most were the Duke of Bedford and Lord Temple. I hope after you read that circumstance you will presume to guess at the connections of the great men in this country by your former knowledge of them.

"You may imagine a total change in the ministry was thought unavoidable, and indeed most people expected the ministers would have resigned. Thus much for the Lords, now for the Commons. On the Wednesday between the two debating days in the Lords, we had the same motion proposed in the House of Commons, and of course the word 'require' was offered in place of 'recommend.' We debated it for some hours, and Mr. Pitt acted that day openly in favour of the ministers, and took the directions of the proceedings upon him as if he had been in office. Mr. Grenville happening to mention what he should have proposed if nothing of that sort had been moved, Mr. Pitt immediately laid hold of it, and as it was milder and even more moderate than what the Court had intended, agreed to drop the original motion and adopt his, which was done, and by that means a division avoided, which both sides seemed to decline, as I believe neither knew their numbers. On Fryday, however, another debate arose upon an address (I should say a resolution for an address, for it was in the committee) desiring his Majesty to carry all the laws now in force in North America into execution, promising to support, &c., &c. If this had been agreed to, it would have amounted to an immediate declaration of war, for nothing but military power could make the Americans in their present temper submit, and it was thought inexpedient to begin such an operation till it was determined whether you should enforce or repeal the Stamp Act, which was the apparent object of the subsisting tumults in that country. Therefore the Attorney General moved for the leaving the chair, as we could not well give a direct negative to a proposition which, taken abstractedly, every body must approve of. We divided therefore upon that question, and to my great astonishment the ayes on the right were 274, noes on the left 134, majority 140. The most sanguine on our side did not expect to carry it by above seventy, because upon that division all the Bute following declared itself, . . . and what was more extraordinary Mr. Grenville produced my Lord Granby, and prevailed upon him to speak in opposition, and yet with all this the minority made only 134. This event has staggered all the politicians. The stocks, which fell three or four per cent. on Wednesday, Thursday, and Fryday rose as quick on Saturday, and the conversation is that the ministry may now stand their ground.

All this is very fine and certainly true in regard to Parliament, but if the measure of a change is really adopted at Court, what should hinder its being carry'd into execution on the other side. If a change is only in contemplation and neither resolved nor arranged, this astonishing and very flattering majority in the House of Commons must work its effect and tend to the establishing the present administration. Mr. Pitt on this last day did not remain in the House. He pleaded his health, but spoke well, and treated Mr. Grenville not very respectfully, and would not stay to hear himself answered, though Mr. Grenville called upon him most earnestly to be present whilst he gave a proper reply to what he had asserted. However, he did not spare him, and I must say the other deserved the treatment Mr. Grenville gave him."

Postscript. "Tuesday morn. The whole day was taken up yesterday in the House of Commons in reading fresh advices from North America. Upon the whole, the colonists are wilder than ever in appearance, but some of the Governours say the inconvenience of having their trade stopped and the Courts of Law shut, gave them reason to hope that those distresses might induce the people to obedience. The Lords confirmed yesterday the resolutions passed in their committee without any debate, which surprized the spectators. Both sides give out that the King's opinion goes with them. This is not the first time we have heard such contradictory assertions among the partys concerned. What looks ill for Ministry is that Gen. Mostyn and Fanshaw voted with the minority. Mr. Pitt wrote an excuse to Grenville for leaving the House so abruptly. The answer was spirited."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, March 11.—" . . . The repeal of the American Bill is passed our House, and it is to be read this day the second time in the House of Lords. It is thought the numbers present will be nearly equal, but the ministers have a large majority in proxys. Lord Chesterfield has given his to Lord Dartmouth with a strong letter in favour of America, and many will be influenced with the danger that would attend the continuing this tax after the Commons had repealed it by so great a majority. Among that number the Chancellor is reckoned, one who was always in opinion strong both as to the right and the expediency of making the colonys contribute to the expense of defending themselves. Lord Bute is very firm in his opposition to the repeal, and of course carrys many lords with him, but I dare say the ministers will prevail in this point. Mr. Pitt is at Hayes, though he has sold it to Mr. Walpole of the City. In one of our debates he surprized us much by talking of his interviews with his Majesty. It began by Bamber Gascoyn reading a letter wrote to Liverpool directed to the Mayor, in which is mentioned the motion made by Mr. Grenville for an address to the King to enforce the laws in America, and says 'notwithstanding this motion was supported by what may be called the opposition, by all Lord Bute's friends

and the rank Torys, yet we carried it by 140 majority, and I hope in a few days to send you word that Mr. Pitt is at the head of the administration.' This curious piece was the production of Sir W. Meredith. This drew Mr. Pitt up to show the little probability of that last event happening, and flung out among other reasons that he had heard a bird sing that there had lately been a meeting between certain great men which probably would be productive of very different events. Grenville was obliged to take some notice of the meeting alluded to between him, Lord Bute, and the Duke of Bedford (which I conclude you have heard enough of) and reproached Mr. Pitt with other meetings of the same sort which he had formerly had with the same person. This begot a very curious relation of facts, in which he owned the meeting with Lord Bute and his subsequent audiences of the King, but he kept entirely clear of bringing Lord Temple into the question. But what was the most particular, he praised my Lord Bute and said though he did not wish to see him minister yet it was shameful to proscribe his relations and his friends, and said that he had said as much to his sovereign, and that he would avow that advice and meet the enraged citizens and support it to their faces, and that the displacing the noble Lord's brother was an insult upon the King, provided the office did not lead to ministerial influence. After much dissertation upon this subject he cleared himself next of his having objected to the Torys and flattered them under the name of the country gentlemen who had so zealously supported the measures of the war, and expressed the highest opinion of them and the truest regard for them, intimating that whatever they were called they would always act upon true revolution (*sic*), to which Kynaston nodded, some say it was approbation, others declare he was asleep. Upon the whole, that day's behaviour convinced everybody that Mr. Pitt wished to be in office, and that he was resolved to declare to every denomination of men in that House that he had not the smallest objection to act with either of them. So what the consequence will be of all these jumbles and pretensions time only can show, for I do not believe any one man in this country can tell with the least degree of certainty."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, March 27.—Election matters. "We have had daily reports of negotiations with Mr. Pitt, but whatever may have been I believe at present nothing of that sort is carrying on. It is likewise said the Duke of Grafton is resolved to retire from an office that is so troublesome to him, but I cannot vouch the truth of it. I conclude the holydays will be spent in knowing each other's minds, and in all probability no material changes will happen till towards the end of the session. Lord Bute's speech on the last day of the repeal was well judged and did him great honour. He has by that so authentically excluded himself from ever holding any ministerial office, and has so strongly deny'd his influence, that I should think it will be ridiculous hereafter for any administration to pretend an alarm or to have any jealousy of his

returning to power, so that I must conclude there will be some degree of complaisance and attention to those who belong to him. . . .

"The government of Guernsey is given to Sir R. Lyttleton, and George Howard has the offer of Minorca, which he intends to accept, though it vacates his seat in Parliament. The King offered Minorca to Lord Tyrawly, that Howard might have Portsmouth, but his Lordship not being an accommodating genius, refused the change, though to his advantage."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, April 25.—I fear I cannot yet speak to Mr. Conway, as he has been very ill, but I have explained your situation to Lord Rockingham. "We are now drawing towards the end of the session, but what arrangements are to happen then nobody pretends to say. Mr. Pitt is still in town, but proposes going to the Bath in a few days. His declarations are that he is unconnected, and though he shews an apparent desire of being in employment, yet he as yet persists in not coming in through the mediation of ministers. Some people wish him minister upon his own terms, others upon more moderate terms, and some few upon no terms whatever. I think for the present all negotiation of that sort is suspended, and we must wait to see whether his Majesty pleases to support effectually the servants he now employs or whether he inclines to call others to their assistance. We have had the old affair of the general warrants, and we carry'd the resolutions formerly rejected by above an hundred majority. Mr. Pitt thinks what is done not sufficient, and he is to move this day a resolution in regard to the illegality of general warrants at large. What has hitherto been done relates to the particular case before us, and Mr. Grenville wants an Act of Parliament for declaring it illegal to seize papers in any case short of treason, so you perceive the desire of popularity urges everybody to be advocates for liberty. In our debate, Sir Fletcher Norton cleared himself of ever having supported in the least degree the legality of the warrants issued by the Secretary of State, and called upon Mr. Yorke to declare and confirm what he asserted, which indeed he did in the fullest manner. Sir Fletcher did himself great honour, and the House expressed their approbation of his conduct by assenting to the compliments made him by individuals. We have an additional tax upon windows to provide for a million and a half of the unfunded debt. Mr. Grenville opposed it with great ability and made no bad figure in the division in the committee of ways and means, the Court carrying the question but by 50 majority, 162 to 112. . . .

"The great news from the East Indies furnishes conversation when we can talk of any other news than domestick politicks. They say the India Company, by possessing Bengal, will have an income of two millions a year, besides what they are to pay to the Mogul and to the Nabob. I wish we may avail ourselves in some manner of their acquisition for the benefit of the public,

for really, without some extraordinary resources, I see no end of the load imposed upon us, as our peace establishment is so far beyond the ordinary supplies. The German account is closed, and the demand this year was far short of what Mr. Grenville promised. The whole that is paid does not amount to much above 1,200,000*l*. Mr. Pitt has had an interview with Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville upon family affairs, which is construed into a political reconciliation. However that may be Mr. Pitt takes all opportunities of being civil in the House to his family connections, and at least shows that he would not be averse to being called into the service with them. We have now depending some American regulations in regard to commerce, in which the ministry and Mr. Pitt will differ. Mr. Beckford, not approving of some of them, has prejudiced him in favour of his own particular system, for you may remember there are frequently distinct interests between the Islands and North America."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, June 10.—The session has come to an end without any interesting events whatever. "You may remember last year the strange turn affairs took upon the Regency Bill. I was apprehensive something of the same sort would have happened this year previous to our breaking up, for his Majesty had been prevailed upon to countenance an application of his brothers to Parliament for a settlement among the three equal to what reverted to the publick at the death of the Duke of Cumberland. The ministers some months ago consented to the bringing the demand into Parliament, but the untoward situation of affairs and the retiring of the Duke of Grafton made them postpone it till by the course of business the Committee of Supply was closed. They expected the consideration of it would naturally come on the beginning of next session, but unluckily the Court of Denmark apply'd for proceeding upon the Treaty of Marriage sooner than was at first stipulated, so that it became necessary to mention it to Parliament that some steps might be taken in regard to the portion of the Princess. As that must be done by message, the Duke of Yorke thought the opportunity most favourable for introducing his request, as the subject was the making a provision for one of the Royal family. Vain were the attempts to shew the great difference between the fulfilling of an engagement entered into and solemnly approved by Parliament, and the agitating of a matter new in itself and in some degree unprecedented. However he insisted upon the promise and the ministers were in real distress, for as the King looked upon himself as engaged to his brothers it was difficult to find the means of accommodation, when perhaps the distress of Administration was one tempting motive with the Duke of Yorke for pushing the King to the compliance with the demand. However, after much altercation it was settled with his Majesty to say in his message that his intentions had been to propose to the consideration of the House the making of a provision for his brothers, but the late season of the year calling

for a speedy recess he postponed it till another session, not doubting but the House would take it into consideration cheerfully and willingly when it should be laid before them. This was tacked to the message about the marriage, in answer to which you may be sure we promised to enable his Majesty to give a proper portion with his sister. That portion was explained to mean 40,000*l.*, and I suppose it was done in that shape rather than granting the money absolutely, which could not be effected without opening the Committee of Supply, and when that was once opened perhaps it might not have been so easy to have closed it again without going on with the provision for their Royal Highnesses, and had the ministers done it at this season of the year it would have raised a great clamour against them, and might be reasonably called a surprize, as the majority of the members were out of town in full confidence that all the money demands had been fulfilled. . . . We declared our readiness to take into consideration what related to the Duke of York, &c., whenever the King pleased to lay it before us. Augustus Hervey thought we ought to go still further, and moved an amendment saying that we would make immediate provision for their Royal Highnesses, intimating that it would be an acceptable compliment to the King. This was opposed upon every ground of political considerations, and as directly contrary to all Parliamentary proceedings. Very little was said in favour of it, and upon the division, we were, for rejecting the amendment 109 to 35, a full house for the time of year and at ten o'clock at night.

"The few remaining days of the session were taken up in mere matters of form. Lord North was offered the third Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, and, as I am told, had twice accepted, but it ended in his refusing it. Lord Howe has resigned Treasurer of the Navy because Mr. Pitt is not in the ministry, as it is given out; but as that circumstance did not prevent his engaging in the two last administrations, the reason does not seem satisfactory to me. Some say that he wanted to be relieved from William Finch, who, it seems, is quartered upon him for 1,200*l.* a year; but be it as it may, he is out, but nobody as yet appointed to succeed him, so they have now two offices towards an arrangement whenever they choose to make it. If they should take some months to consider of that relating to the Irish Treasury, Mr. Oswald and I shall not complain, as we divide the emoluments of the whole between us. . . .

"Poor Lady Sutherland is dead, and I fear my Lord will not live many days. A more melancholy event never happened. She died worn out with her attendance upon him and with her anxiety about him. I know not whether to wish his life or his death. He does not yet know that the poor woman is dead, probably never will."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, June 27. Stoneland Lodge.—Election matters. "Lord Hertford is returned from Ireland. The latter part of the session was very satisfactory to him, but he underwent for some months

every abuse that could be offered to a chief governor. The Speaker is not in good humour, he played the old game upon the Lord Lieutenant of dropping in questions where popularity might be lost. As soon as he had done it he apologys'd for his conduct, and then the Opposition, who thought themselves sure of him, were more angry with him than even Lord Hertford was, so that, finding all sides had abused him, he thinks the best way is to be out of humour with Government, but in the meantime he does not object to the being one of the Lords Justices and of holding the employment of Commissioner of the Revenue. How surpriz'd such people would be if they were treated with that degree of severity which their conduct naturally calls for, but indeed the lenity of Government sets everything afloat in that kingdom. . . .

"We have one improvement since you were here; a new road to Tunbridge Wells, so that I am in no danger of being shut up for the winter in this place. Lady Lambard and the Miss Porys are with us. I take them as part of the unsettled estate of the family, and they do not dispute my title."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, July 27.—Election matters. "You will hear from all hands of the change of ministry that is now carrying on. The system is not yet arranged, or at least it has not reached this place. Mr. Pitt is Director General, but he accepts only of the Privy Seal. The first idea was Lord Temple at the head of the Treasury. He came from Stowe upon it and continued in good humour for two days, but broke upon settling the other great offices. He inclined to have G. Grenville considered and wanted Lord Gower to be Secretary of State and Lord Lyttleton in the Cabinet, but neither of these were agreed to and he departed in ill-humour, but professing to be extremely well satisfy'd with the King's graciousness towards him. It now stands for the Duke of Grafton at the head of the Treasury. Chas. Townshend was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, but I now hear he is likely to continue Paymaster, and Dowdeswell not to move; Mr. Conway and Lord Shelburne the two Secretarys of State, Lord Northington President, and Lord Cambden Chancellor, Mr. McKenzie to have an employment, and likewise Lord Northumland. The Duke of Portland remains Chamberlain, and I yet hear of no removes among the great officers excepting Lord Rockingham, Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Winchelsea and Duke of Richmond. As for lower arrangements I am as yet ignorant, but as one day makes a great alteration in such affairs you will probably hear by this post from your correspondents resident in in London much later intelligence than I can send you at this distance.

"I have just had your letter about the complaint against you. I am never sorry of such accusations when they are so easily confuted. You need not be so uneasy about it, but I am glad of any opportunity of your entering into a serious correspondence with

administration. As to Cornwallis's return to Gibraltar, that has been explained to you by me (and by him I suppose) some time ago. He is inclined to do whatever shall be most agreeable to you. I shall write again as soon as I see affairs settled here and when I may be able to tell you what is likely to become of your humble servant. . . . That Hamilton lace has never been paid for. . . . The lady of this house thinks the people who made it are sufferers and is uneasy about it and knows not to whom she can apply. Talking of Hamilton lace puts me in mind of the Douglas cause. It is now the general opinion that the young man will establish his right.* I have read most of the proofs. The pregnancy of Lady Jane is proved beyond a doubt. The place of the birth very obscure, but Pierre La Marr certainly existed, was at Paris in 1748, was a surgeon and practised midwifry; and a woman is produced who swears she nursed a child delivered her by La Marr, declaring it to be the child of a stranger lady of great rank, and a twin."

Postscript.—"I have this instant heard that Townshend is Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Pitt to be an Earl."†

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1766, August 20. Stoneland.—Election matters. "The ministry is not yet quite settled, that is, all the departments of business not filled up, at least by yesterday's post no head of the Admiralty was appointed. But when I say ministry I speak inacurately: Lord Chatham has the sole confidence and consequently the absolute direction of the whole. Lord Egmont's resignation is much lamented. His management of Marine affairs did him great honour, and his withdrawing himself at this time is the strongest presumptive proof of the turn our foreign negotiations are to take. It is reported that Lord Gower is to have the offer of the Admiralty, and if he refuses then Sir Chas. Saunders, but probably you will hear how that is determined by the time you get this letter. It is disagreeable when at a distance from the scene of action to attempt relating news which is worth nothing if it is stale."

The Same to the Same.

1766, Dec. 9.—"Previous to the opening of the session there was a congress at Bath, and was productive not only of intercourse between Lord Chatham and the Duke of Bedford, but of proposals being made for the taking in some of his Grace's friends. However the terms were not satisfactory, but having been deliberated upon and a communication opened by that means, the Duke of Bedford came up to Parliament in that languid disposition and in that degree of aversion from factious opposition, which plainly proved the measures of administration could easily be adopted if

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* Archibald Stewart, claiming to be son of Sir John Stewart and Lady Jane Douglas, sister and heir of Archibald, last Duke of Douglas. Claim eventually established.

† *See* the letter of Townshend on p. 66 and Lord George's answer.

the terms were adequate to the pretensions of those who shelter themselves under his protection. The first day of the session, however, produced matter of great importance in the House of Lords. You have seen the King's Speech about the embargo upon corn, and it was proposed by Lord Temple in the address to promise his Majesty that they would prepare a bill for indemnifying those who advised and who acted under the illegal exertion of Royal authority, as the necessity might excuse, but could not make the act legal. This was not consented to, but in the debate upon it the Chancellor, Lord Northington, and Lord Chatham went so near the old prerogative doctrines of Chas. 1st, of the *salus populi suprema lex*, and *necessitas lex temporis*, and then making the King the judge of the necessity, and that necessity superseding law, you at once establish the doctrines which were held by the judges in the case of ship money, and give in to King James's notions of suspending laws. This you may imagine did not pass unnoticed in the House of Lords, and Lord Mansfield with Lord Temple and Lord Lyttleton were the champions for liberty and the constitution, but Lord Mansfield was under difficultys which prevented his giving his full opinion in regard to the illegality of the Proclamation, as some causes were then begun in the King's Bench upon that subject. But his speech upon prerogative was allowed to be incomparable, and he declared there was no prerogative but what was defined by the Common Law or by the Statute Law, and that whenever necessity called for an extraordinary exertion of power contrary to law, the ministers who advised it must have recourse to Parliament for indemnification. The House of Commons, however, soon had an oppurtunity of showing their detestation of arbitrary doctrines, for Mr. Beckford, copying after his friends, but I suppose did it with less caution, advanced that necessity justify'd the suspending of laws, and that the act done for the safety of the people became law. Mr. Grenville had his words taken down by the Clerk, and the House would have proceeded to censure had he not recanted, which he attempted to do of himself, but without success, and at last Hussey wrote down some words which were called an explanation, but were a direct contradiction of his assertion. The ministers then finding a storm rising, Mr. Conway moved for a Bill of Indemnity, and afterwards extended it to the advisers of the measure as well as to those who acted under the authority of the Order of Council. In the course of the Bill, we have had most curious and interesting debates and direct attacks upon the three Lords for their supposed doctrines. But by what is now said, Lord Cambden and Lord Chatham are to explain what they said to be consistent with the true principles of the constitution. Lord Northington is not so willing to take that part, so how they will get out of the scrape I know not, for not less than five hundred people were present at the former debate, and I hear no difference in opinion about what passed upon that occasion. The Bill goes up to the House of Lords this day. Yesterday we were to have had a debate upon the preamble. It was drawn that what had been done could not be

justify'd by *the strict rules* of law. That expression was taken from the Acts of Indemnity after the rebellions in '15 and '45, and the ministry seemed to support that expression, but Mr. Conway yesterday gave it up, and it now stands in direct and plain words, that it could not be justify'd by law. So we all went to dinner in good humour. . . . Whilst this affair was depending, a great ministerial event happened. Lord Chatham gave the Treasurer of the Household's staff to Mr. Shelley, and offered to make Lord Edgecombe an extraordinary Lord of the Bedchamber as a recompense for parting with it. His Lordship rejected the offer, and Lord Rockingham, the Cavendishes and many others of that connection thought this treatment of Lord Edgecombe was intended as an overt act of hostility against them. They expressed their resentment in the highest terms, but Lord Bessborough, who wished to see harmony preserved among them, offered his office of Postmaster to be given to Lord Edgecombe, and to shew he was not out of humour he would accept of the Bedchamber. This disinterested proposal was treated with disdain, and no reply made to it any farther than that the affair was already determined. Lord Bessborough indeed did add that he hoped Lord Chatham would declare that his intentions were to live in good understanding with that part of the friends of the late ministry which remained in employment. I suppose that explanation demanded of Lord Chatham made him decline this method of accommodation. Immediately upon this Sir Chas. Saunders, Sir William Meredyth, Admiral Keppel, Lord Scarborough, Lord Bessborough, Lord Monson (?) and the Duke of Portland resigned their employments. The Chamberlain's staff was immediately given to Lord Hertford, and Sir Edward Hawke was put at the head of the Admiralty. Lord Chatham then sent to Lord Gower to renew his offers to the Bedford connection. Lord Gower is supposed to wish for employment, but he was wise enough to decline being the negotiator, so he went to Woburne and brought up his Grace to treat in person. However the offers went no farther than the Master of the Horse to Lord Gower, Cofferer for Rigby, and the Post Office to Lord Weymouth. What the Duke of Bedford asked is not known, but the answer he received was that the terms were too extensive, and therefore inadmissible. That treaty being ended, his Lordship then took in the friends of Lord Bute, and made the Duke of Ancaster Master of the Horse to the King, Lord Delawar to the Queen, and Mr. Jenkinson, Lord of the Admiralty, and it is said Lord Despenser is to be one of the Post Masters, but that is not done as yet. Lord Hillsborough has kissed hands for that vacant by Lord Grantham's dismission, but nothing declared about the other. Nugent is at the head of the Board of Trade; Stanley, Cofferer; and Sir Piercy Brett, Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Cornwallis, Constable of the Tower; and Lord Berkeley is, instead of that, to be Chief Justice in the office Lord Monson (?) resigned. With all this civility to the friends of Lord Bute, I verily believe no personal notice has been taken of his Lordship. Thus you see good numbers of discontented persons ready to complain and

oppose, but as yet not united under any one head or in any system. Mr. Conway is in an awkward situation, as the Cavendishes and many of his friends will oppose, yet his own family wish him much to remain in office, and I conclude he will take the opportunity of slipping back into his profession and live quietly without interfering in political matters, since his family draw one way and his intimate connections the other. Mr. Grenville keeps his friendship in appearance with the Bedfords, though I believe these late treatys were negotiated without his being a party in them. Mr. Rigby was very firm in remaining without employment, and so were many more of that set, but Lord Gower and the dutchess wished to be at Court.

"I have seen Cornwallis. He is in good health, and fully intends setting out in May for Gibraltar, so that I flatter myself with the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Irwin before the end of the summer. Sir Fletcher Norton and Wedderburne act hitherto firmly with Grenville, and your humble servant is now upon terms of friendship with him, a circumstance I hope not disagreeable to you."*

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, Jan. 6.—I hear you talk of visiting Italy, but think it would be more to your advantage to come straight home. Mr. Grenville has promised to try and serve you on your return.

"The East India Company is at present the chief object of attention. The last General Court empowered the directors to treat with Government, but as that motion was carry'd by the assistance of those who were before averse from all accommodation, people do not yet guess at the consequences of that resolution. The Revenue is immense, but as yet not so ascertained as with propriety to say what they can spare to the public for the protection granted formerly to them, and for the favours they must soon apply for, and could the ministry have waited with patience till next year I am persuaded they might have availed themselves of a large encrease of income with the full consent and approbation of the proprietors. As it is, there may be grumbling, but money is wanted and must be had, especially for the discharge of the Civil List Debts. It is still a mystery whether Mr. Conway is to quit his office. Most probably he cannot remain in it. If that happens, the received opinion is that Mr. Townshend will have the seals and Lord North the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but as Lord Chatham is still at Bath all events must wait his return for determination. The long expected marriage of Lord Barrymore and Lady Emily Stanhope is still postponed. The day has been often fixed but without effect, and last Saturday the bride and all her family were dressed, when instead of the bridegroom a note arrived saying that he was taken ill of a fever, and he still continues confined to his house. As these disappointments have happened more than

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* Cf. p. 95.

once, though never upon the day appointed, ill-natured people raise a thousand stories and doubts about the marriage taking place at all, but it is surely impossible that his Lordship can behave so strangely."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1767, Feb. 13.—". . . I am just returned from Hythe where I have withstood a most violent attack.* Lord Holdernesse assured the ministers that my family had no other interest in that place than what arose from the influence of the Lord Warden, and he claimed the support of Government that he might have the nomination of two members there, which he could obtain without difficulty as he should have the assistance of many gentlemen in that neighbourhood. Mr. Evelyn was one of his candidates, and he was set forward to declare himself for the general election. Mr. Hatton was to be the other, but he was not produced. The 2nd of February is the day for choosing a mayor, and as he is chosen by the whole of the freemen in the same manner with members of Parliament, the Lord Warden and Mr. Evelyn set up a nomination in opposition to the person they knew I was engaged to, and carry'd it on with the same eagerness as if there had been the election of a member, so that by this previous question we were to shew our respective interests. Threats, promises, and money were used in their full extent. The contest was not fair, as I could pretend to have neither the means of rewarding or punishing and had nothing to set against present interest and future expectations but personal attachments or gratitude for past favours. However, to the honour of my constituents, my friends would not forsake me, and upon the poll I carry'd my mayor by 51 against 34, and I had the pleasure of seeing most of those in Custom House employments vote with me, and all of those who were under the Lord Warden, though they were assured in the most positive manner that they would be immediately dismissed from their offices. This sort of violence gave offence to all moderate people, and the Treasury disavow having authorized any such unconstitutional language to be held on their part, and I am assured nobody will be turned out by them for having voted according to their opinions. What Lord Holdernesse will do I know not. If he begins with that sort of work the previous threatenings shall be publickly proved and he may take the credit of avowing them. Had I lost this first question I should soon have been overrun, but they will now see that I am more firmly established than they imagined, and that the place is not to be carry'd by a *coup-de-main*. I really thought when I took Amherst for my partner that I had shown such a decent attention to Government in that choice that I might have remained unmolested. I must now take the best measures I can for my security, and I comfort myself in having another year to wait events and consider of it.

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* *See* as to this attack the letters which passed between the Duke of Dorset and the Duke of Grafton, printed at pp. 67, 68.

"Lord Chatham is still at Bath and the business in Parliament ill attended, and many points of course kept back, waiting for his presence. The India Company is still in treaty with Administration, and the report was strong that the bargain was completed, but it proves not so, and I verily believe that the ideas of Lord Chatham and Mr. Townshend upon that subject are so different that they will hardly unite. If so, it will be impossible to proceed to acts of hostility with the Company without removing Townshend from his present office, and indeed what he has often taken occasion to declare in Parliament proves that he looks upon his situation as most precarious. It is the fashion in every little debate we have to talk of the invisible and unresponsible Minister who will dictate every measure and leave the defence upon those whom he will not permit to have the least share in the advising of it. These reproaches Mr. Conway cannot bear, and both he and Mr. Townshend are loud in asserting their independency and their resolution of acting from their own opinions. Beckford is the only man who stands up in defence of the Minister, and, I believe is the first in his confidence, but, however, it is not a little humiliating that the Earl of Chatham should be reduced to trust his cause to such an advocate.

"The Colonys are growing worse and worse. Some of the provinces refuse obedience to the Act of Parliament about quartering the troops, and decline furnishing the men in the barracks with the beer, &c., which they would be entitled to were they billetted upon public houses. This refusal, added to the ill grace with which they have granted money for indemnifying the sufferers by the late riots, and a petition just arrived from New York praying relief from the chief points in the Act of Navigation, has soured the minds of people here in general, and occasions a good deal of distress among the ministers, who must perceive how ill they are requited for that extraordinary lenity and indulgence with which they treated the last year these undutiful children. These affairs must come into Parliament, and will afford matter of triumph to those who foretold the fatal consequences of yielding to riot and ill-grounded clamour, and may perhaps oblige Administration to exert a degree of rigour. The Chancellor of the Exchequer [Townsend] is very explicit upon these points and declared no longer ago than yesterday that if we once lose the superintendency of the colonys this nation is undone.

We had an interesting debate upon the voting the military establishment for America, Mr. Grenville proposing that the colonys should bear the whole expense of those troops. You may believe he did not expect to carry that question, but it drew some declarations from the ministers in regard to the necessity of those provinces contributing largely towards the establishment there, as will be of use in future debates."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, Monday March 2.—"I dare say you will be surprized to hear that the Administration could not prevail in having the Land

Tax continued at four shillings in the pound for this year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed it, and the two late Chancellors [Dowdeswell and Grenville] opposed it, and were joined not only by all denominations in opposition, but by many knights of shires who usually assist Government. The calculations were that the Ministry would carry it by about fifty, but to everybody's astonishment when the committee divided those for three shillings were 206, and those for the four were only 188. Mr. Grenville outdid himself upon that occasion, and his judgment and moderation were equal to his knowledge in that particular branch of business.

"Lord Chatham is upon the road to town, but so ill that he comes but ten or fifteen miles a day. He is to arrive, however, to-morrow, and then we shall see the consequences of this strange event. Some alterations must happen, and a more complete jumble among all ministerial people you can never have seen. . . . It is believed Lord Chatham has changed his ideas about America, and means to act with vigour. The Chancellor held very stout language upon that head the other day in the House of Lords. Mr. Conway only waits for a military situation to get out of the Administration, and Mr. Townshend does not seem inclined to continue in office upon the terms he now holds it. Lord Bute's brother, son, and all his friends in employment voted with the Court, but Norton and Wedderburne were on the contrary side. You have no idea how high Wedderburne* stands both in Parliament and in his profession. Mr. Bourke has made himself very considerable. He is the most ingenious debater I ever heard, and at least as strong in the reply as in the opening. He absented himself upon the Land Tax, as his opinion was with the Ministry, and he did not care to separate from his friends in a point of that importance."

"Tuesday.—We had no debate yesterday, but some conversation upon the report from the Committee. The Chancellor of the Exchequer lamented very pathetically the loss of the Supply, but had too great a deference for the opinion of the Committee to attempt reversing it in the House. The rest of the day passed in repartee and altercation between Lord North and Rigby, his Lordship having taken different ground from Townshend in the debate and was not so clear in opinion that the tax should be reduced the next year, and indeed I believe this difference among the leaders in Government made the country gentlemen so unanimous in their opposition, particularly as Conway agreed with Lord North.

"Lord Chatham arrived last night, so that we expect great news in a few days. The India affairs come on next Fryday, and there is a Cabinet this night at the President's to settle what is to be done. I believe the ministers do not yet agree in that point."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, March 19.—Election affairs. "We are still in the same situation with regard to politicks. Lord Chatham, it is said, has full power and cordial support, but he makes no acquisitions in

* Afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn.

Parliament, and the leaders of the Court interest in the House of Commons seem to have little connection and no personal communication with his Lordship. The business of the India Company draws our chief attention. The Committee has been frequently adjourned and is appointed to sit again to-morrow, but as a proposal has been made by Mr. Sullivan to the General Court of Proprietors in order to be submitted to Parliament, probably another adjournment of the Committee may be moved. All I can say is that as far as I understand those matters, what Sullivan proposes (and which it is said the Ministers adopt) is less advantageous to the public than what the Directors submitted to Administration and was rejected by the majority of the Cabinet as totally inadmissible, and I venture to prophesy that when Sullivan's plan is considered in the House of Commons that it will not be accepted. You will say these are strange times when Administration cannot carry such important points. The message for the allowance to the three Princes is to be sent this day, and the money to be voted on Monday. Some people will oppose or represent against it, but the Ministers have condescended to make it as little exceptionable as possible by confining the grant to the lives of their Royal Highnesses. The Duke of Cumberland in the late King's time had his first provision of the 15,000*l.* for him and his heirs, and that precedent was to have been followed last year, but I hear it is now altered for an annuity only of 8,000*l.* to each of them.

"The accident poor Lord Tavistock has met with casts a great damp upon many people, as he was universally beloved. You will have heard that his skull was fractured by a fall in hunting. He has had much of the bone taken out by two different operations, and though alive he is still in great danger. . . . Lord Milton's son is to be marry'd to General Conway's daughter, and everybody is pleased with it. The Duke of Buckleugh is under the same engagement to Lady Betty Montagu, and we had a great ball the other night at Mr. Townshend's* upon that occasion, and the Princess of Brunswick insisted upon dancing with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he called up the dance in the *Rehearsal* where they all bow and curtesie to each other. In short it all went off in great good humour and with great magnificence."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, April 7. Pall Mall.—" . . . Our political situation is more and more perplexing. Lord Chatham is so ill with a slow fever upon him that he is incapable of attending in any degree to business. Report says that he is mad. Be that as it may, people generally look upon the present system as at an end, and that some Administration must be established. The different partys composing the Opposition are not likely to agree any further than in the demolishing the present Minister, so that whether we shall soon see any plan of credit or stability established is beyond my understanding. The East India

* Second husband of the Duke's mother, Lady Dalkeith.

Company's affairs is still under examination in the Committee of the House of Commons. To-morrow the directors for the year are to be chosen, and then we expect some proposal from the Court of Proprietors. Beckford takes the lead in the inquiry, and he began with a violence that will not be supported. Lively imaginations formed the most pleasing prospects of inundations of wealth from the territorial revenues in the East Indies, and that the whole possessions belonged to the Crown, as they were obtained by conquest. The Company on the other side claim a right by their charters to all possessions ceded by treaty, and declare they have no other but under that title. Beckford and Lord Clare say that treatys made with people subdued by your arms and in your power must be considered as conquest. By this short description of the dispute you will immediately see an amicable agreement between the public and the Company is the only sensible method of accommodating it to mutual advantage. . . . As to America, something must be done in support of the authority of the Mother Country. Both at New York and Boston the Act of Parliament about quartering of the troops is disobeyed. The Ministers chuse not to exert the authority of the executive power, but intend to bring it into Parliament. What can be done in that shape I know not, but I conclude whatever is proposed will produce fresh matter for reproach and altercation. The House of Lords has had some conversation upon the subject, and the Chancellor held stout language, but he was reminded of the encouragement he and his friends had given to the present disposition of the Americans by the doctrines they formerly held, and Lord Temple declared he thought those opinions were criminal and treasonable. In short everybody joined in abusing the former behaviour of his Lordship, and Lord Talbot said that he was not surprised to find Lord Cambden's language so much altered, as it was a known maxim that new converts were always the most zealous.

"This attack of Lord Talbot's was the more surprising as Lord Bute's friends have lately been very active in support of the measures of Administration. We have had frequent reports of Sir Fletcher Norton's having made his bargain, but hitherto it is without foundation. Wedderburne gains ground daily both in Parliament and in his profession, and takes a very firm part with Mr. Grenville. I hope to see you in August, I shall be in town that month as I am threatened at that time with a fourth daughter."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, April 20.—" . . . We are now adjourned for the holydays. The Tuesday before the adjournment, Sir William Meredyth moved to put an end to the Committee upon the East India affairs. I must say the motion was not very regular, as the examination of evidences finished but the night before, and Mr. Beckford desired only till the earliest day after the holydays to propose the resolutions which he said would be grounded on

that evidence. However, as Opposition must sometimes debate upon whatever offers, we had the pleasure of sitting till two the next morning, when they adjourned the Committee till the 1st of May by 213 against 157. However, India stock rises, for in the course of the debate the Ministry thought proper to disclaim all violence and hostility against the Company, and seem to decline the question of right, a language very different from that which Mr. Beckford first opened this affair with, and which was held by the Ministers when they rejected the proposals of the Court of Directors as inadmissible. I conclude this affair will end amicably at last. Mr. Grenville declared he was against any other than a temporary bargain, as he was persuaded neither the Company nor the Parliament could be sufficiently informed of the amount of the revenue or of the manner in which it could be brought hither, to come to any final decision upon an affair so interesting and so important.

"Mr. Townshend opened his budget on the Wednesday, the day after this long debate, and gained universal applause, for he contrived to make all his calculations understood, and made that dry subject agreeable and entertaining to those the least conversant in business. He adopted most of Mr. Grenville's ideas, and spoke as freely of Adminstration as if he had not been in office. . . . The day after Mr. Townshend had finished the opening the budget for the public he was called upon to open another for his own benefit, the Dutchess of Argyl dying, by which Lady Dalkeith gets between three and four thousand pounds a year. The other sisters will have about thirteen thousand pounds, as the money she leaves and the plate are to be divided equally among her four daughters.

"Lord Chatham is in town, but he has been but once with the King since his return from Bath, sees none of the Ministers but the Duke of Grafton upon business, and that very seldom. Lord Bristol is with him as often as he pleases, and is supposed to be most in his confidence, and goes between the King and his Lordship. This sort of Government cannot continue, though Lord Bute's friends are most active in the support of it."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, June 11. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . The session of Parliament is drawing to a conclusion. The House of Lords is the scene of action. The country gentlemen cannot be kept in town all the summer, so the business in the House of Commons remains at the mercy of the Court, and the indecent use Mr. Conway has made of that situation is to bring in a rejected demand of Prince Ferdinand's for about twelve thousand pounds. However, the two last Treasurys showed the ill consequence of complying with the demand in the shape he intended, as it would open the door to many others, so that I conclude it will be given to him more as a gratuity than as a debt. The last question in the House of Lords the Court carry'd it by what is now called a great majority, 73 to 61, but I do not find the Ministry are much

elated with such victorys. The next contest is about the bill for regulating the dividend of the East India Company. It passed our House by a great majority, though the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were in the minority. The Bill is a bad one and will do harm if it passes. The proprietors did impertinently in voting themselves an increase of dividend whilst the bargain was settling between them and the public, but there was no illegality in it, as I conceive, and therefore the interposition of Parliament most improper, and as it only fixes the dividend at 10 per cent. till the meeting of the next session of Parliament, it by no means cures the stock jobbing. Now had it been right for Parliament to have interfered, it should at least have prevented any rise of dividend during the continuance of the bargain with Government, and that the proprietors wished might have been done had they been allowed the 12½ per cent. . . . I left the Ministry as unsettled as usual, Lord Chatham not in a condition to attend to business, and by all accounts no system formed for future operations. Lord Bute's friends take the lead in the House of Commons, but he still avoids receiving applications or appearing personally as the Minister."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1767, Oct. 4. Stoneland Lodge.—"I was much disappointed in not seeing you upon your arrival in London. . . . I was called from London upon the same sort of business in which you are engaged. To-morrow is the county meeting at Maidstone, where Mr. Sackville* will be proposed as one of the candidates. We know not yet who is to be his opponent. Many wish to prevent his having the honour of representing the county of Kent, but at present the appearances of success are in his favour. I hope your affairs in Kinross shire are in as good a situation as you expected. . . . I am deeply engaged at Hythe, and hitherto I stand my ground amazingly well. I little thought I could ever have had resisted the whole weight of Government with any prospect of success, but at this instant I flatter myself that I have the majority of the borough with me. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1767, October 24. Stoneland Lodge.—I flatter myself that the King will shortly show you some mark of his favour. "General Harvey is too prudent to give any but a private opinion, but he knows more of the real intentions of his Majesty as to military affairs than any one man about Court; and the only right things which are recommended by Lord Granby are the effects of General Harvey's influence over him; but his influence cannot prevent the promises which are exacted from his Lordship in the midst of riot and dissipation."

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* Lord George Sackville's nephew, afterwards 3rd Duke of Dorset.

Unless you prefer the hurry of town to quiet and retirement I hope you will come to us. "You cannot go to those who love you better," and if Major Townshend would accompany you, I should be greatly pleased to see him.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1767, October 29. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . I have had a letter from Cuninghame since the opening of the Irish Parliament. He says the Lord Lieutenant* drank furiously upon his arrival and still continued in that system. It looks as if he was seeking the same death with his brother. It is understood that he has neither connection with nor support from the present ministers, and he may possibly pass his time the better for it as far as he may be personally concerned, but I conclude his attachment to Lord Bute is no secret, and some ignorant people of that country may look upon his Lordship's protection to be almost as good as that of a Secretary of State or of the First Lord of the Treasury."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1767, Dec. 25. Pall Mall.—" . . . The Ministers [are] all out of town. Lord Chatham at Hayes, but avoided even passing through London. He has seen nobody from hence as I can learn. Lord Bristol told me last night that he had not been there. Lord Shelburne went to Hayes thinking to have found Lord Chatham, but he stopped that night at Mrs. Pitt's house near Wimbledon, Mr. Needham, his nephew, hires it. Lord Shelburne waited above an hour for him at Bromley, but his Lordship not coming, a letter was left with the man at the inn to be delivered as Lord Chatham passed. The Chancellor and both Secretarys being absent on Wednesday causes some speculation, and I hear Lord Cambden declares he had not seen the Duke of Grafton for a fortnight previous to this change, and that he was not consulted. You see by this there is some ill-humour subsisting, and the Ministry, that is the Duke of Grafton, denies having any communication with Hayes. I hope at least he has taken Lord Bute into his confidence or his arrangement will not be very permanent. As far as I can judge from outward appearances the Bute following is pleased. Oswald consents to make room for Rigby and his son is to be pensioned. As the Civil List is not above five quarters in arrear it can well afford such accommodations. The Duke of Grafton has been at Bedford House, and has likewise waited upon Mr. Rigby and dined at Lord Gower's, with Lord Weymouth the only company. . . . If Lord Chatham is as well as your friends upon the road think him to be he will not long remain in this state of inactivity. . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1767, Dec. 29. Pall Mall.—"The Ministers all continue out of town, and there is not the least news stirring. The great man

* George, Viscount Townshend, was appointed Lord Lieutenant Oct. 1767.

at Hayes remains shut up, though the papers this morning say that Alderman Beckford dined with him yesterday, but I do not believe it, as Lord Bristol on Sunday night had heard nothing from him, and Lady Chatham had promised to send him word when there was any alteration for the better in her Lord's health. I am told Lady Chatham frequently lamented with Dr. Addington the disunion in her family and wished a reconciliation between her husband and her brothers. Lord Bristol is for ever talking upon the same subject, so that I shall not be surpriz'd to see the plan attempted, provided the influence in the closet is not entirely lost. I hear likewise that the Duke of Bedford avows himself to have been the adviser of Mr. McKenzie's removal. Mr. Grenville has hitherto very unjustly borne the blame of that measure, for I can account in no other way for Mr. McKenzie's inveteracy, and the pains he has taken to prevent any intercourse between Lord Bute and Grenville.

"The Commissioners of the Revenue are safely arrived at Boston. They landed on the 5th of November, and the populace were then carrying in procession the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender, in order to commit them to the flames in honour of Protestantism. Mr. Paxton's name being Charles, it was fixed in large letters upon the breast of the Devil, and these figures met the Commissioners at the water side and were carry'd before them without any insult through the streets, and whenever they stopped to salute an acquaintance, the figures halted and faced about till the salutation was over, and so accompany'd them to the Governor Hutchinson's door, where the Devil, &c., took their leave with loud huzzas from the mob, and were immediately conducted to the destined place of execution. . . . The Duke of Newcastle was dangerously ill yesterday. I have heard nothing of him to-day. His death would occasion distress in some of the Sussex elections ; in all other lights it seems an event of very little consequence."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1768, Jan 5. Pall Mall.—" . . . As for news we have none, the Ministers keeping themselves out of town. The Chancellor even had not the decency, any more than the other great officers, to appear at Court on New Year's Day, a circumstance the foreigners were much surpriz'd at. Wedderburne says he will be in town about the 10th. He was married the last day of January, and I conclude is pleased with his performance, for he writes in great good humour the day after.

"I had the pleasure of a long conversation with Lord Mansfield on Saturday last, and I find he disliked the proceedings of our friend on the first day of the session to the full as much as we did ; his subsequent behaviour he approves as temperate and wise. The Duke of Grafton certainly carry'd on the late treaty without any communication with the other parts of Administration, and means to make the Bedfords his chief support, so that I do not see how Lord Shelburne, &c., can remain with the

smallest degree of credit in office. Lord Chatham still continues to hide himself, and most people agree in saying he can never appear in business. Time only can determine that point. His children are in town, there being no room for them at Hayes, so the house in Bond Street being inhabited occasions daily false reports of his arrival in London. All quiet in Ireland, and no fresh storys of the Lord Lieutenant's intemperance or wit. The augmentation will take place there if they have any proper assurances given them of having always twelve thousand men in Ireland."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1768, June 14. Pall Mall.—The Duchess died on Sunday morning, happily without pain. The Duke of Dorset is now dangerously ill. I left Lady George at Stoneland much recovered, but my boy was very ill with his teeth, so that I am in no little hurry to go back. "Mr. Wilkes's outlawry is reversed, and they are now arguing in Westminster Hall for an arrest of judgment, but that cannot end in his favour, upon which it is supposed he will appeal, and then probably he may be admitted to bail. This is only my conjecture, for indeed I have not had an opportunity of conversing upon any subject of that sort. It is understood that Rigby is to be sole paymaster, and the report says that the Bedfords are now to be most strenuous in support of the present system. . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1768, July 5.—The Duke of Dorset is still ill, and is surrounded by a set of bad people who are making him sign papers "little to his credit and less to his advantage." I am preventing the mischief as far as possible.

"It is very plain the Duke of Grafton means to continue at the head of the Treasury. T. Townshend's refusing the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland surprizes me. . . . I am glad you have found [your] friend M. de Crillon. He may be of some use [to you] at Paris, as he will certainly puff you off as [the] greatest general of the age."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1768, August 10. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . The American affairs are distressing, but the Ministers profess acting with firmness and vigour, and two regiments are ordered from Ireland to Boston, and I hear Murray's replaces them. If the first declarations of the Ministry do not check the turbulent spirit of the Americans I shall dread the consequences, for nothing is so likely to produce confusion as vigour unably exerted. . . . I hear of nothing like ministerial alterations any farther than that the general opinion is that Lord Shelburne is to be removed. His Lordship on the other hand shews no such apprehension, and amuses his friends with the expectation of seeing Lord Chatham taking an active part in administration next winter."

Lord George Sackville to General Irwin.

1768, August 28. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . The Parliament will not meet till towards the middle of November. Sir Jeffrey Amherst's resignation will surprize you as it did me. They certainly appointed a new Governor of Virginia sooner than he expected, but they offered him an equivalent in an annuity. His demands went to the peerage, &c. &c., which were not comply'd with, and then he gave up his regiments. I have not seen him since, nor did I hear from him till it was all over, but the Ministers say he was advised to act in this offensive manner by Lord Albemarle and me. It is not worth while to contradict the report.

"The King of Denmark supplies us all with conversation, you may believe. I have not seen him. The people are very fond of him and most impertinently curious, so that he has little comfort in seeing sights, since he is always made one himself. His favorite has proposed marrying Lady Bel. Stanhope, and the King offers to settle 15,000*l.* upon younger children. She demurs as yet."*

The Same to the Same.

1768, Sept. 22. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . The accounts from America are more and more unfavourable. What measures the Administration are taking I cannot learn. They talk of vigour, and two regiments are embarked for Boston, and ships will not be wanting, but the good or bad effect of such preparations must depend entirely upon the instructions sent to the Governours for the applying this military force, and that is a point of such delicacy in our constitution that I doubt much of its being properly executed.

"We are all tired with the disputes about Sir Jeffrey Amherst, but the news writers are happy in having him and the King of Denmark for the constant topics of their papers. His Majesty is very gracious, and is become popular, and ought to be pleased with his reception. There is some entertainment preparing for him either at Richmond or the Queen's House. The newspapers have often exhorted the King to do something extraordinary for his royal guest. The tables that are kept at St. James's for him are, by all accounts, proper and magnificent, but I suppose John will not be satisfy'd till the two Kings drink a bottle together.

"Lady George [Sackville] says nobody understands lace so well as General Irwine, and she insists upon it that I should write to you to bring me over some lace ruffles, which order I obey, and if you will be so good as to lay out fifty pounds upon the ornamenting my shirts I should be greatly obliged to you."

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* If this is the Lady Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Harrington, she married Charles, Viscount Molyneux (afterwards Earl of Sefton), in the November of this year.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to GENERAL IRWIN.

1769, July 25. Shobdon Court.—"I rejoice to hear of your safe return. . . . I had no doubt of Lord Chatham's being received by the King with all possible graciousness, and that if words will satisfy him I dare say he is fully contented, and I am persuaded whenever his Majesty thinks proper to change his ministry that Lord Chatham will have the apparent credit of it. I see in the papers that Lord Bute is arrived, if that be true we shall be soon be able to judge of the stability of the Duke of Grafton's Administration. . . . If Lord Townshend thinks of carrying any point in the House of Commons without making up with some of the heads of parties he will find himself mistaken, unless he has authority to indulge the patriots by some constitutional concessions."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1769, August 24. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am glad to hear of your being at last arrived in London. Your march from Ireland has been so slow that I began to despair of ever seeing you again. I hope now in a few days to have that pleasure, and though I cannot be so active and so lively as Lord Chatham, yet I will do my best to entertain you. Jemmy Cuninghame is here and waits with impatience to see the man that has played at 'skettles' with the late great commoner.

"All that you will hear of politicks will consist of the Duke of Grafton's firmness and resolution to maintain his ground in Administration, and you may believe if you please that he is the real favorite and that Lord Bute has no longer any influence at Court. I am told that London was never so deserted . . . many of the foreigners are at Tunbridge Wells in search of society."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1769, Oct. 14.—"I have deferred writing to you in hopes of hearing from Wedderburn some particulars of the York meeting which were not in the public papers, but as I am disappointed in that, I shall no longer delay thanking you for your long and entertaining letter from Paris. The Ministry, I am told, pretend to make light of the York petition, and give out that the appearance was neither numerous or respectable. However, those nearer connected with them own that what passed upon that occasion must have bad effects and is by no means an event to be treated lightly. Wedderburn I conclude spoke admirably well, as the ministerial writers treat him so roughly. When a man becomes an object of resentment, we may be assured of his being of some consequence. The city is outdoing its usual outdoings, and Beckford, with all the coyness of a young girl, consents after repeated refusals to take upon himself the office of Lord Mayor. Lord Holland's ingenious performances in the newspapers have

drawn upon him every malevolent attack in the power of the Livery of London. Possibly he may wish for a Parliamentary enquiry, thinking his interest better in Palace Yard than in Guildhall, but I should be sorry to risk myself by submitting my conduct to the determination of such a company, whose favourable or unfavourable sentiments depend upon the judgment of others, and who those leaders may be a few months hence Lord Holland may guess but he cannot know. He has gone however to Nice, as he before intended, and indeed I think he acts properly in shewing no alarm at these proceedings.

"The Parliament does not meet till the 13th of January, so that I suppose the Ministers will keep a merry Christmas, and then begin to think of the operations of the session. As to Court intrigue, I cannot suppose they are under any apprehensions, for where could his Majesty find a set of men more observant of his orders or of less consequence as individuals, if he should think proper to change hands upon any real distress. . . . Lord Chatham continues well, and the Chancellor has been with him at Chevening, but I do not hear of his having repeated his visit at St. James's.

"The Parliament of Ireland opens next Tuesday. Lord Townshend in his southern progress dined with Lord Shannon, &c., but they parted at least as bad friends as they met, so what use his Excellency will make of the full powers he is vested with I know not, but he writes sanguinely about his succeeding in the question of the Augmentation. It is reported that Tisdale* means to support him fairly and avowedly. If that is true his affairs will be well conducted."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1770, June 30. Drayton.—"I propose staying here till the first week in August, and I hope to see you when it is most convenient. By what you say of Mr. Grenville I should think it would be more agreeable to you to be in Dorsetshire at the same time with him, and if you are here the middle of July I shall be satisfy'd, as I shall have time enough to shew you this new acquisition. I should be sorry the summer was to pass without making you acquainted with Drayton.

"I have not seen the letters of the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Grosvenor, and I should be obliged to you for them, as I am curious to see the Royal manner of making love.

"I agree with Wedderburn in thinking that the examinations at the Cockpit may be rediculous, but I think they will end in something more decisive than a spirited letter. The Ministers will either yield to the demands of the Provinces or single out Boston for an example to the rest, and act perhaps towards them with too much severity. Lord Hillsborough will not chuse to be

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* *See* p. 246.

the author of more letters to the colonys, to hear them commented upon by Wedderburn and such troublesome critics. I never mind the alarms of the City or the fluctuations of stocks. It is always the interest of some of the monied men to raise reports which may affect the public credit, and whilst there is no confidence in Administration, whatever is possible is immeditaely received as probable. When the French are in a condition to undertake a war, hostilities will soon commence, but as it is neither our interest or theirs I still hope the peace will be preserved."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1770, Oct. 2. Stoneland Lodge.—"If Spain gives us satisfaction about Falkland Island we must be mad indeed if we bully them into a war. Lord Egmont has much to answer for if he rashly engaged this country in such a dispute. The Ministers will certainly gain a degree of popularity by preparing for action, as John loves fighting and humbling the Mounseers. The difficulty with us is making peace. Every fool can pick a quarrel but I do not remember any Minister wise enough to end a war without forfeiting his own credit with the bulk of the people. I never wished more for Mr. Grenville to be in office than at this moment. His knowledge and his firmness might get us honourably out of this scrape. I long for the return of the messenger from Madrid. I suppose he may be expected in a few days. Lord Robert Bertie's hurry in acquainting the King of the arrival of the dollars proves that his Lordship thinks war is not wished for in the closet. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1770, Oct. 6.—" . . . I fear a war is but too probable. I never doubted of the French Court's pacifick disposition, nor of their taking part in the war if Spain broke with us. Surely it must be the most absurd management to make any other demands than what relates to the restitution of Falkland's Island, and it can be construed in no other light than as a resolution of ours to quarrel with them. The newspapers will urge our Ministers to adopt vigorous measures, and the huzzas at the Play House will incline the King to approve them.

"I am sorry Mr. Grenville has such frequent attacks of illness. The air of the House of Commons I hope will restore him to perfect health. His attendance there will indeed become necessary."

The Same to the Same.

1770, Oct. 23. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am sincerely concerned at the bad account you send me of Mr. Grenville's health. His natural or political death would be the greatest misfortune to his friends and a real loss to this country. I flatter myself that his

best friends from their regard for him look upon his situation in the most alarming light. If any accident should happen to him it will require very serious consideration what part we are then to take. It would be the greatest mortification to me to act upon different ground from Wedderburne. If that was to happen, I should think as little as I could of public business, and I cannot say that my inclination at present leads me much to enter into the bustle and trouble of it. You are younger, and your ambition has not yet been gratify'd. You have, however, one great comfort that you have not to my knowledge an enemy among those who either is or is likely to be a minister, so that which ever way we turn all doors will be open to you. . . . Conway is in luck if he wishes to be the responsible head of his profession. As long as Lord Granby lived he had an excuse for indecision; now he must resolve, and however great his ambition is it may be gratify'd. The death of Lord Granby will, as you say, be of service to the Ministry in point of votes, but of greater service to the army. If real business is to be done what good could have happened under such a director.

"I have no doubt of our Ministry engaging us in a war, if France does not give an absolute negative to it. They are too weak to dare to act upon any other judgment than that of the mob, and this nation will be involved in all the miserys and distresses of war in hopes of their gaining a little momentary popularity."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1770, Oct. 25.—" Brand's success will depend upon Lord Hardwicke's adopting him. The Duke of Bedford is already represented in Sir John Cotton, and the county may be jealous of taking the other member from the same patron. You knew nothing of Mr. Grenville's being in London when you wrote. Lord Vere has sent me a melancholy account of his state of health and of his being attended by two physicians. I trust in God that he may recover, but I fear we can expect little Parliamentary attendance from him this session. I see no sort of use in my being in town sooner than the 8th. If poor Mr. Grenville dies, what is to be the object of opposition? I hope not to make Lord Chatham minister. If it is, you cannot suppose I shall be very sanguine in such a cause."*

The Same to the Same.

1770, Oct. 30. Stoneland Lodge.—" I am so anxious about poor Mr. Grenville that I regret now for the first time that the post arrives but three times in the week. Your last letter promised better accounts; I sincerely wish they may answer my expectations. The more I think of the bad consequences of his

* George Grenville died in November 1770.

death, the more alarming they appear to me. His presence in Parliament was such a check upon Ministers that I shall expect when he is no longer among us that all decency will be lost, and Dyson will be permitted to establish all the precedents he pleases for the subverting of the Constitution, unless he should reflect upon the last dressing Wedderburne gave him. . . ."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1771, Oct. 30. Drayton.—" . . . As to politicks I think little about them. I see no prospect of any good arising from opposition, but when the time comes I will endeavour to make the best I can of them, and show that I am not apt to change my sentiments about men or measures."

The Same to the Same.

1774, June 21. Stoneland Lodge.—"I like your news from America, and I begin to flatter myself that the Ministers will not have their steadiness and perseverance put to the trial. The French King will have enough to do at home for his amusement, and if he will not make war with us till he has established economy in the different branches of Government, and has taught morality to the bishops and the people, I shall hope for peace in my time. Lord Clive dined here this day. He returns to London on Thursday. He was conversable and seems in good health, though the Tunbridge waters can have contributed but little towards it, for he drinks but two glasses in the day."

The Same to the Same.

1774, July 2. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . I like the American news which I see in the papers. Virginia's refusing to join with the Bostonians in the agreement for not importing goods from England is decisive, and there is nothing left for the mob of Boston but to decide between ruin and submission. . . . I wish you would find out whether Fraser returns to Algiers. Mr. Sackville is pining at Paris, and prays devoutly for being released from his present bondage. He has no assistance, his health bad, and his Master loads him without mercy. M. de Choiseul's sudden departure looks as if he had no chance of being immediately employed. . . . The Chancellor was once his chief flatterer, but I suppose he would not wish to see him again Minister."

The Same to the Same.

1774, Oct. 17. Drayton.—"It would have given me great pleasure could I have served for Hythe with Wedderburne,* and I could not have withstood the accepting of Lord North's

* Lord George Germain was now M.P. for East Grinstead, a family borough for which he had served since 1768.

assistance had he thought proper to offer it to me in a fair and open manner. It would have called at least for personal attentions from me to his Lordship. As it is, I must comfort myself with knowing that I begin this Parliament absolutely at liberty to take that part which shall appear to me the most adviseable. Surely the deaths of Dyson and Robinson will be a distress to Administration. Dyson's abilitys will be a real loss, and there will be an awkwardness at this particular time to find a successor to Robinson who can settle and comply with all his election engagements. Mr. Bradshaw is the most capable of balancing such an account. . . . The Westminster poll surprizes me. I thought Lord Mountmorris would have found a better support, but I flatter myself that he has lost numbers by signing the covenant and by devoting himself so meanly to Wilkes. I hope your arm has recovered its strength, and that you will be in health and spirits to enjoy the first opening of this new Parliament. It is reported here that Bob, the waiter, and Mr. Strahan, the printer, are to move and second the Address to the King."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1775, May 30. Pall Mall.—"I am very happy in hearing that you are so well satisfy'd with your reception in Ireland. I never doubted of Lord Harcourt's desire of living upon the best terms with you. I saw Blaquiere for a moment yesterday. I told him how pleased you were with the Lord Lieutenant's behaviour, and he assured me he could say the same for his Excellency. I shall see him to-morrow and then I shall know more particulars.

"The news from America occasioned a great stir among us yesterday. By the first report I was afraid the troops had misbehaved, but upon reading the account from Salem I was satisfy'd that the party, after having done what they were ordered at Concord, marched back towards Boston, and possibly may have lost some few men. However, the Bostonians are in the right to make the King's troops the aggressors and to claim a victory. Gage's account is not yet arrived. He sent his letters by a merchant ship laden with goods. The Bostonians sent their story by a ship in ballast, the master of which brought no letters whatever, but appeared in London yesterday morning with the account you will see printed, and a London *Evening Post* extraordinary was published last night to spread the alarm. It is strange to see the many joyful faces upon this event, thinking, I conclude, that rebellion will be the means of changing the Ministry. In my poor opinion, this blow, if followed up, will soon bring that province into order, as I must suppose the officer who commanded the party did not, without necessity, attack those armed men who presented themselves to him. It is said that a pistol accidentally fired occasioned all the mischief. I am impatient for the true and the full account. Lord Piercy encamped that night some little way from Boston, so that he was not afraid of his pursuers, as they term themselves. I have seen no Ministers, but I have

seen Governour Hutchinson, and he agrees with me in opinion, and says the hurry they were in of sending a ship express from Salem convinces him that the story is misrepresented for purposes of the faction there. . . ."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1775, June 13. Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . You will have seen the particulars of the affair in America. I have only heard of it in general; the authentick account will arrive here some hours after this letter is sent away. The loss is heavier than I expected, but as the troops behaved well we have only to lament the death of the individuals who have suffered. Col. Cuninghame says great betts are laid that the Ministry will be changed in two months. I cannot see the least foundation for such an apprehension. I should not, indeed, be surprized if Lord Dartmouth took fright and declined giving the necessary orders for decisive and vigorous measures. Such an event would not be the change of Ministry which Opposition means. How much more mischief must be done before we are to avail ourselves of local force? The arming of the loyal part of the province and the marching a body of Canadians to the frontiers of New England might have a better effect than slow and repeated re-inforcements from hence, and though the losing of time may be fatal, I still think we shall not dare to take bold and decisive measures till we are drawn into them by degrees, and when perhaps it may be too late. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1775, June 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"The news from America is as bad as possible, that is, it is come to that crisis which makes it necessary for Adminstration to adopt real offensive measures or to resign their offices and leave the conciliatory plan of meanness and submission to those who wish to be their successors upon such terms. I had one long letter from Lord Suffolk.* I wrote him my opinion in return, and above all things recommended New Yorke as the principal object of their attention, in which (by what you say of that loss) I am persuaded we agree exactly in sentiment upon it. What measures are adopted I know not, but probably, as they love delay, they may wait for the resolves of the Congress. What I see in the papers of the advice of the Congress to the Committee at New Yorke about admitting the troops and not sending away the King's stores is the only symptom of moderation I have met with, and looks as if the principal people were not yet ready to go into open and avowed rebellion, though they may give all possible encouragement to those who are actually in arms, and block up Boston and seize Ticanderoga, &c.

* The letter will be found amongst the papers relating to America, in the second volume.

I am happy, however. that our Generals are arrived, and I shall wait with impatience till I hear what effect their presence will have among the troops, and whether they will be able to take the field, after driving away those fellows who presume to confine such an army within the town of Boston. . . ."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1775, July 26. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am happy in hearing so good an account of your situation. You seem pleased, and you have the satisfaction of knowing that everybody is pleased with you, at least I am told so from all quarters. If Dilkes dies, the Hospital is indeed an object. I had no notion of its value. If there is a chance of encreasing the pay of Commander-in-Chief that would be better than keeping Londonderry; but till that is done I shall not quarrel with his Majesty if he permits you to hold both Governments. I hear Jenkinson takes the Pells to accommodate Flood.* Had I been Vice-Treasurer I should have been happy in the exchange.

"We have a report which comes from your side the water of an action at Boston. It is said to be written by a lieutenant of the 45th to his mother at Waterford. The dates make it probable. It is said to have happened the 16th of June. Gage proclaimed martial law the 12th, and was preparing for attacking the cantoonments of the rebels. If they knew his intentions they were right in attempting to surprize him, for undisciplined troops never act well upon the defensive. If the account is true, it is a most decisive blow against the Bostonians. I am told the Southern Colonies begin already to feel severely the bad effects of their trade being stopped, and Lord Suffolk writes me word that they cannot long hold out. The Congress, too, I hear are not unanimous, and the Deputies from the Massachusets Bay are disappointed and disgusted. They say that even Dr. Franklin has lost his authority among the most violent from his excess of moderation. One decisive blow at land is absolutely necessary. After that, the whole will depend upon the diligence and activity of the officers of the Navy. You will see in a moment that Burgoyne composed Gage's proclamation. It is very like the last speech we heard him make. . . . The demand for English manufactures still increases, so that the Opposition can raise no clamour on account of the decay of trade."

The Same to the Same.

1775, Sept. 13. Drayton.—"I conclude, before this reaches you, that the Secretary [Sir J. Blaquiere] will have found it right to consult his reason, and make his apologies to you for the trouble he has given you. . . . I have this moment had a letter from Eden. They have no later accounts from America

* Henry Flood, a joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in 1776.

than those of the 30th of July, notwithstanding the newspapers are filled with letters of the 10th and 11th of August with pompous accounts of battles, &c. I find from Cunninghame that the Roman Catholicks do not enlist for America with the zeal that was expected. If that humour continues, you will do well to explain that circumstance fully to the directors of the Military Department here, that they may adopt some surer method of compleating the troops in America before it be too late, for they will listen to no project of new corps as long as they flatter themselves with being able to recruit the regiments from Irish Roman Catholicks, &c. The Ministry are busy in looking for foreign troops, and I hope the prospect of success is highly probable, but I should be sorry to see the British forces less than were promised. As there is not common sense in protracting a war of this sort, I should be for exerting the utmost force of this kingdom to finish this rebellion in one campaign. The language of the French and Spanish Ministers is at present most favourable, as they seem to think Europe is interested in preventing the independancy of the colonies in America."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1775, Oct. 27. Pall Mall.—"I went to the House yesterday, and sat there till past four this morning in the most crowded and hot assembly I ever remember to have been in. I am as little the worse for it as I could expect, and am able to write you some little account of our proceedings. The Speech you will see, somewhat shorter, and in some places less pointed than the draft you have heard of. The Address was moved by your friend Captain Ackland and seconded by Governor Lyttleton. The first spoke with great spirit and propriety, the second like a man of business and experience. Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment which carry'd censure upon Adminstration for their past conduct, and what he called conciliatory measures. The debate then was general, peevish and abusive, the Lord Mayor petulant and scurrilous, which occasioned a loud laugh instead of any indignation in the House. Conway spoke better than ever I heard him, with great warmth and much applause from Opposition. I spoke after him, Barré after me, very long, good acting, not much argument, and said more about himself and his situation than was prudent. He drew a ridiculous picture of Lord North, &c., as having no will of his own, and adopting everything I had proposed, so much that he expected he would have resigned his post into mine as into abler hands. Wedderburne spoke then and very ably; then Burke, passionate, long, and not so entertaining as usual; then Charles Fox, though on the same side, very abusive but able, and full of those quick turns which he inherited from his father. Lord North then spoke, well, but not one of his best days, as it was all serious. After him Dunning, then the Attorney-General,* who was ill, but spoke short and I thought

* Thurlow

remarkably well, and then T. Townshend after the Attorney, not advantageous to him. I think I have mentioned all that is material. . . . Upon the division at four in the morning we were 279 to 108. I should tell you that the Duke of Grafton's friends voted in the minority in our House as his Grace did in the House of Lords with the Bishop of Peterborough, Lords Jersey and Coventry. Hopkins, who belongs to the Duke of Grafton, gave the signal in our House by declaring against the Address. What the consequence will be I know not. I suppose his Grace will not resign,* and whether the Ministers will turn him out I do not pretend to guess."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GENERAL IRWIN.

1775, Nov. 4. Pall Mall.—"This letter will I suppose find you just ready to set out for England. When you arrive I fear you will find me in Lord Dartmouth's office of Secretary of State for America. I have try'd and cannot avoid it. Pity me, encourage me, and I will do my best."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1775, Nov. 18. Pall Mall.—"I am so worked at present that I can hardly find time to write a line to you. I am much disappointed at not seeing you. I was in hopes Cuninghame would have embarked the troops for you. The expedition goes on, and I heartily wish the regiments were now embarked, for we want some little success to turn the scale in our favour. Our latest accounts from America give me better hopes than I have yet had of ending this dispute with honour to this country. The rebels certainly disagree, and if their invasion of Canada proves disgraceful to them, as I have strong reason to believe it will, you may depend upon it that it will be the source of disunion and much ill-humour among the delegates at the Congress, as the invasion of Canada was long disputed and at last carried by a small majority. We had a tedious sitting upon Burke's motion. He did not speak so well as usual, but outdid Lord Chatham's speech upon the peace, for he spoke above three hours and a half. We divided 210 against 105. I felt awkward sitting upon the Treasury Bench between Lord North and Wedderburne. I did not say a word till 12 o'clock, a late hour for me. I came that morning from E. Grinstead, was presented to the Queen at the Drawing Room, took my seat, and sat near fourteen hours in the House, and did not suffer by the fatigue. I met with no abuse, and all passed as I could wish. . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1777, Aug. 23. Kew Lane.—"I ordered a Gazette to be sent to you. Burgoyne is fortunate and deserves it. His account of

* He was at this time Lord Privy Seal.

his success is not exaggerated, and we have reason to hope his progress will be rapid. Our letters say that Fort Edward was in his hands. General Vaughan sends this news. I confess I feared that Washington would have marched all his force towards Albany, and attempted to demolish the army from Canada, but the last accounts say that he had taken up his quarters at Morristown after detaching three thousand men to Albany. If that is all he does he will not distress Burgoyne. Sir William Howe is gone up the Delawar, leaving a strong force with Clinton at New York. I was anxious to be informed whether Sir William Howe knew authentically the state of Burgoyne's army before he sailed. I find he had letters from him two days before he left New York, so that whatever operations he pursues, he will act upon the fullest information, and I have no doubt but he will take those measures which are most for the publick benefit. We have reports, and I think with some foundation, that the Quakers and their party have seized Philadelphia on the 20th of July, and that there were considerable risings in the Province in favour of Government. . . .

"Lord Suffolk looks young and gay, like a new married man."

Lord George Germain to General Irwin.

1778, Feb. 3. Pall Mall.—"I wish you would enquire whether Carleton has really got the government [of Quebec], that I may take some steps upon it. Not that I should think that measure decisive as to my situation if other things were not combined with it, but when I consider that this whole measure of conciliation, the choice of commissioners, &c., has been carried on not only without consulting with me but without the smallest degree of communication, and when I reflect upon the Chancellor's conduct towards me, which must have arisen from finding that he might without offence vent his ill-humour upon me, and in short, from various little circumstances, I cannot doubt but that my services are no longer acceptable. I wish to take my ground as well as I can, and to show that I cannot submit to neglect and ill-usage, at the same time that I would avoid distressing those with whom I have acted; though perhaps I might be justified if I looked only to my own situation."

The Same to the Same.

1779, Jan. 23. Pall Mall.—"We are waiting with anxiety for news from the West Indies. D'Estaign's squadron is now most probably gone thither, as we hear nothing of its arrival in Europe. It is believed he suffered in a storm, and that some of his ships were dismasted. Should that fact prove true to any extent, he will not be able to do much mischief in the Leeward Islands. If he goes in full force I shall tremble for Hotham and Grant, as Barrington, when joined with them, will be far inferior to the French fleet, as Admiral Byron most unaccountably remained at

Rhode Island, at least was there on the 22nd of November, though his orders were to follow out D'Estaign wherever he should go. . . .

"Nothing talked of here but Keppel's court-martial, to which I see no end."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GENERAL IRWIN.

1779, Feb. 2. Pall Mall.—" . . . What you hear of confusion in America among the leaders of rebellion is true. What consequence it will have God knows, for we seem to take no advantage of things which ought to operate in our favour.

"Lord Suffolk continues ill. He cannot be spared at this time, and yet I fear his health will prevent his ever taking that active part in government which he is so well qualified to do."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1779, Oct. 27. Pall Mall.—" . . . I was too much fatigued with yesterday's attendance to venture upon another long day. The House was thin and a kind of languid debate was begun at four o'clock, and now it is near eight, and I hear they are still sitting. There is an ill-humour arising about the Hanoverian troops having been sent to our garrisons without the previous communication of the measure with Parliament, and the ill success and bad conduct of the war last summer give people a right of saying that the Ministry have been deceived with regard to the situation of America, or that they have designedly imposed upon the public, and some members seem shy of trusting them for the future, and engaging so deeply in a civil war without a better prospect of success. Any favourable event will restore confidence, and I have heard a report this day [which], if true, will be of service. It is said the provincials under Schyler have given over their attempt upon Canada; I had heard before that the Canadians had been alarmed by a demand from Schyler of so many men from each parish with waggons, horses, &c., and that many of the people had taken refuge with Carleton, and encreased his numbers. . . .

"I hope you will not be detained in Ireland . . . though I fear if more regiments are to be embarked, your attendance may be thought necessary unless you can get the assistance of Cuninghame or some such public spirited general, who will act as if upon the Staff without any pay or consideration whatever. It is the first instance of an officer being sent upon duty with instructions to treat all the regiments he reviewed without being allowed even his expences. I hope he is satisfy'd with the approbation the Lord Lieutenant gives him, as his friends here take the liberty of laughing at his folly."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1781, Dec. 22. Pall Mall.—"You will have heard of nothing but changes, &c. in Administration. I was in hopes some

arrangement would have taken place, and that I should have been released from the very unpleasant situation in which I find myself. I have said all that was possible to the King upon this subject, but hitherto it has produced no effect. It would be highly unbecoming to fly from any attack that may be made, so that I must hold on till his Majesty can see it for his interest to change hands. If the Admiralty and my department were held out to some parts of Opposition, I should think the hands of Government might be strengthened. I begin to fear the adjournment will pass off without doing any thing. However I shall have nothing to reproach myself with, for I have spoke with a freedom which few masters but ours would approve of. I hope we shall see you soon . . . These are curious times, and it is pity you should not be witness to the extraordinary scenes which pass in the House of Commons."

George, Viscount Sackville, to General Irwin.

1782, March 31. Stoneland Lodge.—"I lament that the King has been under the necessity of creating Sir F. Norton a peer.* I was sure Dunning's promotion would cause an alarm in the opposite quarter, and that Sir Fletcher must either die with rage or obtain his promotion. It is ridiculous to see how favor to one lawyer assists his brother. Wedderburne's impatience as effectually served Lord Walsingham as Dunning's ambition has carry'd Sir Fletcher to the point he might otherwise never have obtained.

"I think you will remain. It will be too ungracious to dictate to the King such military arrangements, and the more the Ministers know of their Master, the more will they incline to merit his good opinion. Lord Glandore says the Duke of Dorset will hold his office. . . . Probably Mr. Burke will swallow Lord Denbigh's as a second course."

The Same to the Same.

1782, June 22. Stoneland Lodge.—"I hope Rouen will be agreeable to you. . . . Rodney's victory† was as well timed as it was compleat, and if it tends to peace it will be a happy event indeed. Admiral Pigot is a bold man to supersede so successful a commander. The measure is much abused, and the Ministers risk their popularity by recalling the man who has retrieved the affairs of this country by his able and spirited conduct. Burke's bill is carrying through, but so curtailed that I fear it will not

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* Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons 1770-1780, was, upon his retirement from that post, created Baron Grantley.

† Of 12 April, 1782.

answer the sanguine expectations of the public. Lady Glandore* is as well as, I may say better than, I expected, for she has been so ill with the influenza that I despaired of her going out her time. Hitherto no accident has happened and she reckons the very beginning of August. Lord Glandore has lost his sister, Lady Theodosia [Crosbie]. Her illness kept him in Ireland, and when he was prepared to sail he was attacked by this same influenza, so that I know not when he is expected. Mrs. Herbert* is arrived at Muckross after many distresses but without accident. Caroline* is here and desires to be remembered to you. Thus I have accounted for the female part of my family. The boys are well and at school. Much talk of a dissolution of Parliament, but I cannot believe it, as I do not see how the Ministers can change for the better, as nobody seems inclined to obstruct their measures, and if they can agree among themselves they will not want unanimity in Parliament."

Viscount Sackville to General Irwin.

1782, July 17. Stoneland Lodge.—"I felt great pleasure and satisfaction in hearing of your being so agreeably settled at Rouen. The politeness you meet with does not surprize me. Every officer of rank and merit is sure of being well received in France, but you have so many friends and acquaintance at Paris that I never doubted but that you would have the most marked attentions shown you. It was not necessary that you should receive any cautions about your behaviour there as I am certain you are to prudent to say or do anything which could give the least offence to those under whose protection you now live. I hear of every profession of good intentions towards you made by those in power, and I rather think the opportunity and not the inclination of serving you is wanted, but such strange revolutions have lately happened among the Ministers that it is impossible to speak with certainty about any event. A new first Lord of the Treasury and two new Secretarys of State† must have surprized you as much as it did me. You will not be sorry, however, to see your old friend Mr. Townshend in the office he now holds. Lord Temple will certainly have Ireland as soon as the Duke of Portland returns. Whether the Commander-in-Chief ‡ will continue there I have not yet heard, but many people say he will follow the example and share the fortune of his friend Mr. Fox.

"I am sorry to tell you that Lady Glandore was delivered of a son which lived but a few hours, but she is perfectly well. Mrs. Herbert is at Muckross and promises to behave better than Lady Glandore has done.

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* Diana, Countess of Glandore, Hon. Mrs. Herbert, and Hon. Caroline Sackville, were 1st, 2nd, and 3rd daughters respectively of Lord Sackville.

† The Earl of Shelburne, Mr. T. Townshend, and Lord Grantham.

‡ Lieut.-General Burgoyne.

"We have had a great ball at Knole, where the country was assembled, and I went from hence to be of the party. It was very magnificent, and the Duke did the honours to everybody's satisfaction. I am happy to hear we are so near neighbours. I wish to God we had peace that we might avail ourselves of it. There is no more talk of a dissolution of Parliament."

Viscount Sackville to General Irwin.

1782, Nov. 26. Pall Mall.—"I arrived in town on Saturday in full expectation of the meeting of Parliament as this day, but to my surprize it was prorogued till Thursday seven'ight in hopes of the preliminarys of peace being settled by that time. I conclude the Ministers would not have taken such a step without the strongest reasons for their expectations, and we are now anxiously awaiting the event.

"I should have written to you from Drayton, but I had nothing worth communicating to you, and indeed till this great publick measure is settled all private interests and pretensions will procure little attention, but I am persuaded you have one great and good friend who will not forget you when the proper opportunity offers. Sir Chas. Thompson does not write by this post, as he has nothing particular to say, but he is watchful to procure intelligence and to endeavour to promote your wishes. We swarm with abusive pamphlets, and Lord Shelburne is the principal object of their invectives. He must now submit to that correction which he formerly bestowed on others. Lord North is courted by all parties, but I do not hear that he has promised his support to either . . . Lieut.-Gen. Cuninghame is coming over. He still remains in the awkward situation of not being put off the staff, though he cannot do the duty of it under the present Commander-in-Chief. Lord Howe is returned to town after relieving Gibraltar. As no action of any consequence happened between him and the enemy's fleets, you may suppose the Gazettes of London and Madrid give different relations of what passed. All I can say is that, as I am no seaman, I cannot pretend to understand what might have been done. All I know is that the first great object of the relief of Gibraltar is fulfilled."

The Same to the Same.

1783, April 4. Pall Mall.—"After a long state of anxiety this country is at least relieved from the distress which naturally arises from the want of an Administration. The King has now availed himself of the coalition of the Rockingham and Lord North's parties to establish a firm, and it is to be hoped a permanent Government, for the late fluctuations among our Ministers cannot have encreased the consequence of this country in the eyes of foreigners. I am sure our domestic affairs have been prejudiced by them.

"I shall be happy to hear that the peace which opens intercourse between France and England may induce you to pay your friends a visit here. If this should not be practicable, it can be of no use to you to hold a seat in Parliament, and the attempt that is still making to alter the representation, by destroying the small boroughs and by that means to encrease the representatives of the counties, makes it necessary for the friends of the present establishment to withstand such attempts to the utmost of their power. If you cannot assist us in person, I wish you would enclose a letter to me for the Duke of Portland requesting the Chiltern Hundreds, that the borough of East Grinstead may not be deprived of a representative by your absence. I need not say how much happier I should be if your attendance could make such an application unnecessary."

Postscript.—"It is said the Duke of Manchester goes Ambassador to France; Duke of Portland, Treasury; Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord North and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Stormont, President; Lord Carlisle, Privy Seal; Lord Keppel, Admiralty. The Duke of Richmond this day resigned the Ordnance. The Great Seal, it is said, will be in commission."

Viscount Sackville to General Irwin.

1783, May 9. Pall Mall.—"I am obliged to you for your sending your request to the Duke of Portland so immediately and so opportunely. The application was comply'd with in the most polite and ready manner. Your successor was to have been Mr. Lionel Damer, but his uncle did not approve of his being in Parliament, so, that scheme failing, Mr. Medley, to the great satisfaction of the borough, became the candidate and was unanimously elected. I am really concerned that it was no longer convenient to you to attend the House of Commons. The loss of your society must be ever regretted by me, especially as your situation, however agreeable it may be made to you in France, cannot be so satisfactory as living among your old friends.

"Two days after Mr. Medley took his seat, the long expected question about a more equal representation was agitated, and though it was supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord J. Cavendish, &c., &c., &c., yet Lord North, at the head of the friends of the old constitution, was upon the division 292 against 149, a majority, I confess, much above my expectation. I hope such a decided superiority after a debate till two in the morning will stop future discussions of the subject.

"The town is now staring at the Duc de Chartres, Duke Fitz-James, and Mr. Conflans. All civility and respect are shewn to them, but the King stays at Windsor till next week, as he and the Queen are much hurt by the death of Prince Octavius. He was a charming child and a great favourite. He died under inoculation.

"The Ambassador from France is not yet arrived, though the Duke of Manchester has been at Paris for some days. The Duke of Dorset made a visit there for a week, and is just returned, most happy with the particular honours done to him by the whole court. It was highly flattering to be so received, and he is very grateful for it. Lord Northington, you will have heard, relieves Lord Temple in Ireland, who is impatient to return hither. I wish this alteration in the government of that kingdom may not be productive of ill-humour."

Viscount Sackville to General Irwin.

1783, Nov. 13. Pall Mall.—"Here we are all met again for the Parliament. I deferred writing to you, as I could, from the country, say nothing to you that could either inform or entertain you. Indeed the latter part of the time was most distressing, as poor George had a most dangerous fever, and I was forced in that condition to remove him to town that he might have a chance of being saved by Sir J. Eliott. He has been most kindly attentive and successful, and I hope the boy will soon recover his strength.

"The present Ministry have opened the session with all the appearance of support which they could wish for. The Addresses passed unanimously, and Mr. Fox promises every exertion shall be made for bringing forward the necessary business as soon as possible. The plan for the government of the East Indies is to be proposed by him on Tuesday next. He will indeed shew his ability if he can offer anything upon that subject which will be generally approved. Mr. Hastings, who met with the displeasure of the Committees of Enquiry, now stands high in the opinion of the public from the peace which he has made with the Maharattas, and by his saving the Carnatic, and by the success which has attended the arms of the Company. Any direct censure upon him, or the removing him from his present situation, will meet with opposition from many who are now become his advocates.

"The state of public credit is another alarming circumstance, and yet Administration must undertake the support and re-establishment of it." *The rest of the letter is wanting.*

The Same to the Same.

1784, June 12. Pall Mall.—"We have lately been in such a strange and confused state that it was impossible to offer any advice to you about your own situation. The King, however good his intentions were towards you, was not at liberty to follow his own inclinations whilst he employed ministers who did not act as if they considered him as their master. He has by perseverance and firmness regained his authority, and being no longer under control, he may shew favour to those whom he inclines to protect. He has appointed no commander-in-chief, and he looks upon the army as his own particular department. Arrangements in Ministry have been talked of, but I see no prospect of their

immediately taking effect, and as the Secretary of State for the Home Department [Sydney] certainly wishes you well, now is the proper time, in my opinion, for you to remind his Majesty that you still remain without any equivalent for the government you lost.*

"The manner of applying is the point to be weighed and considered, and after turning it in my mind over and over again, I would advise your writing to Lord Sydney, as a friend and old acquaintance, the short history of your loss, and your claim for some mark of favour. This private but ostensible application will certainly reach his Majesty, and I am persuaded if the King shews (as I dare say he will) his desire of providing for you, that Lord Sydney will encourage the idea and assist in pointing out the means. I must confess till this moment I never saw a fair prospect before you, but as I now think I see my way, I would not delay pressing you to avail yourself of the happy period of the restoration of George the 3rd.

"The Parliament is devoted to the King and his Administration, and I sincerely wish that they may avail themselves of the present temper of the nation to do such great and essential services to the public as may establish their power, and gain honor and reputation to themselves. In the satisfaction the King enjoys by finding himself the object of popularity, he has, however, one drawback, which must vex and distress him. I mean the unaccountable and perverse conduct of the Prince of Wales, who seems to delight in faction and to forget that he may one day be King. Indeed he takes great pains to prevent that event happening, for he ruins his constitution by all sorts of irregularities, particularly in eating and drinking. . . .

"I have almost promised to make a visit this summer to Ardfert and the Lake of Killarney. . . . Such young, frisky fellows as I am make nothing of a journey of that sort."

VI.—IRELAND, 1731-1737.

Sir Robert Walpole to the Duke of Dorset.

1731, Dec. 23. London.—"I have been a long time in your Grace's debt for the favour of your last letter, but as ceremony is not my profession and good nature is very much yours, I must rely upon you for pardon where I have but little to plead in my own excuse.

"What particularly occasions my giving your Grace the trouble of this is Mr. Herbert's sollicitation, who I find very uneasy about the state of his affairs in Ireland, and as he has thought of several methods for his relief, which I believe you are not unacquainted with, he has desired me to recommend his concerns to your protection when any opportunity shall offer for

* Londonderry.

your being usefull to him, and at present very earnestly desires that the person within named may be made sheriff of the county of Kerry, as a matter of great consequence to his interest.

"He is likewise advised that the building of barracks in the place he proposes would not only be of great service to him in preventing and suppressing the great disorders and violence which are very frequent in that part of the kingdom, but would be of equall use and benefitt to the nation and might be as properly placed there as anywhere else. Of this I am no judge, but if what Mr. Herbert desires be practicable, I think he is one very well worth the obliging, and I should be glad to have him gratified.

"I give your Grace joy of the successe that has hitherto attended your administration, and hope you will put a happy period to your Irish campaign, to your own honour, ease, and satisfaction, and for the honour and interest of the King and kingdom.

P.S.—"I desire you will be my proxy and kisse the Queen of Ireland's hand for me, but little Colly's—I don't presume to think of."

Sir Robert Walpole to the Duke of Dorset.

1731, Dec. 30. London.—"Your Grace will have heard before this time what has been proposed and under consideration here in relation to the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, and altho' the time seems not only very favourable, but the present occasion seems to call for all possible means of strengthening the hands of the Protestants in Ireland, I was very unwilling to have anything done here which might be a surprise upon your Grace, and was therefore very desirous that the Popish Bill might be postponed till your Grace's sentiments upon this head should be known. This delay in doing what I am fully convinced is right to be done was purely in regard to your Grace, and I hope will not putt you under any difficulty; the clause being to be added here and to be transmitted from hence, will leave it in your power to have it as much or as little known as you please that your consent was previously taken. As for the thing itself, it is thought here universally right, and the King and Queen entirely of the opinion it should be done, and I do not see how a clause of this kind added by the Councell here can tend to embarasse your affairs, at the end of the session, when all your publick affairs will be almost over. It is represented to us that the House of Lords will be very desirous of passing such a Bill, that in the House of Commons the opposition will be much lesse than was ever apprehended upon the like consideration; and I shall be glad that your Grace may have the honour of passing a Bill to releive the Protestant Dissenters from a burthen which they have a long time unjustly and unreasonably groaned under."

Lord Wilmington to the Duke of Dorset.

1731-2, Feb. 15.—"I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 3rd inst. on Wednesday last and the next morning I went

to Sir Robert Walpole, who as soon as I mentioned the affair of the deanry of Down told me that an application had been made by two bishops to the Queen for Dean Barkeley, and that before it was setled application had come from Ireland for Dean Daniel. Though I mention this shortly, it was attended with a great many circumstances and a long detail quite unnecessary to repeat. When Sir Robert on reading your Grace's letter came to that part where your Grace says that Dean Barkeley was looked upon as a madman, he said he always thought so and had always said it where it was proper. He desired me to assure me (*sic*) your Grace that he had never in any instance interfered with your Grace's administration in Ireland, and had used his best endeavours that if this deanry had been disposed of to any other person than Dr. Cary, that the declaration of it might be defer'd till your Grace's return to England. Upon my asking him if the Duke of Newcastle had any part in the recommendation of Dean Barkeley, he assured me he had not, but thought he was to blame only in not expediting the affair on his receit of your letter, and consequently by his dilatoriness giving time for other applications to be made.

"I went the same day to St. James's in order to have waited on the Queen, but the King was come on the Queen's side so early that I could not see the Queen that day. On Friday the Pension Bill was expected in the House of Lords, which prevented my being at St. James's that day. On Saturday I endeavoured to see the Queen, but was prevented by the same reason I was on Thursday. The Queen spoke to me in the Circle and ordered me to attend her on Monday. Accordingly I waited on her Majesty yesterday, who was graciously pleased to tell me that she had, on the application of two bishops, spoke to the King for Dr. Barkeley, but as the King gave her no answer she looked upon the matter to be undetermined, and that though she looked upon herself to be so far pre-ingaged for Dr. Barkeley that she could not appear for any other person, yet she would rest it there and not speak to the King any more about it. I asked her Majesty's leave to lay your Grace's letter before the King, and that I might lay the due stress on that part of it in which your Grace says that Dr. B. *is very particularly disliked by all the King's friends* in Ireland. Having her Majesty's leave I immediately went on the King's side and as soon as I came into the closet I acquainted his Majesty with the contents of your Grace's letter as aforesaid. The King told me that that affair was now all over, for he had just then had letters laid before him from your Grace with an account of the Bishop of Meath's death and your recommendations for a succession in the Bench of Bishops which his Majesty thought to be very reasonable, and though he had not as yet absolutely determined, yet he believed he should comply with it. However I thought it not improper to insist on that part of your Grace's letter I mentioned, and at the same time to enlarge on the hardships Dean Daniel had gone through in the cause between him and Whaley. Thus your Grace sees that though I can say nothing positively, yet it seems as if this affair would end as your Grace could wish.

"As the King was going to the Queen's side after I came out of the closet, he called me to him and told me he had observed with great satisfaction the prudence of your Grace's recommendations and that you had always recommended such persons as he should have chose himself."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1732, April 20. Deanry House.—"My Lord, I return my most humble acknowledgements to your Grace and my Lady Dutchess for your great condescention in inquiring after me at a time when you are so much taken up in crowds and ceremony. I can make no wishes for either of you but a good voyage without sickness or accidents. For as to honor, fortune, favor and the like I can only pray for the continuance of them. That I so seldom troubled your Grace I am sure you will approve as a matter of conscience in me, not to disturb your hours, which in the business of some months left so few for your own leisure and diversions."

Duke of Dorset to Mr. Dodington.

1733-4, Jan. 10. Dublin Castle.—"I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 22nd past. As this communication between the two Houses was carried on, perhaps I don't think it of so very great consequence as some on your side of the water seem to imagine, but be that as it will, since it was made matter of triumph, and since there was a noise about it in England, I was of your opinion that a stop ought to be put to it at any rate; and therefore I dare say you'll be very glad when I tell you that we had yesterday a pitched battle in the House of Commons, and the communication was kicked out of doors by a vast majority. The court were 102 and the opposition no more than 27. I han't time to enter into our order of battle, but it was certainly well managed. I shall only tell you that it was contriv'd that something should be done in the House of Lords to give offence to the Commons. This the House of Commons took notice of on Monday last, but that nothing should be done by surprise, the debate was adjourn'd till Wednesday. On Wednesday, the forces were drawn out on both sides, and the day ended as I've already told you. Your friend Tom Carter was in the front of the battle, but was strongly supported by gentlemen of a very different complexion; Cope, Agm. Vesey and the Prime Serjeant distinguished themselves very much . . . I mention these to show you that we did not want the assistance of the Cardinal de Retz, notwithstanding the part he took in the House of Lords; and I can't say he came unwillingly into our scheme when he was pretty sure that neither Punch nor his friend in the Ivy Bush could have any share in the credit of our success. I fancy Cary designs to give you a more particular account of this affair."

GEORGE DODINGTON* to the DUKE OF DORSET.

1733-4, Jan. 14. London.—"I believe I told your Grace that after a stormy, wett, and most tiresome journey cross the country to Eastbury, I mett there letters from the Prince and other friends which brought me immediately to town. At my arrival, I mett a civil but very cold reception (Lord Wilmington was also under quarantine at that time, we don't know for what), the King did not speak to me and the Queen only asked me after Lady Dutchess and your Grace's health. The Prince I found very affectionate in everything that relates to your Grace, and more confirmed if possible than ever in his opinions of men and things, and in his friendships, though several attempts and strong ones too, had been made in my absence to alter him in all these particulars.

"As to the Prince of Orange, he is gone to the Bath and is reported to be better. Hollins tells me that, as to his bodily distemper, he can find none but in his stomach, which may be cured by proper medicines and eating of plain things, but his Highness is much inclined to very high compositions and sauces and to great quantities of very sweet sweetmeats. If he has any illness upon his mind, that is beyond physick. I have not seen him; he lived entirely at Kensington and came seldom to Court. When he did it was in a morning before the Queen's drawing-room, and never appeared. It seems the Royal family do not visit him till the marriage is over, but the Prince did him that honor before he went to Bath, with which, as I am told, he was very much pleased and elevated. It is said about town that he is not thoroughly pleased with his reception and that he is more a favorite with the people than with the Court. There is no time fixed for the wedding.

"As to the Minister, I have not had much correspondence with him. I think my not taking directions from him in the little interest I have in elections has disobliged him. I apprehend that he is as strong at Court as ever, and there indeed I presume is his great strength, for the nation certainly is in a great ferment, and in general not favorably disposed towards him.

"The state of foreign affairs is far beyond my comprehension. I am informed, and I believe well informed, that the maxim of the Ministry is to sitt still as long as they can and see what will happen. — God, no body keeps any treaties with us, why should we keep any with them, faith, hey? — The doubt that may arise from this maxim may be, whether it be consistent with that equilibrium once thought necessary to be preserved in Europe, to suffer the House of Bourbon to aggrandize themselves by the entire acquisition of Italy (for Naples and Sicily must immediately follow) and whether, in such case, all our Spanish, Indian, and Levant trade will not become not only precarious but entirely dependent upon the Princes of that House. It is also apprehended by some that the French may possibly avail

* Afterwards Lord Melcombe.

themselves of the more than ordinary tumults which next summer's elections will certainly produce to throw over a body of troops amongst us which, considering the present circumstances and disposition of the nation, heated by the violence of party contention at that time, they look upon with the utmost terror and confusion. For my own part I rather believe that they will take advantage of the deep attention of the Government to all election matters, and the natural hurry and confusion it will involve us in, to perfect the conquest of Italy and to secure that conquest; and then if we attempt to retrieve it, and support the House of Austria, 'tis probable the attempt may not only be too late to succeed but may draw this apprehended invasion upon us. But I shall say no more of this because it is what I do not very well understand myself, and besides I know that your Grace is too thorough bred an English gentleman and minister ever to apprehend anything can happen from abroad till the whole country is in blood and confusion.

"Our home affairs I think I have almost explained to you when I described the situation of the Court. I do not think the House of Commons will be full; there does not seem to be any great muster of either side. I am told by Sir Robert that one great point of the Opposition will be the Navy debt, and will begin in your House soon after the opening. 'Tis indeed a great one, about 1,800,000*l*., but I do not imagine that you have many lords very able to enter into a detail of that kind in an adversary way, which I know may be very easily defended; but I do not say more upon this, because it will very probable be over before my letter goes away.

"Jan. 15. The whole bent and view not only of the Court but of the nation is at present employed about the ensuing elections. That there will be a Whigg Parliament there is no doubt, and I think, considering the reall weight that the families, fortunes, and interest of those in the King's service naturally give us, separate from the vast influence of the power and very great revenue of the Crown (if either should be made use of), I say I think that there is no room to doubt but that it will be a Court Parliament. If I should be mistaken in this opinion of our natural strength, and it should be thought adviseable to employ the revenue and power of the Crown to procure, by means of the returning officers, a majority to be returned, and that majority should afterwards (as no doubt they will) fortify and encrease themselves by the decision of elections in the Committee, yet then it will still be a Court Parliament, and the Opposition will have nothing either to boast of or to hope. But if this should be the case, their influence upon the people might be apprehended, because it might be productive of ill consequences if the people should be perswaded to believe that the majority of the Parliament were two degrees removed from being their representatives—one by the partiality of the returns; the other by that of the decisions of the Committee. I must observe to your Grace that the present system of affairs is to gett the Parliament up by the latter end of April, and to go to election as soon as possible, so as

to have everything over before the beginning of any part of harvest. What difficulties may arise, what obstructions the Opposition may probably give, I shall not mention in this place, because it would be conjecture only now, and possibly before this letter goes their behaviour in publick will lett us into the certainty, at least of the greatest part of their designs.

"Jan. 25. And now, my Lord, I shall proceed to give your Grace my poor opinion (built upon weak foundations of information but strong ones of duty and affection for you) with relation to some things that more particularly concern you. And the first naturally is the situation you appear in, at Court and with the Minister. I shall not scruple contradicting myself (possibly I shall do it with pleasure) if any alteration in it should come within my knowledge or conjecture between this time and the sending away my letter, which, as you have thought fitt to delay the transmission, will, I presume, be about Lady Day, and consequently we shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till May, though in my poor opinion your presence was never more necessary.

"Jan. 31. Last Saturday Lady Betty [Germain], Miss Chambers, Lord Wilmington, and myself had made a *partie quarrée* to dine at my house. Upon consideration we added Lady Suffolk. His Royal Highness* hearing of it, was pleased to come just before dinner, and Lord Wilmington, to my great satisfaction, brought Lord Middlesex with him, who came to town that very morning. I must assure you that he pleased extremely where we most wished he should please. But, however, it is not by him that I shall begin, but by this affair of the communication of the heads of Bills, which I am very glad is over.

"That the manner of bringing this motion into the House of Lords was such as I thought should draw a check upon it; that the practice of it must add some little weight to Bills so presented to the Government; must draw on conferences between the two Houses which must consequently bring them nearer the forms of our Parliament, and that power will by degrees follow forms, or create dissatisfaction in those who are possessed of the one and debarred of the other, is what I presume your Grace will readily admitt, and therefore attempts begun in such a manner and attended with such consequences should be stopped short, as your Grace has very prudently done by this. But I must acquaint you that, at my arrival, I found that it was looked on here as a subversion of the royal prerogative and (either by mistake or design) a total dissolution of the dependence of Ireland upon England. Clutterbuck had been advised with, who had declared it dangerous. Lord Chancellor [Talbot] and Lord Hardwicke had been prepossessed against it, and no bill was to pass for the future that had been thus communicated. Lord Hardwicke called upon me one morning and, as I happened to be alone, staid an hour with me. We talked the whole matter over, and I found him more moderate than Lord Wilmington seemed to apprehend; at

* The Prince of Wales

least I think I left him so. The King has several times expressed his dislike of it and his resolution to have it broke through, but in moderate terms. He was prepared to take fire, but luckily was not sett on fire before the news of laying it aside came. But you may depend upon it, that no good will has been wanting to sett it in a disadvantageous light both to the Court and the town, in so much that I believe her Majesty has exprssed her disapprobation of it very warmly, even since it has been over, and there I shall leave this head.

"The attempt and miscarriage of the Dissenters also is not, I fear, so candidly represented on this side of the water as I could wish it. I have not heard anything spoke about it by or from the great men; but by what has been written over from their friends on your side to their leaders in the City (and is indeed a sort of an apology) I think they neither do your Grace nor Mr. Cary justice. It is, in my opinion, a sort of shifting the blame due to the rashness and obstinacy of their undertaking either upon Sir Robert Walpole for not arming you with sufficient instructions, or upon your Grace for not inforcing them with sufficient vigour. I do not know whether this be so understood here or whether there is any thought about. If it be so understood, then I apprehend that you are in all events to blame here, and had no chance to avoid it, for you could not follow instructions you had not, and you should have taken upon yourself any dislike that might arise from the want of them. I hope to gett a copy of this letter. If I do, though probably you may have it already from better hands, I will send it you, for fear you should have it from none.

"Feb. 10.—Lord Middlesex being now here, I may justly refer you to him, Lord President [Wilmington], and your Kentish correspondents, for your election affairs. I need not tell you that my brother Oxenden* is outrageous, looks upon himself to be given up by you, and you may be certain fails not to inculcate it both to the Minister and the King also, of whom he has had several audiences, which, by the advantage taken of Lord Middlesex's absence and some other incidents (such as the reluctance of some of your warmest friends to vote for him, &c.), have, I believe, made as much impression as a thing of that nature can well do, which is something, though not a great one. Sir George* and his people most confidently and publickly talk it as a certainty that he shall be the first of the four, and 500 at least, if not 1,000, before Lord Middlesex; and I believe one, if not both, of these things is believed at Court. Your Grace will make the proper distinction between what great men really believe and must own to each other, and what they talk and teach their superiors to believe, who, possibly, have no light in these matters but such as they think fit to lett in upon them. The same people also say the Dissenters are so much dissatisfied that unless effectual care be taken they will all give single votes for Sir George to the number of 400. Whether all or any part of this be true I cannot say. I

* Sir George Oxenden, Bart., M.P. for Sandwich.

hope 'tis an old story only, grounded upon the behaviour of one Tempest, and if so I am told it signifies nothing. If there be anything in it, I presume it must be imputed to this letter, of which I send you a copy. I will endeavour to learn the truth before this letter goes, and shall mention it again, because, though you may be informed of things from better hands with much greater certainty, yet 'tis possible that nobody may write so circumstantially. I shall conclude this head by submitting to your Grace's consideration what your situation must be with people who, rather than not baffle your interest by the most disagreeable measures to you, will sett up, support publickly, and even play into the closet and conversation of the King, the man whom in the whole world they have the most reason to hate.

"Feb. 17.—Upon the whole, my Lord, when I consider with what precipitancy your publick conduct is liable to be judged of, and what an unlucky handle this perplexing election furnishes to misrepresent your more private transactions, it is my humble opinion that you should make all hast home that the weight and dignity of your business will permitt, and when you leave Ireland you should make such a disposition of things in your own mind as you design to do when you entirely quitt the Government, I mean by promoting and providing for those of your own friends, and such recommendations as you think requisite from your inclinations or obligations.

"Your Grace will escape the turmoil of this session by your necessary business in Ireland, but during that time I presume you will very maturely weigh what is most for your own and your country's service when we sett out for another seven years. You will consider how gracefull great offices are, with favour sufficient to maintain their lustre, and power to support those friends to whom time and their good fortune has procured the advantage of being called so already, and those whose merit may hereafter intitle them to that honour. You will consider the same offices divested, or almost divested, of that favour and that power; what their grace and lustre will then be, whether capable of giving any addition to a man of great quality, talents, and character that holds them, or only of drawing upon him the hatred and resentment of those he may act against without being capable of thoroughly defending him against them; whether, in such case, the pity (not to call it by a lower name) of the impartial, and even of those he acts with, may not follow the hatred of those he acts against. You will consider also how extreamly disagreeable it must be to be obliged to leave the Court and to oppose the measures of a prince for whose person and family and glory one feels the most sincere, the most reverential duty and affection, to act with a number of gentlemen, united in one point, indeed, but from different views and motives, and consequently liable to vary as those motives and views may cease or be satisfied, which is very different from the steadiness of bodies united not only in the same end but in the same motives to desire and to pursue that end. You will consider (and a very comfortable consideration it must be to your Grace) that you have a noble fortune, and

talents and interest to make you very amiable, and the continuance of your service highly usefull to the Court if it be thought fitting; if anything should render it otherwise, that [added] to this fortune, talents and interest, you are a Peer of Britain, a country fruitfull indeed of reproach, ill-nature, and corruption, but where the frowns of a Court, whatever other uneasinesses they may bring, seldom bring contempt along with them, which, to great minds, of all uneasinesses has been generally thought the most insupportable.

"As to the Opposition, I know very little of them. Harry Furnese tells me that he will call upon me one morning to talk over your Kentish affairs. If he does [so] before this goes you shall have an account of it. If it happens afterwards, and anything happens worth your knowledge, I will write again, but I have but little hopes from that quarter. The Scotch lords, who sett out so reasonably and moderately, are (as we foretold in Ireland) now the most vehement of all; 'tis natural indeed, considering they have but this session to live. The Opposition in general seem to design through this session to throw out points only that may look well in print and hurt the popularity of those who oppose them, without any hopes of carrying them, possibly without the wish of doing it (this also as I remember we guessed at). Such was the Druggists' petition, to revive the Excise clamour; the attempt to make the Army independant; the Qualification Bill, and the Place Bill, which last is yet in the House of Commons—points which if carried would be equally destructive of their own or any other Administration, if they should overturn this. But, for this and their numbers you will be informed by the public prints. I must mention one thing because possibly you may hear it and be surprized I should not mention it. There has been a report, and a strong one, that I had treated a reconciliation between their Majesties and the Prince, and was to be Secretary at War, &c. I should look upon it as the greatest happiness of my life to be any way instrumental to increase or continue the union between the Royal family; but there has been no quarrel, nor any overture from their Majesties to his Royal Highness nor from him to them that I know of. But whatever views people may imagine for him, this I assure your Grace, from knowledge and experience, no motives will influence his way of thinking or acting but what relate to his honour and reputation, which he founds in the interest and happiness of his country. . . ."

Lady Betty Germain to the Duke of Dorset.

[1734, January or February.*]—"I have been very miserable for this time that I could [not ?] write to you freely and not by the post, for I am satisfied they are at the trouble of opening my letters too, and much good may it do them. I believe you thought me distracted in one of mine, wherein I bid you not mind

* The first part of the letter is undated.

a hot-headed letter you had had. The case was this: when Dodington came over he was very ill received by his Majesty and scarce notified by anybody but the Prince. This made him exceedingly out of humour, and he wanted to have everybody else so. He found the ministers in some alarm about the Irish Parliament's communicating heads of Bills to one another, and came to me to tell me they were sitting upon your skirts, and that they would every way do you all the mischief and injustice they could, and bid me find out what hurt they had done you with the King, and said he would write you a long detail how ill you were used when he had a safe opportunity by the person that carrys over the Bills, and that he would make a memorandum every day what passed, but not send it till then, and then he would press you to mind and regard nothing, but to leave everything and come away as fast as you could, for they were cutting the grass under your feet; but this he assured me, he would not send without communicating to me. Pretty near the same things he said to Lord Wilmington, who came and told me instantly of it, and we both agreed there was no harm in his writing a letter full of what he knew, but since he was to show it to me 'twas time enough to prevent his too hasty advice. In a little time after this he met Mrs. Chamber* in the drawing-room, began in the same fury to her, who never had heard one word about these affairs, and at the same [time] assured her he had writ to you to come away instantly. She asked him twice over whether he had writ, and he still said yes he had. Upon her telling me this I was heartily frighted to think what the consequences might be if you were so mad as to follow his advice. At least I knew 'twould frett you heartily, and that was terrible, considering one could not let you into the affair by the post. When I told Lord W. he was in as much vexation as I, and bid me say that to you slightly not to mind the mad letters you had. But now both he and I are of the opinion he never did write you such a letter, but very likely you will have it by this messenger, for he never told it to Lord Wilm. nor to me that he had writ, but continued in saying he would; but Molly could not mistake him, for the next time he came here 'twas of a Sunday and I at play, and he began the same fury again how ill they used you, and she asked him again if he had writ to you to come immediately over, and he said 'Yes.' Whatever the Ministers' design was I cant tell, nor what malice they bear in their heart to you I cant tell, but this I am very sure, they had not made the King so uneasy about these communications of heads of Bills as they appeared to be themselves, but I hope of that affair you will know all the particulars from Lord W., who takes you exceedingly to heart indeed, but I think he is not quite satisfied that Mr. Cary and you dont write to him often enough and particulars especially about this business before it had gone so far in the Parliament, that he might have known what to say when they found fault, but, however, now he tells me ministers and all are quite easy

* Niece to Lady Betty Germain.

now 'tis over. About a fortnight ago or more I was at Molly Selwyn's,* and to own you the very truth I was in a cursed humour, for I had heard the election went ill not only by Sir George's villainy, but that the ministers did not espouse it as they ought. She began with her good wishes, which I from my soul believe is sincere in her and John, and I did hint as if I thought you was very ill-used on all sides, but at the same time assured her I had not heard one word from you, nor did anything I said come but from tittle-tattle of the town, and amongst the rest I said I heard that Sir Roger Meredeth had declared against you, and I thought that pretty extraordinary if he was under any Court influence. She said she would not do anything without my leave, but beg'd she might ask Sir Robert about it. I told her she was very free to tell my tittle-tattle to him if she pleased, upon which Horace came flying here next morning to assure me how heartily they wished for you, and Sir Robert desired to know if I would have him write to Sir Roger Meredeth, though he feared he had no influence over him. My answer was that I had only repeated hearsay, that I did not pretend to advise or give orders, and that I could not suppose but that Sir Robert had already made use of all his influence for you to everybody that he possibly could, since he knew your interest suffered only by joyning Sir George; upon which he declared his brother's and his great aversion to Sir George and wanted to know by what means 'twas he got so often at the King, upon which indeed I could not hold, but fell a laughing as loud as Horace could 'goster' himself, and said I was sorry Sir Robert knew so little of his ministerial part as not to be informed who went into the Cabinet and how they got in. I think verily Horace could not stand it, for he looked mighty foolish and walked off presently. I told Lord Wil. all that had passed and he either flattered me or approved ont mightily.

"Though the report goes that Dodington has made up all differences with the King and Prince, and 'tis partly true, for the Prince has made a sherif of Cornwell, I think it is, on the King's desire, yet they show they hate him as much as ever, for the ministers have desired if the Prince has anything to ask of the King that he would send his messages by Edgcomb and Baltimore, and the Prince talks as violently and publicly against Sir Robert as ever. You know I am a little cowardly, and it frights me out of my wits to see party grows fiercer and fiercer every day. Even about operas 'tis outrageous, and the delight of everybody's heart seems to be sett upon the King's setting by himself at the Haymarket House; and even Grantum and his lovingest of domesticks are in that, and t'other day at Dodington's the Prince was as eager and pressed me as earnestly to go to Lincoln's Inn Fields opera as if it had been a thing of great moment to the nation, but by good luck I had company at home. I wish you are not weary of this long letter, but I like you should know everything and I write as it comes uppermost.

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* One of the women of the Bedchamber.

"1733-4, Feb. 20.—As they told me Mr. Champneys would go away very soon I began to write that long scroll a long time ago, so writ on as things occurred, and as affairs are not much altered in this time I let it go. Lord President, the Countess* and I sat all yesterday afternoon talking of you, and the result of it I suppose you will know from him. Surely he's grown very loving to you, for he seems to take all your concerns strong to heart, and thinks a little like I now, for 'tis always with a consideration that you should not be tanted nor fretted as little as he can help in all things that cant go quite to your mind. In one part of this letter I writ word he was discontented that Cary and you did not write to him often enough, but now of late he is quite pleased and satisfied, for he then thought you might have found messengers that would carry your letters safely. Poor Cary; I believe he has been sick upon presentiment. Lord Vere† will carry your friend‡ off if her papa will give his consent and a little money, but as I have not much to say for my Lord's substantials, God knows what will happen, but I believe I shall go this week to him about it. Perhaps you will think in my former letters I might have given more hints to you of this affair; but indeed I could not, for my resolution has not been taken above two days. He certainly is a pretty sort of man; the whole world gives him a great character. I am very fond of him, I do think he will make her prodigious happy. I suppose he likes her extremely, or he is the best of actors, and her ladyship is far from disliking him. She has not certainty enough of being a co[untess] to tempt prodigiously, nor do I design to aim at makeing her father settle, but to give as much as I do in present, which is ten thousand pound down, or else they to live with me, which I had much rather they should do. Now don't you think I shall have a hard matter to compass, but the Countess has promised to go and keep my back hand, and all my tribe of brethren are to support me. Perhaps you may think one of his Lordship's views on her is great things from me at my death, but that, I believe, they are satisfied will not happen, for I have told them both so, over and over. His brother Sid[ney] has so much disliked this ill match for his brother that upon the appearance of Vere's following her, Sid. has forebore my house a great while, and I believe if I can guess right has used all his rhetorick to persuade him against throwing himself away so. I believe you will wonder at me for giving in to it, but indeed I think, barring present circumstances, I never yet saw any man that I liked so well for her, and I verily believe she never saw a man she liked so well for herself. By Saturday's post I believe I shall be able to give you a fuller account. God bless you. My very best respects to the Dutchess.

"1733-4, Feb. 22.—Since I writ this the Countess and I took a sudden resolution of going yesterday, and so we did, but there was no moving the old villain, he would not hear ont, but I am pretty

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* Of Suffolk.

† Lord Vere Beauclerk, created Lord Vere.

‡ Miss Chamber, whom he afterwards married.

confident that's only to save his money. So what will become ont I dont know, for I never saw two such miserable people as was waiting for me against I came home. She talks of breaking off with him, but I dont much believe her. I'll send you more of this by Mr. Lloyd, but Champney is now agoing, so I must have done."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1734[-5], Jan. 14. Dublin.—"I am well assured that your Grace will soon receive severall representations of an affair relating to the University here from some very considerable persons. However, I could not refuse the application made to me by a very worthy gentleman, who is a Fellow of the College and commissioned by some principal members of the Body to desire my poor good offices to your Grace, because they believed you thought me an honest man and because they heard I had the honor to be known to you from your early youth. The matter of their request related wholly to a dreadfull apprehension they lye under of Doctor Whitcomb's endeavor to procure a dispensation for holding his Fellowship together with that Church preferment bestowed on him by your Grace. The person sent to me on this message gave me a written paper containing reasons why the[y] hope your Grace will not be prevayled upon to grant such a dispensation. I presume to send you as short an extract as I can of those reasons, because I may boldly assure your Grace that party or faction have not the least concern in the whole affair. And, as to myself, I am an entire stranger to the Doctor.

"It is asserted that this preferment given to the Doctor consists of a very large parish in a very fine country, thirty miles from Dublin; that it abounds very much with Papists and is consequently a most important cure, requiring the rector's residence, and perhaps that of some assistant, which it can well afford, being worth near six hundred pounds a year.

"That, as to such dispensations, they find in their college books but three or four instances since the Revolution, and these in cases very different from the present. For those few livings which obtained dispensations to be held with a Fellowship were sinecures of small value, not sufficient to induce a Fellow to leave his colledge, and in the body of those dispensations it is inserted as a reason for granting them, that they were such livings as could be no hindrance in the discharge of their duty as a Fellow.

"That dispensations are very hurtfull to such a society, because they put a stop to the succession of Fellowships, and thereby give a check to that emulation, industry, and desire of improvement in learning which the hopes of obtaining a Fellowship will probably incite men to.

"That if the dispensation now attempted should take place, it may be used as a precedent for the like practice hereafter, which will be very injurious to the society by encouraging Fellows to

apply for such dispensations when they have interest to get preferment, by which the senior Fellows will be settled in the colledge for life. And thus for want of succession by any other way than death or marriage, all encouragements to the young and most deserving students will be wholly lost.

"That a junior Fellowship is of very small value, and to obtain it requires long and close study, to which young students are onely encouraged by hopes of succeeding in a reasonable time to be one of the seven seniors, which hopes will be quite cut off when those seniors are perpetuated by dispensations.

"That the Fellows at their admittance into their Fellowships take a solemn oath never to accept of any Church preferment above a certain value and distance from Dublin as long as they continue Fellows, to which oath the accepting a dispensation by Doctor Whitcomb is directly contrary in both particulars of value and distance.

"That at this time there is a set of very hopefull young men who have been in long and close study to stand for the first vacant Fellowship, who will be altogether discouraged and drop their endeavors in pursuit of learning by being disappointed in their hopes of Doctor Whitcomb's leaving the college, and opening a way for one of them to succeed in a Fellowship.

"I shall onely trouble your Grace with a few remarks of my own upon this subject.

"You will please, my Lord, to know that a Fellowship in this University differs much in some very important circumstances from most of those in Oxford and Cambridge. My Lord George [Sackville] will tell your Grace that a Fellowship here is got with much difficulty, by the strict examination they undergo in almost every branch of learning, to which must added the reputation of regularity in their conduct. It is also disposed of with much solemnity. For the examiners and all the senior Fellows take an oath at the altar to dispose of the vacant Fellowship to the person whom they think deserves it best.

"I must here by the way take notice that not onely the University but even the whole kingdom are full of acknowledgments for the honor your Grace hath done them in trusting the care of educating one of your sons to Dublin College, which hopes to continue always under your Grace's favor and protection.

"This University is patron of some Church preferments which are offered to the severall Fellows according to their seniority, and so downwards to the lowest of them in holy orders.

"I desire your Grace further to consider that, by the want of trade here, there is no encouragement for gentlemen to breed their sons to merchandise; that not many great employments in Church or Law or the Revenue fall to the share of persons born in Ireland; and consequently that the last resource of younger brothers is to the Church, where, if well befriended, they may possibly rise to some reasonable maintenance.

"Your Grace will not want opportunitys during your continuance in this Government, or afterwards by the favor you

have with his Majesty, to make Doctor Whitcomb easyer in his preferment by some addition, and in such a manner that no person or society can have the least pretence to complain of. And therefore I humbly beg your Grace, out of the high veneration I bear to your person and virtues, that you will please to let Doctor Whitcomb content himself a while with that rich preferment (one of the best of the kingdom) till it shall lye in your way further to promote him to his own content. If upon admittance to his Fellowship he took the usuall oath never to accept a Church living but with the two usuall limitations of distance and value, to hold with his Fellowship, it will be thought hardly reconcileable to accept a dispensation where the case is so vastly different.

"I humbly intreat your Grace to pardon this long trouble I have given you, wherein I have no sort of interest except that which proceeds from an earnest desire that you may continue as you began from your youth, without incurring the least censure from the world or giving the least cause of discontent to any deserving person."

Postscript.—"I desire to present my most humble respects to my Lady Dutchess. Being loth to give your Grace further trouble I desire you will command my Lady E. Germain to let me know that you do not disapprove of this letter."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1734[-5], March 22. Dublin.—"Your Grace must please to remember that I carryed you to see a Comedy of Terence acted by the scholars of Doctor Sheridan, with which performance you were very well pleased. The Doctor is the most learned person I know in this kingdom, and the best schoolmaster here in the memory of man, having an excellent tast in all parts of literature. I prevayled on my Lord Carteret to make him one of his chaplains and to bestow him a good living, which the Doctor afterwards exchanged for another about seven miles from Dublin. But his health impairing by the air of this town, and being invited by the gentlemen of the county of Cavan to accept the Free School of Cavan, which is endowed equall to his living, and he being born in the county, the present schoolmaster, one Mr. Knowles, is desirous to change his school for the Doctor's living of much the same value, called Dunboyn, in your Grace's gift. This affair hath been so long managing that it was in agitation before you left us, and I begged your consent for the change, which, as a very reasonable request, not crossing any measures of your Grace, you were pleased to grant. All things have been long agreed, the Bishop of Kilmore (Hort) hath writ to you upon it. So your Lords Justices have done for some months past, but being a thing of no great consequence to the publick state of the kingdom your secretaryes have forgot it. In the meantime the poor Doctor hath given up his school in town, to his great loss, and hath parted with his house, continuing in

uneasyness and suspence till your letter comes. Therefore I humbly beg you will please to order one of your secretaryes immediatly to send the letter that will impower the Doctor and Knowles the schoolmaster to exchange stations. My letter is the worst part of the matter, because it will cost you three minutes to read, but the request is short and reasonable. I writ some days ago to my Lady E. Germain on the same purpose, but it is possible her Ladyship might forget, which your Grace to my knowledge is not capable of."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1735, April 15. Dublin.—"Your Grace must remember that some days before you left us I commanded you to attend me to Doctor Delany's house, about a mile out of this town, where you were to find Doctor Helsham the physician. I told you they were the two worthyest gentlemen in this kingdom in their several facultyes. You were pleased to comply with me, called at the Deanry and carryed me thither, where you dined with apparent satisfaction. Now, this same Doctor Helsham hath ordred me to write to your Grace in behalf of one Alderman Aldrich, who is Master of the Dublin Barrack, and is as high a Whig and more at your devotion than I could perhaps wish him to be. And yet he is a very honest gentleman, and, what is more important, a near relation of the Grattans, who in your Grace's absence are Governors of all Ireland, and your Vicegerents when you are here, as I have often told you. They consist of an Alderman, whom you are to find Lord Mayor at Michaelmas next; of a doctor who kills or cures half the city; of two parsons, my subjects as prebendaryes, who rule the other half, and of a vagrant brother who governs the North. They are all brethren, and your army of twelve thousand soldiers are not able to stand against them. Now, your Grace is to understand that these Grattans will stickle to death for all their cousins to the five and fiftieth degree; and consequently this same Alderman Aldrich being onely removed two degrees of kindred, and having a son as great a Whig as the father, hath prevayled with Doctor Helsham to make me write to your Grace, that the son of such a father may have the Mastership of a barrack at Kinsale, which is just vacant. His name is Michael Aldrich. Both your Grace and I love the name for the sake of Doctor Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church [Oxford], although I am afraid he was a piece of a Tory. You will have severall requests this post with the same request, perhaps for different persons, but you are to observe onely mine, because it will come three minutes before any other. I think this is the third request I have made to your Grace. You have granted the two first and therefore must grant the third. For when I knew Courts, those who had received a dozen favors were utterly disobliged if they were denyed the thirteenth. Besides, if this be not granted the Grattans will rise in rebellion, which I tremble to think of.

"My Lady Eliz. Germain uses me very ill in her letters. I want a present from her, and desire you will please to order that it may be a seal. Mine are too small for the fashion, and I would have a large one, worth fourty shillings at least. I had a letter from her two days ago, and design to acknowledge it soon; but business must first be dispatched, I mean the request I have made to your Grace, that the young Whig may have the barrack of Kinsale worth 60*l.* or 70*l.* a year. I should be very angry as well as sorry if your Grace would think I am capable of deceiving you in any circumstance.

"I hope and pray that my Lady Dutchess may recover health at the Bath, and that we may see her Grace perfectly recovered when you come over. And pray God preserve you and your most noble family in health and happiness."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1735, Nov. 27. Whitehall.—Enclosing a copy of the preliminary articles agreed upon between the Emperor and France, which had been communicated to Lord Waldegrave and Mr. Robinson.

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1735, Dec. 30. Deanry House.—" Your Grace fairly owes me 110*l.* a year in the Church, which I thus prove. I desired you would bestow a preferment of 150*l.* per annum on a certain clergyman. Your answer was that I asked modestly; that you would not promise, but would grant my request. However, that clergyman, for want of good intelligence, or (as the cant-word is here) being not an expert King-fisher, was forced to take up with 40*l.* a year, and I shall never trouble your Grace any more in his behalf. But, however, by plain arithmetick it appears that 110*l.* remain. And this arrear I have assigned to one Mr. John Jackson, no less than a cousin german of the Grattans. He is Vicar of Santry, hath a small estate near it, with two sons and as many daughters, all grown up. This gentleman hath layn severall years as a weight upon me, which I voluntarily took up on account of his virtue, piety, good sense, good nature, and modesty almost to a fault. Your Grace is now disposing the *débris* of two bishopricks, among which is the Deanry of Ferns, worth between 80*l.* and 100*l.* a year, which will make Mr. Jackson easyer, who besides his other good qualityes, is as loyal as you could wish. I cannot but think that your Grace, to whom God hath given every amiable as well as usefull talent, and in so great a measure, is bound when you have satisfyed all the expectations of those who have most power in your *club*, to do something at the request of others who love you better, and meerly upon your own account, without expecting anything for themselves. I have ventured once or twice (at most) to drop hints in favor of some very deserving gentlemen, who I was assured had been recommended to you by

persons of weight. But I easily found by your generall answers that, although I have been an old courtier, you knew how to silence me by changing the subject, which made me reflect that courtiers resemble gamesters, the latter finding new arts unknown to the older. And I well remember a principal old gamester who assured me that he had lost 14,000*l.* since he left off play, meerly by dabling with younger proficients who had found out new refinements.

"My Lord, I will, as a Divine, quote Scripture. Although the children's meat must not be given to dogs, yet the dogs eat the scraps that fall from the children's tables. This is the second (*sic*) request I ever directly made your Grace. Mr. Jackson is under a necessity of living on his small estate, part whereof is in his parish about four miles from hence, where he hath built a family-house, more expensive than he intended. He is a clergyman of long standing and of a most unblemished character. But the misfortune is that he hath not one enemy, and consequently I have none to appeal to for the truth of what I say.

"Pray, my Lord, be not allarmed at the word *Deanry*, nor imagine it a dignity like those we have in England. For, except three or four, the rest have neither power nor land as Deans and Chapters. It is usually a living made up of one or more parishes, some very poor, others better endowed, but all in tythes. Mr. Jackson cannot leave his present scituation and onely desires some very moderate addition, consistent with what he holds.

"My Lord, I do not deceive your Grace when I say you will oblige great numbers of those who are most in your esteem here by conferring this favour, or any other that will answer the same end.

> "Multa —— veniet manus auxilio quæ
> Sit mihi, (nam multo plures sumus) ac veluti te
> Judæi cogemus in hanc decedere turbam.

"I should have waited on your Grace, and should have taken the priviledge of staying my usuall thirteen minutes if I had not been prevented by the return of an old disorder in my head, for which I have been forced to confine myself to the precepts of my physicians."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1736, May 5. "Deanry-House."—"Although your Grace be very soon to leave us, and that considering my years and infirmityes, I cannot reasonably expect ever to see you again, yet since you have many preferments in the Church to dispose of, which it is understood will be done before your departure, I cannot but insist that you will please to think on Mr. Marmaduke Philips, who is the son of a considerable gentleman some years deceased, of a good estate, part whereof he made over in his life-time to this son, but being an easy negligent man, careless in his expences, prevailed upon Mr. Marmaduke to restore that bit of an estate to pay some urgent debt, promising to give him a better,

which he was never able to do; by which failure, Mr. Philips, who was a younger son, was left wholly unprovided for. He is a loyal subject to King George, perfectly well educated and an ornament to his profession. In his travels he had the good fortune to be known to an eminent commander, my Lady Dutchess's father,* on which account I cannot but think he hath some title to your Grace's favor, having been recommended by the same commander, the effects whereof he hath not yet found, which was neither your Grace's fault nor his own, but by the miserable condition of this unfortunate kingdom. My Lord, I am very sensible of my unhappyness in thinking differently from your Grace both as to person and affairs, and at what distance you thought fit to keep me whenever I offered to speak in favor of any one who I thought deserved well. But whether I am to be believed or no, I protest in the presence of God, that I never moved anything to your Grace which I did not think would be for your service, and acceptable to those whom you appear most to value, and who have the greatest veneration for you. Considering the honor I have possessed of being known to your Grace and to many of your illustrious family from your early youth, I hope I have not been too importunate or too frequent a sollicitor. To put a great man in mind of rewarding virtue and merit is indeed not often after the usuall course of proceeding; and perhaps, by the violence of factions, is less practiced at present than it hath been for many years past. For I much doubt whether one representation of persons in a thousand to a Prince, a Viceroy, or a Prime Minister, be not more to serve a scheme than to reward virtue, learning, or good sense. Besides, my Lord, it is not onely popularity, but strict justice in a chief governor here, to share part of his favors among those English inhabitants who lye under the misfortune of being born in this kingdom, if the latter have equal merit, whereof your Grace, when you are truly informed, will ever be a perfect judge and a true esteemer.

"Mr. Philips is at present in circumstances unworthy of his birth, his virtue, and his learning. His last request to me was the meer result of his long despondency. It was to desire that your Grace would please to put him out of suspence by letting him know whether you had any favorable intentions towards him in the distribution of those Church preferments now in your gift, because he is much more uneasy under his present uncertainty than he could be by any determination.

"I have not the least intention of putting your Grace to the trouble of any answer to this letter, but leave the affair entirely in your own breast."

Dean Swift to the Duke of Dorset.

1736, Oct. 14. "Deanry House, Dublin."—"In a former letter to your Grace I taxed you with a debt of 110*l.* a year in Church livings, being by arithmetick an arrear of 150*l.* a year

* General Colyear.

which your Grace was pleased to promise me for a friend, and of which I onely received 40*l.* a year. I often did myself the honor of being so bold (which is no great honor) of telling you that a very worthy clergyman had been long a weight upon my shoulders to get him some addition, and that his circumstances were such that the addition I desired must consist with the small preferment he hath already. There is now a prebendary vacant which will answer my wish. One Mr. Williamson dyed about 36 hours ago. He was Treasurer of Christ-Church in Dublin. The place is worth between ninety and a hundred pounds a year and no more. The person whom I desire may have it is Mr. John Jackson, minister of Santry, three miles from Dublin, and a relation of the Grattans. He hath been often and earnestly recommended by me to your Grace, and your answers have been favorable. I have added severall times that you would by such a favor oblige this whole city and the most honest gentlemen in the kingdom, and I hope such a consideration will have weight with you. I do therefore hope and expect that your Grace will by the next post send an order to have a patent made out for Mr. John Jackson, Vicar of Santry, or Rector (whichever he be) to confer on him the Treasurership of Christ-Church, Dublin; and at the same time (which is now near the twentyeth) that my chief regard is to your Grace's honor, that you will reward a most deserving gentleman of this kingdom who had the misfortune to be born in it, with one mark of your favour. Otherwise I shall think it very hard, that as I am of some station and perhaps of some little distinction, besides the honor of being so long known to your Grace and family, I could never have the least power of prevayling on you to reward merit, for which no party will repine."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1737, Oct. 6. Dublin.—Announces his arrival in Dublin on the 5th; waited next morning on the Duke of Devonshire* and was graciously received. "I think as yet he does not look the worse for his drinking; he has almost killed his aids-de-camps already, and I am afraid that Gardiner will be much the worse for this winter's work. The coinage has made a great rout here and the Dean [Swift] has shewn himself more mad and absurd than ever. The poor Primate has been greatly threatened by anonymous letters, so that he has been obliged to have a corporal and six men lye in his house every night for this month past to secure him from any insult. The other day at the Lord Mayor's feast the Dean before all the company talked against low[e]ring the gold, and told the Primate that had it not been for him he would have been torn to pieces by the mob, and that if he held up his finger he could make them do it that instant. . . The people at Cork are still more outrageous. They have sent to their members to desire they would oppose the giving the

* Successor to the Duke of Dorset as Lord Lieutenant.

necessary supplys till the King should think fit to recall his proclamation, which is so prejudicial to the trade and welfare of this kingdom. We expect a petition from thence to the House of Commons to desire they would interpose and get their money put upon the old footing. . . . My Lord Lieutenant's speech is very well lik'd; he spoke it so low that few people could hear it."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1737, Oct. 20. Dublin.—Wainwright has been very well received at the Castle. The Duke one day at his Levée passed through the crowd to tell him that the Duke of Newcastle sent his compliments to him. The Bishop of Derry does all he can to make the Primate his friend. "The Cork petition was presented to the House last Tuesday and the consideration of it deferr'd till next Wednesday. Mr. Cary's friends and all those that think the lowering of the gold absolutely necessary complain terribly that the petition was not at once rejected, for they say giving it a day is doing it a great deal too much honor. They are certainly in the right, and a great majority of the House thought so, but the Speaker* was in an ugly situation between the Castle and his Cork interest, so that he artfully made the Duke believe that the favourers of the petition were much stronger than they really were, and promised that if a little time was given him, that he would so soften and bring people to a more moderate way of thinking that he should be able to have it dropt. On the other side he may tell his friends in Cork that if he had not stood between them and the Castle, that their petition would not have been received, but rejected with scorn and indignation. So that by this means he thinks to oblige both sides. . . . My Lord Lieutenant dined yesterday at Howth, and tho' he came away at six a clock contrived to be as drunk as any of his predecessors have been at that place."

The Same to the Same.

1737, Oct. 27. Dublin.—The petitions against the lowering of the gold were considered yesterday in the House. They first proposed a Committee, and when that was negatived by 108 to 55, Stannard moved for a resolution that the lowering was prejudicial to the trade of the country. This was rejected by 111 to 40, and Carter proposed that the further consideration of the petitions should be postponed to the 1st of October [1738]† which was carried by 118 to 30. "The chief speakers on the side of the minority were Stannard, Sir Richard Cox (who abus'd the Privy Council very grossly), Mr. Morgan, Mr. Maloun. On the other side, the Sollicitor-General, Mr. Cope, Mr. Coote, Mr. Cuff and Mr. Hill."

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* Henry Boyle, afterwards Earl of Shannon.
† See *Commons' Journals*, Ireland, iv., 238.

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1737, Nov. 11. Dublin.—I was yesterday sworn at the Privy Council. The Committee of Accounts is just over, on which the opposition has been very strong. "This has been by much the most troublesome session I remember. If they go on at this rate the Duke of D[evonshire] will be soon tired of his employment. . . . The Boyne-Club met as usual at the Tholsel on the 4th of November. The Duke staid but a very little while with them. After he was gone and a great deal of the company, the bumpers went about very fast, and those that were left grew very drunk. Cunningham stood up and in a great bumper drank the Duke of Devonshire's health, and said, thank God we have now a Lord Lieutenant that will keep his word and will do no jobs. Young Allen answered that he hoped he would at least except the last, for he was sure he was incapable of doing either. He said that by God they were all alike, and that the last was no better than the rest, upon which Allen told him he lyed. Then swords were drawn, and the company interposed and the quarrel was made up. Two days after Brigadier Bowles came to me with an apology from Cunningham, and till then I had heard nothing of the affair. He excused himself by saying he was drunk and knew nothing that he had said or done."

The Same to the Same.

1737, Nov. 20. Dublin.—"The Queen's illness is a great shock to everybody here, and we wait with the utmost impatience for an easterly wind to hear of her recovery or death, for from the accounts we have had we have reason to fear the worst. . . . The business of Parliament is now pretty well over. The Money Bill goes off next Tuesday. The Opposition has triumphed this session, and ended with a resolution that the overdrawings on the head of Barracks, Concordatum, and Military Contingencys were a great cause of the debt of the nation and tended to the impoverishment of the kingdom. The Attorney and Sollicitor General and other friends to the Castle opposed it, but upon the division, they were so weak that they dared not tell. The Speaker has behaved all along with great indifference, and I believe was pleased with what was done. . . . There was no notice taken here of the Princesses birthday."

Rhyming Epistle.

Undated.—Written at Enshigore, in Ireland, and in winter, to a friend, who dined at the Green Cloth.

Begins:

"Your letter, Jemmy, full of wit,"

Ends:

"But I beneath the Pole or Line,
Shall be, dear Jimmy, ever thine.
With a fa la la."

One verse begins, "Your old friend Jonathan is dead." If this is Swift, the date would be the winter of 1745.

VII.—IRELAND, 1750-1756.

Lord Chesterfield to the Duke of Dorset.

[1750, December ?]—"I endeavoured yesterday to have the honour of making my compliments to your Grace upon your return to a situation which I suppose you liked, and in which I am sure you were liked. . . . Your Grace is well enough acquainted with your present and my former subjects to imagine all the industry and vigour of their sollicitations. I have within this fortnight received a hundred, in the intention that I should trouble you with them, which I have fairly told them that I will not do. But . . . your Grace will I am sure forgive me if I most earnestly apply to you in favour of one or two people who, in my opinion, have just claims to whatever I can do to serve them, and that I believe your Grace will allow to be the case of a Lord Lieutenant's pages.

"Mr. Mason, nephew to Lord Molesworth, was one of mine. I had an opportunity of doing well for him by making him a cornet in his uncle's regiment. I only mean therefore by this . . . to recommend him to your general protection.

"Richard Bailey, a gentleman of an extreme good Derbyshire family, was another of my pages, and a very pretty young fellow, I made him a lieutenant in an additional company in Otway's. which being soon broke, he was soon reduced to half pay. . . . I at last obtained leave for him to *buy* a lieutenancy in Lee's, where he is at present. I only recommend him to your Grace as a plant of mine which, at a proper time, I hope you will transplant into some better place.

"But I come now to a most humble and earnest request to your Grace, the case being extremely compassionate. It is in favour of William Heathcote, my third page, now a half-pay lieutenant. He is a younger brother of a Derbyshire gentleman of a very good family and a tolerable estate, but encumbered with nine or ten brothers and sisters, insomuch that I do not believe his share comes to ten pounds. I made him a lieutenant in one of the new raised companys, which were soon after broke. . . . While he was in commission, he applied himself extremely to his business, was very sober and diligent, without being dull. And I will answer for him that he will not make your Grace either ashamed or repent of any favour you may be pleased to show him.

"Isaac Bickerstaffe, whose family was known to your Grace at Dublin, and particularly to Mr. Bayle, was my fourth page. He is now a second lieutenant, and I beg leave only to recommend him to your general protection.

"Your Grace will further forgive my sending you the enclosed letter from Capt. Cane, who was gentleman-usher to Lady Chesterfield, and is really a very pretty fellow. . . . I only trouble your Grace with his letter to give me an opportunity of doing justice to his character, which I really think is the best I know in all Ireland of people of this rank.

"By the number of names I have mentioned, your Grace may probably at first think my requests very numerous, and consequently very impertinent, but I must beg that you will observe that in truth they are reducible to one single one . . . and your favour to him will be laying the greatest obligation upon your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant."

Lord Chief Baron Bowes to Lord George Sackville.

1750, Dec. 15. Dublin.—Congratulating him on the appointment of the Duke of Dorset as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and urging the repeal of the old laws (the latest of which is of Hen. 7th's reign) prohibiting the export of English coin to Ireland, which were framed when commerce was not understood, and have always been questioned in point of general policy. Encloses a dissertation on the state of the coin in Ireland.

King George II. to the Duke of Dorset.

1750, December 24.—Instructions for the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. *Signed and sealed.*

The Primate* to Lord George Sackville.

1751, May 18. "From your lodgings at the Castle."—The Provost and fellows will immediately proceed to the election of his Royal Highness. The wines sent for the Lord Lieutenant are not what could be wished. "I have tasted all the different wines and find to my great concern that there is nothing but the claret which can be made to answer any purpose. Of the two sorts of champagne, that sealed with yellow wax might go off at balls, if there were a better kind for select meetings. The red wax is too bad for an election dinner at Dover. The four parcels of Burgundy are almost equally bad. If there is any difference, that sealed with black wax and falsely and impudently called Vin de Beaune is the worst, and is indeed as bad as the worst tavern could afford; but I am sure that no person will ever drink a second glass of either. I know how unhappy his Grace and you would be to see the tables so provided. What can be done I know not. You have been most scandalously abused, but I doubt his Grace will not think that a sufficient excuse for bad entertainment through a whole winter. The claret called Chateau Margoux is excellently good; the La Tour very good; but the smallness of the bottles (though a trifling circumstance compared with the others) is so remarkable that I am very apt to conclude the whole business has been dishonestly transacted, and I am confident that not a drop of the wine so called was ever in the province of Burgundy. The melancholy operation of tasting was performed

* Dr. George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, who was at this time one of the Lords Justices.

at my house yesterday. General Bragge, and eight or nine more, the most nearly related to the family, were present and agree to this sentence in the utmost extent. To prevent as far as I could any fancy or prejudice, I slipt in a bottle of my own Burgundy, and they all cried out, 'This will do.' I would not have you persuaded that the fault is from want of keeping or from having been disturbed in the passage. If I have any knowledge, the wine is fundamentally bad. It is a vile infamous mixture and never can be better. The only security against its growing worse is that there is hardly room for it." Relates the proceeding in a Court Martial sitting upon a complaint of Lieut.-Col. Pearce of Irwin's against Lieut. Vanziel and others. Before they had finished, the 25th of March arrived, the Mutiny Act expired, and the court had to be called afresh.

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1751, May 20. Dublin.—I am glad to find that the affair of the Chancellorship is not attended with any dissatisfaction. The Duke of Dorset has received a compliment already " which (how insignificant soever in itself) would not have been made to any other Lord Lieutenant, and he remains less bound to the individuals of the body than if he were actually their Chancellor. I hope you will be so good as to see that my last letter to the Duke upon that subject is destroyed. If my going out of town should delay the transmitting of any paper from the college for a few days, I presume there is no great harm done." As to the question of the currency, two things are necessary for settling it. The first is the liberty of importing English money; this is certainly done notwithstanding the prohibition, but as it cannot be done avowedly, the public offices are out of the question, and the traffic remains only in the hands of private bankers, who do it only at their own time and on their own terms, and will both declare and make a scarcity just as it suits their conveniency. The next thing is permission from the King to recall the proclamations giving currency to foreign money. The Speaker's letter is a sure indication of good humour. "I had a long discourse with him on his leaving town which seemed satisfactory to us both, and his letter to you is a proof of it." Cuningham's conduct and manners are thoroughly satisfactory.

Lord George Sackville to Thomas Waite.

1751, May 24. Whitehall.—Concerning the state of the coin in Ireland. In consequence of a letter which the Lords Justices wrote to the Lord Lieutenant dated the 6th of May, the question was taken seriously into consideration by his Majesty's principal servants " and they were unanimously of opinion that the prevalency of the Spanish coin required some immediate remedy. His Grace proposed the repealing those laws which prevented the exportation of English money as far as related to Ireland, and

after a long deliberation it was agreed that if the chief officers of the Mint and the Directors of the Bank would not oppose that measure it would be right to undertake it this session of Parliament. The officers of the Mint had no objection, but the Directors of the Bank unanimously resolved that it would be a prejudice to Great Britain, as it might lessen the current specie of the kingdom and might be the means of encouraging that evil practice of clipping and washing the gold coin in Ireland if there was a free intercourse of money between the two kingdoms. Whether these objections are ill or well grounded is not material to the present purpose, as it is impossible so late in a session of Parliament to undertake the making of any alteration in an affair of this importance without the consent, or at least the acquiescence, of so considerable a body as the Directors of the Bank of England." The Lords Justices are therefore recommended by the Lord Lieutenant to devise, in consultation with the Privy Council, some scheme which in their opinion would tend to the relieving of her Majesty's subjects in Ireland from a grievance which is not only detrimental to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, but if continued may be productive of the most fatal consequences. *Copy.*

THE PRIMATE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1751, May 25. Dublin.—Chiefly upon the questions of the currency and the barracks. Thinks that Mr. Petty* will not be refused a title to which he has just pretentions by his family and fortune, and hopes he will have a due sense of the favour, but would be loth to be sponsor for him. The Loftuses have asked about it once or twice, not in the least impertinently, but because a county election is coming on. There is to be a big meeting at Wexford at the end of June, and they would like them to be able to speak with certainty. The court martial in Irwin's is still going on. Major Pearce seems in a bad temper, and there are fresh accusations and arrests every day. If the court sits a week longer, believes that the whole regiment will be prisoners.

THE SAME to the SAME.

Same date. Evening.—Since I made up my letter, yours has come in. "I cannot let a post go by without applauding and congratulating you upon the great progress already made in the affair of the coin. I shall be best pleased if the repeal of the prohibition should be first made particularly to Ireland, for it will then appear more strongly in the light of a benefit obtained by the pure weight of my Lord Lieutenant."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1751, June 13. Dublin.—Requesting that the Lord Lieutenant would promote Captain Robert Cuningham, his aide-de-camp, [as Lord Justice] as a public mark of his Grace's favour to himself.

* Created Viscount Fitzmaurice, Oct., 1751, and Earl of Shelburne, June, 1753.

THE PRIMATE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1751, July 2. Leixlip.—". . . I am very glad that you are upon so right and good terms with H.R.H. the Duke . . . but of all the things mentioned in your last letter I am the most delighted with your proposal of Lord Rothes. I have lived in fear of Bland these six months. Rothes is, in my opinion, without any exception, the best man that could be had. . . . I expect Col. Waldegrave to dinner. . . . To tell you the truth, the Colonel does not shine upon new ground, and as the ideas and language of White's (in which I conclude him supreme), are not current here, he seems entirely devoid of any other, so that, in the eyes of us unpolished people, he appears rather simple and ignorant. This is only the first impression, and perhaps I am quite mistaken."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1751, July 6. Leixlip.—Concerning the steps taken by the Lords Justices and the Privy Council in pursuance of the powers conveyed to them in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant. Upon the receipt of these powers the Lords Justices thought they could no longer defer communicating them to the Council. After some preliminaries the Primate read to the Lords of the Council Lord G. Sackville's letter of the 24th of May. (*See above.*) "I cannot express to you the satisfaction that appeared universally. It is impossible for any transaction to have [been] carried on with more success hitherto, or more credit to those concerned in it. They have separately mentioned your letter of the 24th of May to me as the best considered and the clearest letter of business they had ever seen. Luke Gardiner said it was done like a man who not only understood business but understood it in order to do it, which was the great difference between men of business and what they call men of parts, whom he detested. But as for this, Sir Robert Walpole might have done it as well, but he defied him to do it better. I shall not stop to tell you how much I enjoy this applause, as it will be more to the purpose to go on in acquainting you with our further proceedings. We all agreed that it was necessary to take away the currency of all hammered money entirely, as being the most inconvenient of all coin and the most liable to frauds; that this method was in every respect preferable to a gradual reduction, and even more equitable to those who should now have many of these pieces in their hands. For if a new currency was given below the present rate, it would fix a value indiscrim[in]ately upon the good and bad, whereas the total withdrawing of the proclamation will not affect their real value and leave each piece to find its way upon its own intrinsick merit. The next question was as to the time of doing it, and we agreed that if the army could be subsisted for the month of August (they having already received this month's subsistence) in other money, there was no doubt that in that time a supply might be had either of guineas, or, at worst, of Portugal

milled pieces and moidors. The summer's fairs at home are over, so that no harm can happen on that account; the Bristol fair just coming on, and may be a means of supplying us with proper money; and if this currency is to cease before that fair there will be no danger of their bringing home any more of that coin among us. Upon the whole we were unanimously of opinion (Gardiner being rather more forward than any, and giving hints very properly that the army should be taken care of) that this measure ought to take place immediately. A proclamation is ordered to be prepared. Lord Chancellor, the two Chief Justices, Prime Serjeant, Attorney and Solicitor are preparing it, to be ready on Monday, in case the fuller Council which we shall then have shall be of the same opinion, so that on Tuesday it may probably be done. There was the most entire and unanimous agreement in this measure, which makes me hope it is right. My own opinion is clearly for it, and I have hopes that the immediate confusion will not be great. The consequences must be good. You have very high merit to claim, and we are truly sensible (I speak not of myself, but of others) of the advantages of a Government which has already shewn so much weight and influence and so much readiness to exert it in our support. This may seem stiff language as coming from me, but I give it as the sentiments of those I converse with. You may [be] assured that things are as well as you could wish, and I have little doubt of their continuing so."

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1751, July 9. Dublin.—"Yesterday we ordered a proclamation to be issued (a copy of which will be enclosed with our letter to my Lord Duke) for the withdrawing of the other proclamations which gave currency to the Spanish pistoles. The measure was universally approved, and the strongest expressions of gratitude to my Lord Lieutenant for having obtained this power, without which we should never have undertaken this step, nor should have ventured to propose a scheme which was to wait a month before it could be executed. In short, all is hitherto as well as could be wished. Cunningham has just been to a goldsmith's to change some odd pistoles which he had by him, and he tells me that the shop was crowded with common people who came on the same errand, and who parted with their pistoles at some loss, with the utmost cheerfullness, and thanked God they were to have no more of them. I hope we shall have no trouble. You will observe that we have mentioned in the proclamation *By his Majesty's authority, signified by his Grace my Lord Lieutenant.* This was inserted not only to give more weight to the order, but to prevent its appearing in the way of precedent that the Governors and Council here took it upon them to make these alterations without the King's speciall permission; and that it might appear publickly that we had his leave and authority. I hope this precaution was right.

"I have no objection to the Dutchess's expedition from Park Gate. . . . Everything now draws very near. Am I to be well used or kept at a distance? Let me know beforehand, that I may not raise my expectations too high."

THE PRIMATE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1751, July 11. Leixlip.—"The proclamation concerning the pistoles is well received in the town of Dublin, and I have great hopes that this great revolution will pass over without any convulsion or disturbance. Some inconveniences must be expected till a supply of other money can be had, but the people will submit to them with the more cheerfullness as they are assured that the pistoles will go without a possibility of returning. The governors of the Bank may possibly think that we shall now attempt an extraordinary importation of English money, and may use some means to prevent it. Would it be improper to desire that some hint might be given to the Custom House officers at Park Gate that no uncommon strictness on that point was expected from them. This might be of great service, if proper to be asked. I hope there will be no occasion for taking up the consideration of making good the loss; and it is certainly happier to do without it. I wrote my thoughts on the supposition that you might have that to throw in if the general distress had been more heavy than we have now reason to hope it will prove."

RIGHT HONOURABLE H. PELHAM to THE SAME.

1751, July 18.—"I am very much obliged to the Duke of Dorset for the honour he does me in sending me the Lord Justices' letter and the Proclamation of the Councill in Ireland for taking away the currency of the Spanish pistoles. I don't doubt but they are well founded in what they do, and from your Lordship's letter I should hope no great inconvenience can happen from it even to private people. Your Lordship knows it was always my opinion that fixing a certain value arbitrarily upon what was in its own nature liable to uncertainty was, in a trading nation, absurd."

LORD HARDWICKE to the DUKE OF DORSET.

1751, Aug. 15. Powis House.—Sends best wishes for the prosperous success of the Duke's Administration in Ireland, which he is sure will be conducted in the best manner for the honour and service of his Majesty and the public. "I don't know whether I may presume to repeat my request of borrowing the late Queen's picture to be copied. If your Grace has no objection to it, I should esteem it a particular favour if you would leave orders to any servant at your house to let Mr. Hudson, the painter in Queen's Street, have it when he calls for it; or, if you don't choose to have it carried out of the house I will endeavour to prevail on him to copy it there. He has given me his promise to take particular care of it."

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord George Sackville.

1751, September 9. Claremont.—Recommending Lieutenant Edward Randal for promotion.

Lord G. Sackville to Mr. Pelham.

1751 [Oct. 8]. Dublin.—Enclosing a copy of the Lord Lieutenant's speech delivered this day on the opening of the Session of Parliament. Has consulted the King's principal servants about the propriety of again signifying to the Commons his Majesty's consent to applying the balance in the Treasury to the reduction of the National debt, but they all think it better that it should be given only from the throne. *Draft.*

Lord Holderness to the Duke of Dorset.

1751, Oct. 10. Whitehall.—Congratulating him on his safe arrival in Dublin, where, the writer is persuaded, he was received with unfeigned and grateful demonstrations of joy from a people who have already known the happiness of living under his Grace's command. Hopes soon to be able to send him word that a closer alliance with the court of Vienna is completed.

Right Honourable H. Pelham to Lord George Sackville.

1751, Oct. 11.—Thanks him for the copy of the Lord Lieutenant's speech. Nothing can be better turned than the paragraph which relates to the revenue, and the writer is of opinion that there is not the least occasion for Lord George to signify the King's consent in the House of Commons. "I rather think the right of the Crown and his Majesty's prerogative better preserved without it. The essential part would be the directing the issue of the money by a King's letter from hence, but that, I conclude, will not go down, when the payments are directed by Act of Parliament, and I shall therefore say nothing of it but to your Lordship." The sudden death of the Prince of Orange surprized everybody and gave the King at first great concern. Manufacturers and tradesmen are greatly affected at this second long mourning, but the King has declared that he will celebrate his birthday as soon as "the deep mourning" is left off. This gives them some satisfaction.

Lord Holderness to the Duke of Dorset.

1751, Oct. 16. London.—In consequence of the death of the Prince of Orange the writer has received the King's command to go over to Holland. During his absence the Duke of Newcastle will inform the Duke of Dorset of his Majesty's commands if anything material should arise.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1751, Oct. 18. Newcastle House.—Is glad to find by all the accounts from Ireland that the Duke has been received with universal satisfaction, and that he has the greatest reason to think that everything will go to his mind in Parliament. The death of the Prince of Orange has given the King a fresh occasion of showing his greatness of mind and goodness of heart. Appearances in Holland are good, but the French and Republican party will be at work, and every attention must be given to prevent ill effects, and to support the Princess Royal as *Gouvernante* to her son.

Everything at home remains pretty much as the Duke of Dorset left it. "If anything, we rather mend. In one respect I have the greatest comfort and satisfaction, for I am every day more convinced of the sincere friendship and good offices upon all occasions of a material person whom you and I honour and respect with reason. I can't say so much of another quarter. I can yet find no remains of the *Veteris flammæ*. I had yesterday a most gracious and confidential reception in the closet, which was the first I had had *alone* for some time. We hear little of the lively party of the Star and Garter. I never apprehended much from thence." The writer goes on to beg two favours of the Duke of Dorset. The first, that Mr. Proby should be made a baron, and nothing more said to the King at present, but that the Duke should promise to recommend him, upon his return from Ireland, to be promoted to a viscount. The other,—on the request of General Wale, the new Spanish ambassador—is to find some office for Mr. Wate, "a lawyer in Ireland."

Lord Granville* to Lord George Sackville.

1751, Oct. 19. Arlington Street.—Requesting that the Duke of Dorset will give such promotion as he thinks proper to Corporal Moses Cahil. Encloses certificate of the officers of the regiment in which he serves; says that General Ligonier has given him a very good character, and adds, "I can do the same from what I saw of him when he attended me in the campaign of 1743."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1751, Oct. 31. Newcastle House.—"I received on Monday last the honour of your Grace's letter of the 15th, and immediately laid your Grace's request in favour of Dr. Robinson before the King, which his Majesty was pleased to grant, though the King said at the same time 'all the bishopricks must not be given to chaplains.' I hope, however, that will not put by poor Dr. Garnet after Dr. Robinson has had such good fortune. I am very glad your Grace is so well satisfied with him. I dare answer for his behaviour in every respect. The King much approves Lord Hillsborough's intention of proposing the heads of a bill for prolonging the Parliament in Ireland."

* Formerly Lord Carteret; he had now succeeded the Duke of Dorset as Lord President of the Council.

Lord Holderness to the Duke of Dorset.

1751, Nov. 21. London.—According to Mr. Damer's* account, the Secretary of Ireland [Lord George Sackville] is the gayest man not only in that kingdom but in all his Majesty's dominions, except the Lord Lieutenant. Damer gives a pompous description of the magnificence with which the birthday was celebrated at Dublin, a proof how pleasing the present governor is to all ranks of people there. The Duke will have great pleasure in hearing that everything is so well and quietly settled in Holland. "The young Prince's authority is fixed in every colledge of the Republick with the same emoluments and powers that the late Prince of Orange enjoyed, and the executive part is vested in the Princess Royal, *comme tutrice et Gouvernante* during her son's minority which determines at the age of eighteen. *Voila pour le public, mais en grande confidence je puis dire au Duc de Dorset, qu'il y a de certains conseillers de mauvaise augure que je voudrois bien voir eloignés.* They found means to give H.R.H. so much jealousy of the Commission I was charged with *que j'ay eté reçu comme un chien dans un jeu de quilles*, so that I shortened my stay there as much as possible. . . . Our Spanish business has taken a new turn. The Court of Turin join heartily in the King's views, and our friends at Vienna begin to open their eyes, but Carvajal fears if the King was to be a party to the treaty, France would ask to accede, and thereby defeat the intention of it; but as the Spanish ministry seem to act upon the principle of acting *independently*, which is the chief point, the King seems indifferent in what shape it is done and will wait the event." There is every prospect of a quiet session of Parliament.

H. Pelham to Lord George Sackville.

1751, Nov. 21.—The Lords of the Treasury ask for more light from Ireland before answering the Lord Lieutenant's letter. Meanwhile they know that the Treasury there is in so flourishing a condition "that the sum of ten or eleven thousand pounds would not be wanting for the public service, though their guineas should not immediately be exchanged for current coin."

The Same to the Same.

1752, Jan. 19.—Rejoicing heartily at the great success of the King's affairs in Ireland under the Duke of Dorset's government and Lord George Sackville's ministry. "One more [bill] I conclude will finish your sessions, at which time I presume your Lordship will not be the most unhappy man in Ireland. You may conceive I know a little of that feeling from my own situation here. This sessions has indeed been what in thirty odd years I never saw before. Everything goes as the King can wish, and no man unhappy but the Speaker, who finds some

* Afterwards Lord Milton; married Lady Caroline Sackville.

difficulty in procuring a decent attendance, which I own I wish was a little better than it is. I think we mend in that respect, though not so much as to give the least alarum from the enemy's quarter." Begs to lay before the Lord Lieutenant the case of the Bishop of Down,* a kinsman of the Attorney General† (who desires promotion for him in consequence of the vacancy at Tuam); and a request from one Mr. Trenchard of Dorset on behalf of his son. Knows not whether the young man be a good or bad officer, but has done his duty to "an old noisy Whig with a good estate," and is sure his lordship will do no wrong to the army.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1752, Jan. 25. Newcastle House.—The Attorney General makes a strong application that his friend and relative [the Bishop of Down] may succeed to the Archbishopric of Tuam if the Bishop of Meath, to whom it has been offered, will not accept the translation. "I earnestly hope you will in that case do it for him, for we shall never be easy without it, and my brother claims a promise from the King in his favour. This, I think, is all the trouble I can give you upon Irish affairs. If contrary to our notion here my good little friend of *Derry* wishes to be *Graced*, Derry will satisfie the impatient Attorney. . . . I suppose your Grace begins to think of seeing England. His Majesty proposes to set out for Hanover on Tuesday in Easter week, I think March 31st. The King was pleased to tell my Lady Yarmouth, upon my desiring to know his pleasure, that I was to have the honor to attend him, and I am all obedience. Don't this early departure of his Majesty for Germany puzzle you a little as to the time of your leaving Ireland?

"I am sure your Grace will be glad to hear that things begin to mend with us here. I have had some very few confidential thorough conversations with Lady Yarmouth, and I can't enough express my gratitude to her, and satisfaction with her, especially upon the material point of the Hanover journey and the conduct there.

"Your old friend the Duke of Bedford, Milo like, *viribus ille confidens periit*, has chose to show his power. His Grace has moved Tuesday next to attack the Treaty‡ in the House of Lords, where *the King* tells [us] the Lord Sandwich will be for us. It was decided last Wensday in the House of Commons—for, 249 (that is really so, Hampden mistook 13); against 54. Speakers against, your old friend old Horace Walpole, my new *friend* young Lord Cobham,§ Sir Walter Blacket, Mr. Beckford and no more. Old Horace voted with us; Lord Cobham did not vote at all. Horace conjured the *old corps* to vote with him for the treaty, which caused a *laugh*. So much the weight of one great man

* Dr. John Ryder, was translated to Tuam.
† Sir Dudley Ryder.
‡ On the Saxon subsidy.
§ Richard Grenville, afterwards Earl Temple, died 1779.

can do. This will work at Court, at least it shows I did not judge very wrong when I thought it practicable to go on, though we had the misfortune to lose my old collegue.* The King is highly pleased and with reason. Is very gracious, I won't say with as much reason. As my old collegue's conduct has not always been to be accounted for, I can little account for it now, but I am apt to believe that when he made his motion he thought it would have been *more* supported. Only Rigby, Alworth, and Brant went with him in the House of Commons, Lord Trentham, Dick Levison and Bap. Levison went away and Will was with us. So you see how that party is divided. My brother Holdernesse and I go on purely well, and I have not the least apprehension that we shall not continue to do so. It is very agreeable to have *such* a companion, which never happened to me before. I should tell you that your friend my Lord Hilsborough distinguished himself extremely upon this occasion. He spoke very strongly for us and upon right principles. The old bold (?) Murray outdid his own outdoings. You are a judge of *both*. My *horse* rides as triumphant at Leicester House as *yours* does in Ireland. So that upon the whole I think the publick and ministerial situation is much mended. We go on also well amongst ourselves. Lord Egmont absented the other day, and has declared he would not enter into opposition under his Grace. I hear also that Lord Middlesex was not in the House. I should beg pardon for troubling you so long with our English affairs, but flatter myself you will not be displeased with this account of them."

Lord Holderness to the Duke of Dorset.

1752, Jan. 30. Whitehall.—" Some livelyness which has been shewn in Parliament furnishes me with an excuse for giving your Grace the trouble of a few lines. Our old friend *Horace* thought proper to show his dislike to the Saxon treaty, and brought on a debate in the House of Commons upon it. He supported his argument by quoting a passage from a learned author (his namesake) but ended in voting for the question. Lord Cobham joined in the same opposition, and after a very decent and long debate the numbers on a division were 236 to 54 [*see the preceding letter on this point*]. On Tuesday last the Duke of Bedford moved an adress of heavy censure upon this measure in the House of Lords, and in the course of his speech introduced some warm reflections upon *your friends*, chiefly aimed at Mr. Pelham. His Grace was very fully answered by the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Sandwich spoke in favour of the measure, but joined in all the invectives which had been introduced. Lord Granville closed the debate with an excellent conversation he had formerly had with a German Prince whose name is still a secret. We had no division. . . . Nothing is stirring which would afford your Grace the least amusement. *Point de petites intrigues, point de galanteries. Vos belles compatriotes les Gunnings font toujours l'admiration de tout le monde mais garde*[*nt*] *toujours peutêtre malgré eux la même condition et le même nom.*"

* The Duke of Bedford, who had been succeeded as Secretary of State by Lord Holderness.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1752, Jan. 31. Newcastle House.—"His Majesty is not disposed at this time to give any new preferment to the Bishop of Clogher, for fear of the effects which it might have . . . The Bishop of Meath is very ill. If he should not recover, Ryder may then have Meath. If he should recover, we may have time either to make B. Ryder go down in Ireland, or to try to persuade the Attorney General to be easy here. I never saw any man so set upon anything as the Attorney is upon this, and the King certainly wishes to oblige him, and my brother is very zealous for him. . . . Your Grace will allow me to give you some account of our scene in the House of Lords the other day. The Duke of Bedford opened (I think not much like a Secretary of State either in or out) and spoke an hour against us, and concluded with strong personal reflections upon the looseness and want of œconomy in the administration and the *imbecility* of yielding to things to please others. I answered as well as I could in an hour and a quarter and did not forget the sting of the speech upon the œconomy, &c. Lord Sandwich then made a long, dull, abusive speech, in high encomiums of the Duke of Bedford, in commendation of *the Treaty*, for which he voted, and with very strong reflections upon the managers of the revenue, who, his Grace had said, were *penny-wise and pound foolish*. His Lordship also very indecently thought proper to bring in the history of *private families* and the interfering in them. Lord Halifax answered Sandwich well, and my Lord President spoke a short speech for us, as you may imagine, and with his usual vivacity set the House a *laughing*. Mr. P[elham] returned the compliment the next day in the House of Commons, laid them on, and dressed S[andwich] handsomely, concluding, that when he had been at a play or a *farce* (for he was in the House of Lords all the time) he was apt to trouble the next company he came into with what had passed at that *farce*. Upon the whole, if your humble servant's best friends had been to propose a measure for our service, and the manner and the persons who were to support it, they would have desired the actors to have done just as they did. His Grace of Bedford was the single content upon the vote of censure. Lord Northampton voted loudly not content. Litchfield, Talbot, Windsor, and almost all the Tories went away. You see what it is to have too much parts, and to think one has too many friends. This affair works extreamly well at St. James's, and will improve every day."

Lord Hardwicke to the Duke of Dorset.

1752, Feb. 18. Powis House.—Partly concerning a bill for the attestation of wills, &c. "We long much to see your Grace here in good health, but I ought to prepare you for one ugly hampering business before your return. It is an application from the English ladies to prohibit the importation of beauties

from Ireland. It is thought that your fair subjects are making reprizals upon ours for the many draughts the latter have made of fine gentlemen from that kingdom."

H. Pelham to Lord George Sackville.

1752, March 16.—"I hope your Lordship perceives I am not negligent in executing my Lord Lieutenant's commands. The two warrants for the increase of the Judge's salarys and the augmentation of pay to the dragoons were both signed by the King the first opportunity I had . . . . I am not surprised at the behaviour of Sir Richard Cox. It is of a nature I am too well acquainted with. His ingratitude, if any, to Lord Harrington I can easily account for, but his imprudence in choosing the present manner and time of shewing it is a little extraordinary. . . . I this day received your Lordship's letter of the 10th, inclosing a most extraordinary paper, the votes of the House of Commons upon the enquiry about the Barracks. This affair has made some little noise here, and, in general, your Surveyor is much blamed. Whether he deserves so severe a censure as is contained in the resolutions of the Commons I know not, but he ought to deserve a great deal before such resolutions are come into. . . . Your own conduct in this as well as in everything else which has come before you is extremely approved of. . . . It is said here that your Lordship has shown great firmness and great temper."

We expect that our Parliament will be prorogued on Thursday, the 26th, and that the King will set out for Hanover the Tuesday following. "The debate tomorrow is upon a bill which we sent up to the Lords for vesting certain forfeited estates in the Highlands unalienably in the Crown, and for establishing some rules and orders for the better civilizing those savages. We had some opposition to it in the House of Commons; his Grace of Bedford and his very few adherents appearing publickly against it, another *greater family* than his Grace's not appearing at all, but in their conversations without doors pretty loud against it. The King's servants taking it up pretty high—amongst whom I acknowledge myself one, who think it the only constitutional tentative for restoring peace and government there—carried it upon a division 171 against 34. I hope the other House will appear as well connected as we have done."

I cannot suffer you to return home without most heartily congratulating you on the success you have had in your first Irish campaign. "Whatever trouble you have had it has only served to set off your character of ability and integrity. May you be as usefull to the King and your friends here as you have proved to your father and his servants in Ireland."

[The Primate?] to George Dodington.

1752, May 26.—"I reproach myself for not giving you earlier notice of what has passed here. . . . Since I find reports

have aggravated, if not mis-represented, what I take to be the facts, I shall (to yourself only) say in what light things have appeared to me.

"To judge of the present, you must look back to former governments, where you may remember that business here has been usually done by undertakers, and the dispute has been who should be the man. It was thus in the Duke of Dorset's former government. In the next, the rivals for this power, after many altercations (as it is said) agreed to divide. But in each case, the law was given to and not from the Castle. However, the King's business, as it was called, was carried on, that is, the money bills were passed, and the chief governor gave wine to the men and fiddles to the women, as usual. The Earl of Chesterfield saw and felt the insignificancy of his publick character, and probably, had he returned, would have put the administration on a better footing. His successor [Harrington] was not circumstanced for action. Quiet was all he could hope for. That was known, and the power of the acting person was at its height. The Duke of Dorset's connections on your side were very different from those of the two proceeding governors, and probably stronger than any who had gone before him. The Primate was of his family and his Secretary such as had not been here since Lord Carteret's time. Thus circumstanced, it was reasonable to think the administration would be brought back to the Castle, . . . but I know of no act done or intended, to lessen the Speaker's influence or power as one of the King's first servants.

"The first publick transaction was the money bill. Lord Harrington, in the former session, had, without previous consent from the King, permitted a clause to be inserted for paying part of the National Debt out of the balance then in the Treasury. The King's servants of the Law in England thought the Prerogative affected, . . . however that bill returned, but as another like application was expected here, his Grace, by concert (as I presume,) made it part of his speech that his Majesty approved of and consented to such application. The bill when drawn inserted his Majesty's approbation but left out the word consent. . . . The consent was inserted in England. The fate of the Bill thus altered was said to be uncertain, though the Speaker declared for it. The apprehension of danger made the Castle active, and gave them the proof of what they might do, being so. In short, the bill passed without so much as notice taken that it had been altered. Thus every thing tended to show how desirable it was for the Castle to give the law, and that there was no necessity it should be otherwise. This being known to be their way of thinking jealousies arose, stories were invented . . . and it was supposed that the affair of Nevill, and putting off the call of the House, so as to keep more members in town than has been known, was done to shew Parliamentary connection. What was to be done in Parliament was refused to be disclosed to the King's servants, but yet to act by or against the Castle. . . . On the part of the Castle nothing happened

but the postponing the payment of two pensions, which, on application, was taken off. The Regency is as usual, and thus things stand at present. . . . But I am at a loss to find out what should give occasion to blame what has been done, and much more so to suppose it can affect his Grace's return, which I am persuaded is as universally desired as that of any Governor has been."

Endorsed:—"Copy of the letter to Mr. Doddington."

George Dodington to [the Primate ?].

1752, June 30. Pall Mall.—I received the honour of your lordship's of the 26th past with singular satisfaction. Your kindness, affection and indeed partiality to me I hope will always continue with the same blindness. . . . But the distinct and masterly manner in which your lordship states the great point of view of the Lord Lieutenant's administration, so much misrepresented and indeed so little understood, not only satisfies my curiosity but gives me the most sensible pleasure, to find that my old friend has proceeded upon a system worthy to be undertaken by a man of honour and ability." I must say that the expediency and practicability, though not the reason of the measure, appears a little doubtful to me. "I must own to you I am much more fond of the obstruction than I should be of any measure that removed it, because its continuance will remove all obstructions, and hasten its progression to a thorough coalescent union between both countries, which I will confess was the darling private passion of my heart, if I had lived to see the Prince upon the throne, and the great point by which I proposed to be sometimes remembered, after my short scene was closed. But that will be done by abler and happier hands, or, indeed, will one day do itself. . . . But I find I grow old and narrative, and being idle myself, treat you as if you had nothing to do. However, I comfort myself that . . . if I hinder you from business, I shall encourage you to take a nap."

Postscript.—Pray assure my Lord Chancellor of my sense of his favours and the high honour which I have for him and remind the Lords Chief Justices of Both Benches that they have a very faithful, poor, useless servant here who remembers them with affectionate gratitude.

Endorsed:—"Copy of Mr. Dodington's answer." *And in another hand*, "Mr. Waites' handwriting."

The Primate to Henry Pelham.

1752, July 25. Dublin.—The compliments paid to my Lord Lieutenant on his departure "proceeded from a sudden run of good will in the people, who declared publickly that they had been imposed upon, and they carried those compliments to an unusual height, not only from respect but with a mixture of resentment, as

they had been tampered with to repeat those affronts which had been so shamefully offered to my Lord Harrington. . . . The temper therefore of the people who joined in those extraordinary processions was to show my Lord Lieutenant that they were ready to support a government that would support itself. . . .

"The Duke of Dorset might in ten days be the favourite Lord Lieutenant in the mouths of these people; Lord George the ablest secretary (though that they already allow) and I might be, as I was, the best primate; and so on with the Lord Chancellor, &c. But the concessions that must produce so immediate calm are thought by the soberest and most discreet servants of the Crown here too great a price to pay for what may be done more honourably, more easily, and rested upon a much safer foundation. I would not say worse of this set of men than they deserve, and I do not think they are mad enough to entertain thoughts of separating from England, so that when they declare their abhorrence of setting up an independent interest, they may, in that acceptation of the word, be believed. But if they deny that their interest in Parliament and in the country is called the Irish interest, in contra distinction to English, that they say there is a necessity of keeping up such an interest in opposition to English governors, who are always their enemies; if they deny this, they disclaim what is their constant language." Such conduct, were it known, would no doubt be thought to deserve resentment, and if they had numbers to carry through an effectual opposition to the measures of government, it might be necessary to show it, but the contrary is evident:

The revenue keeps up tolerably well, and is likely to answer all purposes, and the raising of the usual supplies is out of the reach of their opposition; their numbers are shrinking, and their credit visibly impaired; and I think the Government of this country might now be put into its proper and natural channel, if there be a certainty that both the end and the means are approved of in England, but so long as many principal servants of the Crown continue to act in open opposition or in intrigues and cabals, people will not be persuaded that the chief governor has the power necessary to support a government. "All those acts of this administration which sufficiently shew the favour of the King and the friendship of the Ministry are by these good servants explained to other purposes. The payment of the debt is said to have been a contrivance, by giving up part of the money, to secure a title to the rest; . . . the augmentation of the Judges' salaries (a most proper and necessary thing) was to make those offices more worthy the acceptance of Englishmen; and the Speaker desires his friends to observe that the Chancellorship of the Exchequer was not augumented. I would willingly suppose the Speaker's extraordinary conduct to have proceeded from the advice of worse men than himself . . . but his own part has been such, and so many astonishing facts are lately come to my knowledge, that it will be impossible for me hereafter to renew any confidence with him, or have the least reliance upon him." I am ashamed of being so trouble-

some. I never took any principal part in civil business till I saw an act of the administration of England and even the King's prerogative attacked, but my success has proved to me that such attacks in the future may be avoided, and the government carried on, "without trusting entirely to the influence of wine and the exacting of intemperate promises at the end of a debauch." As to the expediency of making examples, I have not presumed to offer an opinion, as I fear that my temper draws against my judgment, but it is loudly called for and expected here, would add great strength to government, and in any other country, after such provocation, would not have remained a day in question.

The Archbishop of Cashell (just now dead) was Vice-Chancellor of this University under the Duke [of Cumberland].

The members of the University and the Archbishop of Dublin, their Visitor, have desired that I would apply to his Royal Highness for his nomination. May I beg that you will consider the matter and send your commands by my brother. *Copy.*

The Primate to Mr. Stone.

1752, July 27.—On the same subject. "As I take for granted he [Mr. Pelham] will give you my letter I shall not repeat the particulars, but I can take upon me to assure you that a proper resentment cannot be attended with any hazard to Government. I should never wish the authority of Government more effectually secured, nor have I ever seen it upon near so good a foundation as the full and entire removal of the worst servants a Government ever employed would now put it. . . . People give out that the forbearance of resentment is the effect of fear and not of moderation. It is, I own, more provoking than all to hear the Speaker's services to the government urged as a foundation of merit, and his power as a foundation of fear." *Copy.*

The Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Dorset.

[1752?], July 29. Cranborn.—"I received your letter last night, and am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to inform me of the vacancy of the Vice-Chancellor to the University of Dublin, with the reason of his appointment by my brother. Whoever is thought most (*sic*) for the King's service and is at the same time agreable to the Provost and Fellows of the Colledge will be the person I should chuse to name, and whenever I have the pleasure of meeting you in town will order the proper instrument to be prepared. I remain your very affectionate friend, William." *Holograph.*

The Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Newcastle.

[1752, July ?]—Recommending Dr. Whetcombe, Bishop of Down, to the Archbishopric of Cashel, the Bishop of Ferns to

the Bishopric of Down, and the Primate to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, vacant by the death of the late Archbishop of Cashel. *Copy.*

The Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Newcastle.

1752, [August ?]—Respecting the appointment of the Primate to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Dublin. *Copy.*

The Primate to the Duke of Cumberland.

[1752, August ?]—Thanking His Royal Highness for the honor of being appointed by him to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Dublin. *Copy.*

Lord Kildare to the Primate.

1752, Oct. 5.—Stating that Mr. Charles Tisdall is the person who made him some proposal on behalf of the Primate. *Copy.*

The Primate to Lord Kildare.

[1752, October.]—Repudiating the proposal made by Mr. Tisdall to his Lordship on his behalf. *Copy.*

The Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Newcastle.

[1752.]—Recommending Lieut.-Col. Whiteford for the regiment vacant by the death of Lieut.-Gen. [Alex.] Irwin.

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1753, Jan. 30. Dublin.—"My dearest Lord, I came here yesterday morning from my journey to Bessborough, where everything was perfectly right and extremely agreeable. The Speaker and I met at the Castle and from thence went to my Lord Chancellor's* (who is still confined with the gout) to do our business, the chief part of which was to draw up the letter to his Grace explaining the reasons of sending back Stopford's letter. The Chancellor was clearly of opinion that it could not be done otherwise, and, I think, not without foundation. If there is any difference between the troubling his Majesty for a new signature or the making an erasement, the latter may be done ; and if the same King's letter is returned to us with the proper erasements, we shall conclude it to have been done in his Majesty's presence. The order for presenting Mr. Beaufort to the Provostship did not produce any observation, though there must have been some inward emotion. Stopford will return his thanks this night, and would have done by the last post had he not waited to ask me whether it would be improper to make his acknowledgements directly to his Grace. I know not whether he will acquit himself rightly in point of form and manner, but he is thoroughly

* Robert Jocelyn, Lord Newport.

possessed with gratitude, and the promotion gives general satisfaction. As to the subsequent promotions, this delay in the first instance must give time, though it were not otherwise wanted, for settling them. If Mr. Fox-Lane is in earnest about Hantry (*or* Hautry) there is no doubt that the archdeaconry of Killaloe will give ample satisfaction to Hewetson. My Lady Allen's French for Finglas is a new incident, and if it is to take place must postpone somebody. French is a deserving man, and I would not fight my Lady Allen's recommendations, but in the present system it will operate nothing unless Lady Allen could prevail upon her kinsman Mr. Cooper to cease his persecution of poor Owen Wynne in the county of Sligoe, which is undertaken for no other visible reason but on account of Mr. Wynne's attachment to the Government. I have not yet turned these matters enough in my head to propose to you an adjustment of them, but I will send you my thoughts by the next post.

"I return you the paper of pensions. If, upon application, you may think it worth while to spare small sums I should imagine the Annesley affair might go at 150. Mr. Chaigneau is dead. Whether that makes any alteration you can best judge. One hundred was asked for Bindon. I understand the application for Jocelyne and Hore to be as you say 200*l.* and 10*s.* a day. The death of Judge Gore gives some room and the expiration of some considerable pensions on next Lady Day cannot have escaped you. All this you will digest. The Earl of Mount Alexander and Lord Hawley have blanks to their names, and I know no good to arise from filling them up with figures.

"I am very happy that my letter was approved by you and that the sentiments of it were thought reasonable by his Grace. I will do anything for peace that his Grace can draw any use from when it is done. If these people will even acquiesce during his Grace's Government and behave with decency I would consent to take my chance afterwards. Yet I must say that I have no opinion of their acquiescing till they see that the alternative must be their ruin. Time must do it, and in a great measure has already done it, but I see the unreasonableness of expecting that his Grace should be under continued embarrassments in order to procure ease and advantages to other people hereafter, and in all my reasonings I keep that point full before me. What their conduct will be I know not, neither do I believe they yet know themselves. They tell their people that they expect their attendance next year. The Speaker says he is to be attacked and calls for support to the Chair. This cry will operate on some minds. But possibly when they find that no one means to attack him, he [will], may be, say that he has carried his point, and it may end in a defensive on both sides. If so, the end of Government is in a great measure answered as to appearance, however short it may be of the reality.

"I send you a memorial recommended strongly by General Desgrangues. The sale of the Company of Invalides there mentioned has formerly been attempted and refused. However the half pay may alter the circumstances, I cannot tell. In some

cases I know the whole is changed by it. If Mr. Fox should undertake it (I should first say, if you should recommend it), I should be very glad, for it would entirely answer an impertinent application for an addition to Mrs. Ponsonby's pension. Captain Taylor is her father. The Chief Baron tells me that Mr. Ellis intends that his nephew, young Agar, should be chose at his borough of Gowran in the place of Chaigneau. Should you think it worth while to talk with Ellis on that subject? The young man is under age. If a friend could come in there for the present it might be of use, and we have enough that would be glad to pay money. That family of Agar, when it appears, will from their property be considerable. A simple marriage of the mother's throws the management of their affairs upon Ellis, and he may be very instrumental in serving us. I wish he were properly prepared. I would take upon me to answer for the rights of the family being preserved to them.

"Bucknall was with me this morning full of grievances of his being doubted, and protesting fidelity. I hope he speaks truth. He certainly desires to be thought faithfull. I told him you never gave me the least hint of any suspicion, and I find by your letter of the 23rd to him that you do not intimate the least thing of that sort to him. I believe he was willing to keep fair on all sides, and that I take to be the worst. He has been thoroughly frightened.

"I have little to say upon the paragraph in your letter about Maxwell. It would be vain either for me or him to expect everything to happen that we set our hearts upon, and yet I had set mine so much upon this that the disappointment mortifies me extremely. As I conclude it is all over I shall say nothing to him upon it.

"You have made Lord Moore doubly happy by your very kind letter which he has just received. He is a good lad and deserves the encouragement you give him. Ponsy is hammering at a letter, but he is sure that you will only laugh at him. My dearest Lord, adieu."

The Primate to Lord G. Sackville.

1753, Feb. 10. Dublin.—"The Speaker's letter to Mr. Pelham is very extraordinary. When I told my Lord Chancellor of it he could not recollect the confusion which preceded the Speaker's presiding in the House of Commons, though he had been long before in the service of the Crown and a member of that House. The Speaker does well to represent *gentlemen* as being uneasy on his account, but he knows too well that he begins to find it very difficult to keep gentlemen together, and this seems to be an effort to try Mr. Pelham's pulse. I know the talk amongst them to have been that Mr. Pelham is of a moderate temper, and that he would rather bear with some perverseness than have recourse to violent remedies. This letter is a threatening, and I hope it will now plainly appear that these men pretend to force themselves upon the Government.

Whilst this language is held in letters, the behaviour here changes every day *a vue d'œil*. The Speaker and I have met these three last days at the Castle without the Chancellor, who is still confined. Our conversation is perfectly free. Mr. Waite is entertained with it, but finds no fault with my acting. During this time it is remarkable that no visits are made to the Chancellor in his confinement nor has he received the common compliments of form upon his son's marriage. At our meeting on Monday the Speaker mentioned the little Cloyne living (of which I gave you some account) and wished he could get it for a friend. I said I had heard of the vacancy and that such and such persons had desired to be recommended, upon which the subject was dropped. At the close of the morning Waite asked us whether we had any orders to give about the Cloyne living. I wished him to have held his tongue, but the Speaker soon desired him to send the name of the living to my Lord Primate. This, though in itself a trifle, seems to me to be critical. The Chancellor (to whom I have told all the circumstances) is [of] opinion that my Lord Duke in prudence should give him the living. Waite is of the same mind. They call it *coming down*. I am not quite so clear. I consider it as a trap, and that he will say, 'I ask things from my Lord Lieutenant and was refused. I tried all ways which became me, but could not succeed. There was a living of 30*l*. a year. I had a mind to try the experiment whether, if I asked through the Primate, it would succeed. I did not care what became of it, but I did ask and my request is granted. Now, gentlemen, you may see the truth of what I have so often told you, that the Primate sets up for the absolute direction and will suffer nothing to be done but through himself, and my Lord Lieutenant supports him in those exorbitant pretensions.' I should be glad to know how this appears to his Grace and to you. For my own part I know not how to fix my judgment upon it. The best light in which it can be taken is that he has a mind to slide imperceptibly in a communication, avoiding any explanation which he knows his conduct will not bear. The general behaviour of others in his confidence will in some measure justify that construction. Nat. Clements is altered. I am just now come from dinner with him at Gardiner's. He sat next to Gardiner, and, after the Duke of Dorset's health, your Lordship was Mr. Clements' toast, and with great zeal in the drinking. This, you know, is the way of judging in Ireland. They manifestly wish, at least, for a suspension of arms, but they are not to be trusted. Think of this circumstance of the Cloyne living. There is no hurry, for the filling the bishoprick does not alter the rights to the Crown. I have thought of writing a letter of form to his Grace acquainting him that the Speaker desired such a memorandum to be left with me. This is in order to exonerate myself. You will say, perhaps, that I exonerate myself by throwing the load upon his Grace. I think not. His Grace has refused other things, and if the Speaker ever remonstrates, I am sure his Grace has better reasons to give for his refusals than my not

having sollicited those favours, and I presume his Grace would be glad of an opportunity of telling the Speaker that if his conduct had been fair and right, greater favours than any he has asked might have been chearfully granted, and that the refusing small requests has not proceeded from a preference to other recommendations, but from a determined measure which his behaviour to the Government had made necessary. This language is proper in his Grace's mouth, but would not so well become me. Since, therefore, the Speaker has put this affair into my hands, I think I am obliged to represent it and wish that the determination may be well considered, as I think it is a leading fact.

"Ponsonby may chance to write to you enclosing a memorial from one Tomkins for a pension. The man is a relation of Mrs. Charles Gardiner, was deputy to Luke in one of the Custom-House places. Luke has turned him out on account of unfitness from ill-health, and Charles is to get him taken care of. The first plan was that Mr. Conolly was to get the pension through Mr. Pelham; but Mr. Conolly has told them there is no doing anything but through my Lord Lieutenant. This Charles Gardiner writes to Tomkins, and tells him farther that Mr. Conolly has some reasons for not being the first mover to my Lord Lieutenant, but, says Charles, if you can get Mr. Ponsonby to move it, Mr. Conolly will assist to the utmost of his power. (Mr. Ponsonby is called upon because Tomkins was a trooper in his militia regiment here.) I should not have told you this story, had I not thought C. Gardiner's letter, which I saw this morning, rather remarkable in that particular where he says that Mr. Conolly had *some reasons* for not being the first mover to my Lord Lieutenant. It is most probable that C. Gardiner speaks without authority for what he says, but I think Conolly of such consequence in our commonwealth that I am particularly attentive in what relates to him, and wish that no proper means may be left untried to create a right understanding in him, and the more as I am sure no means are left untried to create a wrong one.

"I return to the Speaker's letter. It was a lucky circumstance that the Duke of Devonshire was present to give testimony which his own experience enabled him to give. There are no bounds to the untruths which that man asserts. He does not know how to turn himself. The Master of the Rolls* returned yesterday to town from a long confinement in the country, where he was seized by a fit of the gout. The Speaker was with him this morning. I shall judge at our next meeting from the Speaker's manner what temper the Master recommends.

"I wish to know whether Mr. Monson intends to come over here or to stay any time. I should not be sorry at a hazard to exchange him for Mr. Bristow, who is too wise to hope much good from him.

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* Mr. Carter.

"I hear that Lord Molesworth is unhappy at not having received any answer to a letter he wrote to his Grace in favour of Captain Usher. He says the Duke was always so perticularly good to him that he is afraid there is some reason for it. He does not complain that the request was not immediately complied with, which he knows cannot always be expected, but he could wish only to hear, either from his Grace or your Lordship, that it was favourably received. I believe you have a *Browne* on half pay recommended by the Bishop of Clogher to be put into commission. He was a gentleman at large. If it could be, I should be glad he might come into the next batch, for his father, besides being the Bishop's brother-in-law, is a principal voter of Ben. Burton's at Carlow, and Ben has every day some fresh merit. I am pleased with Maxwell's success at White's, as it is certainly a proof of his having appeared to advantage amongst the first men of the world. I hope he may live to receive other marks of their approbation. My dearest Lord, adieu."

The Primate to Lord G. Sackville.

1753, March 11. Dublin.—"I have two of your letters unanswered, that of the 27th of February, and another received this day of the 6th. Col. Irwin is also arrived.

"The affair of the Accusation has been the occasion of much discourse here, and for a few days, people, according as they were disposed, had their hopes and their apprehensions. For my own part I was not very uneasy. I was sure that the bottom was sound, and that those persons could abide the strictest enquiry from the earliest time of their lives. The circumstances of this enquiry seem to have [been] most advantageous for them, and the acquittal by a Council composed as this was must (if anything can) put an end to groundless calumny. I am persuaded that the Pretender's health was frequently drank at Oxford, but I could safely swear that I never was present there or anywhere else where it was done; and I verily believe my brother and Murray could safely swear the same. It was gone from Christchurch and under discouragement there before our time. Murray's case is particularly hard, for I well remember that the Jacobites of Oxford used to speak of him with resentment and abhorrence. The Attorney General's appearance in the prosecution is a happy circumstance. The run here is over, or rather is in the right channel. Irwin underwent a strict examination in one of the first visits he made after he landed, and upon his saying that it's understood that the opinion of the Council was full and unanimous, he was answered with a smile, 'I suppose that is the story given out.' 'Sir,' says Irwin, 'that is the fact.' 'Indeed,' says the other, 'I have always been told that Mr. Stone was a very wise man, but I suppose part of this will stick.'

"I have asked several opinions of the effect the opening the wool trade would have, and I am told that it will do good, but the Speaker told me that it would be of no consequence.

"If you can bring the affair of the Linen Premiums to an agreement it will be well. It is a point, however, upon which our Southern people pretend to be indifferent, and they have this long time affected to call that premium a partial encouragement to particular traders, by which the general trader rather suffered some inconvenience.

"I have looked over your list of twenty. When I sent my list I could not answer for every person in it, but I will have particular attention to these twenty. Some of them, I am sure, are clearly with us. My Lord Chancellor has not the least doubt of Mansell, but has wrote properly to know. Bourke has done the same to Walcot, but he is very sure that he is right. If my Lord K[ildare] appears to be grossly mistaken in some (as he certainly is) there is the less to be apprehended with regard to the rest. I have reason to hope that Mr. O'Neil will be strongly with the Government. My Lord Chancellor has appointed him of the Linen Board. He is not in town, but will be in a few weeks, and I shall know more. Sir John Freke is gone to England. If Lady Freke should put herself in the way, I wish some attention might be given to her. She is a friend, and endeavours to make him so; and an accidental civility might possibly do it. But (although I omit no opportunity of recruiting) yet I own fairly to you that I think that it is hardly necessary any longer to angle for single votes. They know very well that if my Lord Lieutenant is sure of his own ground, they cannot maintain theirs, and they have waited for accidents. This very transaction before the Council has given them hopes, and had my brother been a Jacobite I should [have] been made one also, and Mr. Malone* would have been a Whigg, &c. If the Ministry think that his Grace's plan of government here is right, that the persons whom his Grace employs here are fit objects for their support, and there are no particular latent reasons why they ought not to be supported, they have only to speak the word, and submission, or some accommodation equivalent to it, will immediately follow.

"I am ashamed to repeat what I have so often said, but they still believe there is some shyness of proceeding directly against them. His Grace (it is most true) has been uniform in conferring favours upon those only who have deserved them. But these, if I may say so, go no farther than to show his Grace's own inclinations, or, as they would have it believed, the inclination and address of his ministers. And what weight will the firing of a few small arms (a living and a cornet's or captain's commission) have whilst the whole canon of the Treasury is roaring through the whole country and keeping it in awe? The country gentlemen, old and young, are subject to the bankers, and they are in the power of the Treasury. The Treasury is in the power of the Ministry, as far as they have power from his Majesty. I do not mean turning out, but if that battery was fairly silenced (which I assure you is far from being the case as

* Prime Serjeant.

yet) the siege would soon be at an end. This would finish it to purpose. If we pick up ten votes more by private application there will still be trouble, though questions are carried. But show the Chiefs of the Opposition that there is power to hurt them, and no management to be had, in case they make it necessary, and all will be quiet, nor is there in my opinion any other effectuall way. They are very ripe for such an experiment. The voice, the language, the looks are lowered to the observation of everybody. The friends of the Government make no secret of their attachments and are bold and loud in declaring them. The lead is taken in all companies, and the fashion and the tide is turned. Nothing is wanting but a firm declaration of power, authenticated in such a manner as that no appeal can be left. This is what both sides wait for. The Speaker has owned to Mr. Pelham that it is no national question. It only remains whether he, though in the wrong, is to be supported. If he is, it will not teach him to be in the right. If there are any particular reasons from the circumstances of this present time why he ought to [be] managed, the sooner it is known the better. If on the other side your bottom is sound and firm the hazard here is not an object, for it is nothing.

"I enclose to you as you directed an account of the pensions, in which you will see the growth and decrease as it has happened. Cunningham is in the country with Fortescue, whom you will see soon in London. Maxwell never writes to me. I am afraid old Mr. Cope is dying. I wish there is not a jumble in the county between Brownlow and Caulfield. I must help the former. Warburton of Galway is dead. What this will produce I know not. Do you ever see Lord Clanrickard? He has an interest in that county, and I cannot learn whether he has given it. My dearest Lord, adieu."

The Primate to Lord G. Sackville.

1753, April 16. Dublin.—"My dearest Lord, the King's letters for the Pensions, &c., are arrived this afternoon. The Lords Justices are separated for the holidays. Mr. Obryen is not in town, and some others; which I mention in the way of apology for them in case they should be slow in making their acknowledgements. I hear of great thanks, and, as yet, of no abuse; and surely it cannot be a subject of complaint that a single pension granted to a person abroad should be continued in value upon the establishment and divided amongst families in this country who want the assistance of the Government. I never saw a list of pensions so entirely Irish. You will have seen Mr. Clements. I know not whether he is instructed to speak very particularly to you. Some think that he is. I doubt it, for I cannot persuade myself that they will come to an avowed submission whilst there is any game left to play. I expect that they will rather offer service, and, if they are not insulted, let the session slide gently on, still keeping the party in name united against better times, and keep up an appearance of being still the

persons who are necessary to government. They will say that, notwithstanding the slights put upon them, they will not disturb the King's affairs nor throw the country into confusion. That the next will be a quiet session is the language in every man's mouth. Some talk warmly of pushing things to extremities against men who have deserved so ill, but that spirit will be easily laid. The more judicious say that it is amazing to see so strong a party broke in so short a time, and they acknowledge that it could not have been under any other government. I have now very little pain with regard to the carrying through any measures that my Lord Duke shall judge fit to be undertaken, as I know he will undertake none but what are just and good. The first consideration will be upon the ballance in the Treasury. And I much wish, if it be possible, to know how far it may be allowed to go in the application of that money to Home purposes. As you have the abstracts you will see that the sum is large and increasing. Would it be allowed that that money should be disposed of here, supposing always that in the manner of doing it his Majesty's right is sufficiently declared? It is idle to let [it] lie for ever in the hands of the Treasurer. The King might by law draw away the whole, and the officers must pay it at his command. His Majesty might both by law and equity apply it, as it should be his pleasure alone, for the good of this country, and for the support and service of his Government. Yet in any great work to be done the more gracious way is to take the advice of Parliament. I do not suppose this money can be an object with regard to any foreign purpose, otherwise than it might help to purchase the Isle of Man if that is ever thought of, or if it can be called a foreign object. Fortifying towns may occurr, which may be the wisest and most necessary, but it will strike only a few. The most popular thing would be to pay turnpike debts. The roads all over the country are gone to ruin, the tolls are mortgaged so as to leave nothing for the repair, and the tax upon the people still continues without any benefit to them. This affects every person in the nation. The grievance has arisen from mismanagement, but it is a grievance, and will one day or other force itself upon the Legislature, for it is got beyond the reach of any other remedy, and money must one day or an other be raised upon the country for that purpose. If the Government were to take the lead, it would be a very extraordinary mark of the King's attention to the internal affairs of this country. I am sensible that turnpike debts are not to be ranked among debts upon publick credit, but the condition of these will bring them at last under that consideration. If this thought is not wild and impracticable I would have it examined. It is at present my own only; any farther [than] that there is a general outcry for something to be done, for the roads are almost impassable and there are no funds for repairing them. If any thing of that sort could be done I would repeal all the borrowing clauses, and make the repair only with the growing tolls. Some attention must be had about this large ballance, for it cannot remain unemployed.

"I am endeavouring to the utmost of my power to bring Nevil's* affair with regard to the resolution of the House of Commons to some point of ascertainment. Lawe, the Inspector, does everything in his power to hinder it. He has made a report which takes in many things that Nevil has nothing to say to, by which he has puzzled the case. He must distinguish upon his report. The Lords Justices have just now sent this report to Nevil as an answer to his memorial, desiring our directions as to what was expected from him, by which we have cleared him from any imputation of neglect hitherto, which is one point gained, as the Speaker had declared that he should have no directions. If Nevil will act rightly, he may in the course of this summer put himself out of the reach of further blame. If he does not, he cannot be supported.

"I believe the Armagh election will hardly admitt of a poll. If I had meditated any revenge upon Sir Archibald Acheson for his strange behaviour, he has been so good as to execute it upon himself. Clements will be very watchfull to get the best intelligence in London, and if he finds things are in earnest with regard to the ministry, as he has heard them represented here, he will certainly strike. Civility and some explicit talk and a dinner are the measures I should wish to be observed with him. His wife and Dean Gore are of his family. Remember that Harry Gore's application for the troop was most strongly pressed and most absolutely rejected A very little is wanting to break them to shatters. When that work is done it will be time enough to consider of what is to come next. I have worked as well as I have been able, and if, when I give up my accounts to you, you should say I have been idle, I must appeal to Mr. Waite, who will witness for difficulties more than are known to you or are proper just now to be told.

"I am to go to Leixlip on Wednesday. I promised myself last year the pleasantest winter that could be. Notwithstanding all that happened I had infinitely more pleasure than pain. I will make no more promises to myself, but in all probability we shall repay ourselves for former troubles, and have time to enjoy all the seasons of leisure without anxiety. His Grace's presence and authority is all that is now requisite to make a Coup de Partie. My dearest Lord, adieu."

Luke Gardiner to the Duke of Dorset.

1753, July 3. Treasury, Dublin.—Acknowledging receipt of the Duke's letter of the 29th June and expressing surprise at what his Grace is pleased to mention in relation to Lord Kildare.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland to Lord Holderness.

1753, July 9. Dublin.—Acknowledges receipt of Lord Holderness's letter of the 29th of June and a copy of the Earl of Kildare's representations to the King. Has given Lord

* Nevil Jones.

Kildare a copy of Lord Holderness's letter, which expresses the King's sentiments with regard to his Lordship's very extraordinary representation, and has also shown it to several of his Majesty's servants and other persons of consideration. The King's greatness of mind excites the most affectionate admiration, and will greatly animate the zeal of those entrusted by him. Observes with the highest pleasure "that this strange attack, far from weakening, has added strength and weight to the King's Government in the hands of the Duke of Dorset, whose zeal for his Majesty's service and regard to the true interest and happiness of Ireland long since endeared him to this kingdom, and have formed the unvaried rule of his Grace's present administration." *Copy.*

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Dorset.

1753, July 19. Newcastle House.—"Though I conclude the Chancellor of Ireland sent your Grace a copy of his letter to my Lord Holdernesse, Mr. Amyand tooke care, however, to send you one immediately by Sir Robert Wilmot. I most sincerely congratulate your Grace upon the effect which my Lord Holdernesse's letter has had in Ireland, of which I doubt not but you have had a full account from the Primate. But the chief occasion of my troubling you is to give you some account of the effect which my Lord Chancellor's letter has had here. The day it was received I mentioned it to the King, who said it was a very good letter. I had this day a lucky opportunity of talking more fully upon the subject, and I think with some effect. I told the King that my Lord Hilsborough had been with me, that he had read to me part of a letter which he had received from one Mr. Cowper, a member of Parliament in Ireland and a firm friend and creature of the Speaker's, so that his reports or sentiments could not be suspected. Mr. Cowper says that this step of my Lord Kildare was the sillyest and most inconsiderate one that ever was taken, that it was a *rude one to the best of kings*, that my Lord Kildare had served those whom he meant to hurt by it, that he believed the Parliament would not like it, that he hoped his friend the Speaker had had no hand in it, and that he believed he had not, as the Speaker had the greatest duty and regard for the King. This coming from an unsuspected person seemed to have weight, and really to please the King. I told his Majesty also that I had seen a very strong and spirited letter from the Primate to my Lord Holdernesse, which he would certainly shew the King upon his return from Yorkshire. The King entered a good deal into the affair, told me what your Grace had said about the Prime Serjeant, and upon the whole was mightily pleased and in very good humour. The Primate's letter is a very good one and a very complaisant one to my brother Holdernesse. Tho' I had not the good fortune to be the penman, I hope your Grace thinks no one in the administration is more zealous to support your credit, reputation, and authority than myself.

We are much pleased that our friends in Yorkshire have at last agreed. A contest there amongst our great friends would have had very bad consequences. I have had an account of the vast numbers at Knowle. It gives me great pleasure for the sake of the cause, and my friends, and very particularly for the satisfaction which I know it must be to your Grace. Our friend Sir Edward, I believe, must content himself with advertiseing only. Pray my compliments to Lord George and tell him that his commands about the prisoner in Scotland shall be obeyed."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to [LORD HOLDERNESS?]

[1753, October.]—"I deferred writing to you till the session of Parliament had opened, that I might have the honour of informing you of the turn affairs were likely to take in this country. At our first landing my Lord Lieutenant did not find the principal people here in that disposition as promised any ease to his administration. The Speaker's friends were setting him up as the protector of the liberties of Ireland, and declaring that the Ministry in England, in conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, were endeavouring to place all power in the hands of the Primate, who, as an Englishman, could not have their interest at heart. These notions were so industriously propagated that great heats and animositys were spread over the whole kingdom, and my Lord Kildare's memorial, though in secret disavowed by individuals, was publickly commended, and all possible assurances given to his Lordship that the House of Commons would effectually support his assertions. In this situation things were when my Lord Lieutenant first spoke upon business with the Speaker. He enquired of him the cause of discontent, offered him all proper share of power and confidence if he would act that part which became a servant of the Crown; the Speaker on his side made great professions of duty to the King and of his personal respect to my Lord Lieutenant, but added that gentlemen were so exasperated with his having so little share of authority, and at the confidence which had been placed in my Lord Primate, that he despaired in bringing them to temper, if he, the Primate, was not removed from that favour which he then enjoyed, and in short gave my Lord Lieutenant to understand that the Primate must not be left any more in commission as one of the Lords Justices. When he was desired to relate any particular instances of the Primate's misbehaviour, or of any misuse of the confidence reposed in him, it always ended in general assertions, and the same grievance was always mentioned of the Primate's having refused joining with him in appointing a Mr. Eyre one of the Governors of the county of Galway. My Lord Lieutenant then said, what signify'd the Primate's objection if my Lord Chancellor had not agreed with him. He said that was very true, but my Lord Chanceller had given him very good reasons for not doing it, upon which my Lord Lieutenant said, 'Then the whole complaint is reduced to the manner of my Lord Primate's refusing to comply with your

request.' Such stuff as this is hardly worth mentioning to you, but all I mean to convey is that the Primate was their object of resentment, and that they made him the prætext of the ill humour they proposed shewing upon the first opportunity.

"Several conversations as little to the purpose passed in the course of the week preceding the opening of the Session, and the Speaker declined from day to day giving any satisfaction to my Lord Lieutenant in regard to the Addresses, and it soon became the publick conversation through the whole town that the usual compliments were to be withheld; and three days before the meeting the Speaker made no secret to his friends that in the Address to the King thanks should not be returned to his Majesty for continuing the Duke of Dorset in the Government of this kingdom, that it might appear that his administration was as disagreeable to the House of Commons as Lord Kildare had represented, and that he could never join in any thanks after what he had wrote last year to Mr. Pelham upon that subject without contradicting what he had then asserted. This being their declared resolution, and Lord Kildare going about assuring everybody that they should carry their point by a majority of thirty-six, made it highly necessary for my Lord Lieutenant to do everything in his power to prevent so great an insult upon Government. We called upon all our friends for support, and it was no small satisfaction to find gentlemen of the greatest weight and property ready to assist us, and we had settled to have proposed an amendment to their resolution. Mr. Rowley was to have moved and Mr. Conolly was to have seconded it. We could not have found two gentlemen in the House so considerable by their fortunes and so free from party engagements. The person who was to have moved for the resolution for the Address was Mr. Pakenham, a relation of Lord Kildare's, and kept from going to the Bath for this purpose, and his Lordship was extremely pleased with this publick avowal which he hoped to have of his Memorial. The number of members that were brought to town was inconceivable, and for four or five days we were in a continual hurry of speaking to individuals and finding out their dispositions, and you may be sure when I saw that we should have sufficient support that I was extremely happy.

"The day before the meeting the Speaker perceived he had gone too far, and my Lord Lieutenant had hints given him that if he would suffer the Address to the King to pass without having any amendment moved, the rest of the Session should be made easy to him. The same things were said to me by Mr. Clements, who enforced his arguments by saying that there was a majority against us, and that the compliment now in question was omitted to my Lord Harrington in his last Session. I said the case was very different on account of Lord Kildare's Memorial, and that I knew our ground better than he did, and that it would be less disgracefull to be beat than to own by giving it up that we could not be supported. He then told me that he could not influence the two Mr. Gores, who were thought to be absolutely dependant on him.

"I was a little surprized at this, but did not say what I thought upon the occasion. The next morning a direct proposal came from the Speaker to the same purpose, from which I was certain he saw his own weakness, and my Lord Lieutenant's answer was that it was impossible he could submit to such an omission without giving up the authority and dignity of government. It was then within an hour of the time of going to the House, and the Speaker as usual called at the Castle in his way thither and then told his Grace that his respect personally to him was such that he had prevailed upon his friends to do him all possible honour, and that there should be in the Address to the King the proper thanks to his Majesty for continuing him in the Government. A victory without fighting was most eligible, but how they brought my Lord Kildare to consent to be so exposed I cannot comprehend. My Lord Lieutenant and I received this as a compliment from the Speaker and not as the effect of his weakness, and I hope with proper management and temper we may contrive it so as to have an easy and an honourable Session. We endeavour as much as possible to prevent our friends from triumphing, for fear of irritating too much, and I beg leave to assure you that I will behave with such moderation that if we are obliged hereafter to disagree you may be convinced that it was not owing to want of prudence or to my not being as much as possible inclined to peace. I forgot to mention to you that if they had been able to have carry'd the Address in their own way they were to have proposed a question for removing the Primate from his Majesty's councils, &c. This violence on their side I hope will abate when they see that the King's representative can be supported without the assistance of many of those who enjoy great offices under the Crown.

"I cannot say enough of the zealous support my Lord Chancellor has given us upon this occasion, and Mr. Ponsonby took infinite pains to convince all his personal friends of the necessity of shewing respect to Government." *Draft.*

Lord Holdernesse to Lord George Sackville.

1753, Nov. 8. London.—Thanks Lord George for his circumstantial account of what may probably be the objects of the Opponents in Ireland during the remainder of this Session of Parliament. The victory on the first day will enable the Duke of Dorset's Government to baffle all attempts that shall be made to clog the wheels of Government or to put a slur on those in whom his Grace places his confidence. Lord Holdernesse will soon have occasion to write to the Duke of Dorset concerning some disaffected persons supposed to be in Ireland. "In the mean time I am to direct your Lordship by his Majesty's command to give the necessary orders at the Post Office for inspecting all letters addressed to George, Patrick, or Henry Savage, merchants in Douglas, Isle of Man, as also to —

Peppard or Pippard, merchant in Liverpool, and that you should send copies of the same to me."

Lord M[olineu]x has offered his services to the borough of Queenborough, and has been generous in his expences and promises there, but will be pretty warmly opposed.

Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Newcastle.

[1753, November 16?*]—"I should have been earlier in returning my thanks to your Grace for the honour of your most kind letter if I had not expected (as your Grace very justly apprehended) that the violent spirit which shewed itself here before the opening of the session would not be subdued by one defeat and would probably furnish me with other materials for writing than bare acknowledgements of your Grace's favour.

"After the assurances given me by those of his Majesty's servants whose dispositions I had the most reason to doubt that everything within their province should be done in the best manner for the King's service, I was greatly surprized to find, that the dispute (which indeed was the rise of all other disputes here) concerning his Majesty's right of applying the money in this Treasury was to be revived. But when the Bill for applying a part of that money to the discharge of the publick debt was to be prepared, the Prime Serjeant refused to admitt the recital signifying his Majesty's consent and recommendation, as the same Bill came amended last session from England and was passed in both Houses of Parliament here.

"As soon as I was informed of this proceeding, I sent for the Speaker and the Master of the Rolls, whom I found fixed in the same sentiments: and the Master of the Rolls, who, being Chairman of the Committee of Supply, was necessarily to bring the Bill into the House of Commons, absolutely refused to insert the words used in the preamble to the last Bill. The Prime Serjeant, whom I saw afterwards, was immoveable in his opinion, and declared farther to me that, if this point was insisted upon, and should be carried, he was assured that no supply would hereafter be granted to his Majesty but under strict appropriations, by which any future redundancies of money, and consequently any future disputes upon this subject, would be prevented.

"I called together those of his Majesty's servants in whom I could best confide, and found them all of opinion that I ought by no means to hazard so material [a] point of the King's prerogative to a sudden decision in the House of Commons (as the Bills were to be offered to the House in a few hours) especially in these circumstances, when the attack upon the prerogative was made by the principal officers of the Crown. I have, therefore, by the advice of the Primate, the Chancellor, the late Chief Justice Singleton, and others, suffered the Bill to pass the House of Commons† without offering any amendment. The omission is

* *See* Lord Holdernesse's letter of Nov. 22. *(S. P. Ireland. Entry Book* 4, *p.* 46.)
† On Nov. 14. *See* Journals of Irish House of Commons under date.

described in the letter from the Council here to my Lord Holdernesse ; and I take for granted will be supplied according to the form in which it passed last session.

"In an affair of this delicate nature I could not venture to take any other steps without the King's express commands. The difficulty of prevailing upon country gentlemen to persevere long in supporting the prerogative against those who enjoy the chief offices of honour, emolument, and influence, must occur to your Grace, and I very much apprehend that as this direct affront to his Majesty's authority calls so strongly for some marks of resentment, it may be of very bad consequence to this and all succeeding Governments in this country, if it should be suffered to pass without proper notice being taken of it.

"I have made my letter longer than I intended or than is necessary, as the Primate is to inform your Grace particularly of the situation of our affairs.

"I must beg your Grace to accept my sincerest thanks for the very kind concern you are so good as to take in these transactions, which have been troublesome enough to me, but are yet attended with no small satisfaction, as I have every day more reasons to convince me of the necessity there was of putting some stop to the power that was grown here ; and the longer the attempt had been delayed the struggle must have been still more violent.

"I propose very soon to desire my Lord Holdernesse to lay before his Majesty my recommendation of Dr. Cox, Bishop of Ossory, for the Archbishoprick of Cashell, and of Mr. Maurice to succeed him in the Bishoprick of Ossory.*

"Your Grace will recollect that there are now three English Archbishops upon the Bench here, so that this vacancy must be filled from the Irish side, and Dr. Cox I think is the properest person that can be taken. Maurice is a man of eminence in his profession, and I have rather chosen him on account of his general reputation, which is very high, than from any private connections or recommendation." *Draft.*

Lord George Sackville to Mr. Pelham.

[1753, November.]—Informs him of the difficulties that had arisen with regard to the Money Bills to be introduced into the House, Mr. Prime Serjeant having declared that no consideration would prevail upon him to agree to the preamble for paying the National Debt, and to his Majesty's asserting the right to deal with the balance in the Treasury. The Lord Lieutenant sent for the Speaker and Master of the Rolls and informed them he considered this an attack upon the King's prerogative, but they replied they were in hopes his Majesty would not insist upon words being inserted which must create such a general uneasiness in the minds of the people. The Lord Lieutenant

* These appointments were made on January 3, 1754.

also sent for the Prime Serjeant, the chief author of the objections to the Bill, who went further than the others had done in showing that the Crown had no right to dispose of the balance in the Treasury, and added that if this point should be carried by the King it would be fatal to his prerogative, for no money would ever be granted for the future without being appropriated to particular purposes, which would prevent any balance remaining in the Treasury that could create fresh disputes. The Lord Lieutenant then advised with the Primate, the Chancellor, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and the late Chief Justice Singleton, who were unanimously of opinion that the most prudent method for his Grace to proceed in was to suffer the Bill to pass unmolested through the House in the manner they thought proper to bring it in, but at the same time to declare that it was reasonable to expect that his Majesty would be advised to assert his own right by having such alterations made in the Council in England as might secure his prerogative. The Bill therefore will be received without the preamble, and when returned, the Duke hopes for his Majesty's particular commands how to proceed with the gentlemen that have expressed so strong a resolution to deprive the King of so valuable a branch of his prerogative, and who speak confidently of being able to reject the Bill if amended. This seems doubtful, but even if it is so, the King will not be immediately affected; the creditors will be the only sufferers. *Draft.*

The Lords of Council in England to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Council.

1753, November 28.—Stating that his Majesty judges it necessary to insert words relating to his previous consent in the the present, as he had done in the former Bill for the payment of part of the National Debt. *Copy.*

Lord George Sackville to Mr. Pelham.

[1753, end of November ?]—Relative to Mr. Nevil Jones, who was accused of not having complied with the resolutions of the House, in obliging the contractors to make good the several deficiencies in the barracks built under his directions. Mr. Jones offered to defray the deficiencies out of his own pocket, but the Speaker demanded his expulsion from the House, and Mr. Jones's offer was accordingly refused, and his expulsion was carried,* although many who voted against him declared him to be a man of worth and integrity. The Armagh election is the next object with the Opposition and it will not be surprizing if they carry it. Remarks on the expected alteration (in England) in the Money Bill.

* On Nov. 23. *See* Commons Journals, Ireland, v. 176.

The Duke of Dorset to the Duke of Newcastle.

[1753, December, between the 17th and 24.]—Relating how the preamble of the Bill for the Payment of the Debt had "last Monday" been rejected in the Irish House of Commons through the "violent and inflammatory opposition" of members holding offices under the Crown, and suggesting that these persons should be deprived of their offices, and that the Speaker, who in committee voted against the preamble, should not again be entrusted with the care of his Majesty's prerogative as one of the Lords Justices. Proposes to pass the Supply and Money Bills, and then to adjourn for three weeks to give time for consideration and directions. *Copy.*

Mrs. Walkinshaw to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Jan. 3. London.—Reminding him of a poor woman whom she had recommended to him for a share of the bounty money, and who is old, poor, and both the daughter and sister of officers. But Mrs. Walkinshaw depends more on Lord George's good nature and humanity than on any other claim.

Lord G. Sackville to Mr. Pelham.

[1754, January 14.]—The Lord Lieutenant is writing to the Duke of Newcastle in answer to his very satisfactory letter, expressing his Majesty's pleasure and intentions in regard to his present and future conduct. It is thought better to defer executing the King's orders until after adjourning the House of Commons, which it is proposed to do by message to-morrow, for three weeks longer,* "before the expiration of which we hope to receive the King's commands for a prorogation." [The King's pleasure on this point was signified to the Duke of Dorset by Lord Holderness in a letter of the 24th of January.] "It is impossible to express the great pains that have been taken to alarm the people throughout the kingdom and to alienate their minds from their duty to the King . . . .

"I have prevailed upon a gentleman equal to the undertaking to state this disputed amendment in the preamble of the Money Bill in a pamphlet, and explain the nature of the hereditary revenue and the right which the King has to the ballance in the Treasury after the services of Government are fullfilled; I have also directed that the Bill itself should be printed and dispersed; for you cannot conceive the absurd things that are reported to have been contained in it." I can hardly believe that the Speaker will continue in employment after his friends are dismissed. If he would seperate himself from them he well knows that he would be received with open arms. "I have in

* The House met on Jan. 15, and was at once re-adjourned until Feb. 5.

the course of this winter more than once offered my service in bringing about any accommodation that would be agreeable to him. The last answer he made me was remarkeable, 'You know,' says he, 'my situation as well as I can tell it to you. I can do nothing without the consent of all my friends, and I must support them who have formerly supported me.' What he then declared was very true, for he is by no means the leader of the party that makes use of his name, and as the House of Commons is so nearly divided, any one of those who have the least following would, by seperating from the rest, give us a clear majority, so that the chiefs of the Opposition for common safety have been obliged to flatter and support the passions and absurd propositions of each other. I have been particularly carefull in keeping myself upon as familiar a footing as possible with the chief people in opposition, excepting the Earl of Kildare, who has not taken the least notice of me this winter. But as to the Speaker, the Master of the Rolls, and the Prime Serjeant, we have occasionally been at each others houses and have every day conversed together in the House of Commons. This I did with a view that if any accommodation had been proposed, I might have been in a situation to have promoted the completion of it." The filling up of the Mastership of the Rolls may be of great consequence. One of the Gores, high in the profession of the law, aims at being Solicitor-General. If, when Mr. Carter is displaced, Gore, who is now counsel to the Commissioners of the Revenue, would shew an inclination to be reconciled to the Government, it would be the most advisable step that could be taken to make the Attorney-General Master of the Rolls, and so make room for Mr. John Gore* to be Solicitor-General. If this should succeed there would be "such a break among that family that we should have little trouble in securing a settled majority in the House of Commons. . . .

"As the packett which this instant is arrived has brought your letter of the 8th to my Lord Lieutenant, he will take the first opportunity of thanking you for it. In the meantime he desires me to say what appeared to me to be the motives of the motion made in respect to the augmenting the pay of the Infantry in Ireland. It was understood here in the light it struck you as a low artifice of making their court after what had happened about the Money Bill. . . . I should think his Majesty, if he should be pleased to grant this favour to his troops, should do it in that manner as might make it appear his own act, and if it was deferred for some months and some little variation made in the establishment from what is mentioned in the Address, I should think it would have that effect. I perceive the Majors are omitted in that plan, and there is more difference between the English and Irish establishment in that rank than in any other. Whether you would think proper to advise the King to include them upon this occasion, I submit to your consideration."

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* Mr. John Gore did not become Solicitor-General till 1760; he was afterwards made Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and was, in 1766, created Lord Annaly.

LORD HOLDERNESS to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1754, Jan. 19. London.—Explanatory of an office letter which he has sent to the Duke of Dorset with respect to the despatch of troops to India.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to [LORD HOLDERNESS].

1754, Jan. 20. Dublin Castle.—Before dismissing Mr. Carter, &c., from their employments, in obedience to the King's commands, the Lord Lieutenant thought proper "to inform the Speaker of the orders he had received; of the resentment the King had expressed at the behaviour of his servants, and of the lenity that had been shown personally to him." The Speaker did not attempt to justify the conduct of himself or his friends in rejecting the Money Bill, nor did he hint at resigning his employment, "so that if he should be determined not to give the proper assurances of his serving Government, he had rather have it to say that he was turned out than that he had refused continuing in the King's service." The Prime Serjeant Malone, Mr. Boyle, and Colonel Dilkes received their dismissal from his Majesty's service with great propriety and decency. "As to Mr. Carter, he sent an excuse that he could not wait upon my Lord Lieutenant that morning as he was seized with the gout in his hand. Upon that I was sent to his house, but before I saw him the Speaker had acquainted him with the business that I went upon. He said he was concerned at being dismissed his Majesty's service, but that he could not have acted otherwise than he did without quitting those friends to whom he had been attached for thirty years past. He desired me to assure my Lord Lieutenant that his being out of employment would not alter his conduct in the least, and if any business was to come into Parliament in which he could, before his dismission, have assisted Government, he should be equally ready to do it in his present situation. In the course of his conversation it was very plain that this measure had been first undertaken and afterwards pursued in complyance with the opinion of the Prime Serjeant Malone. The warrant appointing Mr. Stannard Prime Serjeant will be signed to-morrow, and I am persuaded that choice will be generally approved of. I have not heard that anybody says that those gentlemen have not very well deserved the resentment that has been shown to them."

The DUKE OF DORSET to the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

1754, Feb. 5. D[ublin] C[astle].—In accordance with his Majesty's pleasure signified in Lord Holdernesse's letter of the 24th Jan., Parliament has been prorogued until the 2nd of April. I have consulted with several of his Majesty's servants and others on the question of declaring or ascertaining the right of the Crown to the disposal of the surplus, &c. They were unanimously of

opinion that the most proper method to be pursued would be by his Majesty's ordering under his sign manual the disposition of the money to the same uses for which it was designed by the Bill which is rejected. This they think will be a full assertion of his Majesty's right, and the only one that can be made with any propriety on the present occasion. Lord Sidney's protest in 1692* was taken into consideration immediately after the rejecting of the Bill, but the circumstances of the case were so different from what has now passed, that there did not appear any foundation for drawing a precedent from it. "But we were then of opinion that the application of a sum sufficient for the discharge of the debt by the King's sign manual will be a clear vindication of his Majesty's right, and is the more to be desired as it will be attended with an act of graciousness from his Majesty to the public. . . .

"I have had one conversation with the Speaker since the prorogation. I told him that although he had not himself personally felt the effects of the King's resentment, yet he could no longer doubt that his Majesty must be highly dissatisfied with his late conduct, but that the King's servants, and I amongst others, were inclined to hope that he had been in a manner forced into measures against his judgment, and if he were now disposed to assist with his weight in carrying on the King's service in concert with those whom his Majesty had appointed or should appoint for that purpose, I should use my best endeavours in making his offers of service acceptable to the King. He began with the usual professions of duty and loyalty to the King, to which I answered that I made no question of his being a loyal subject to the King, but the business now was whether he would become an useful servant, which he must allow had not been of late the case, and that I must have a clear and explicit answer to that point. After mentioning the difficulties he was under from connections and engagements, he desired a little time for consideration before he returned an answer in a matter of so great importance.

"This is all the information (and it carries very little satisfaction with it) that I am yet able to give your Grace with regard to the Speaker's future conduct, but as far as can be collected from symptoms and circumstances I cannot say that there is much probability of his so totally changing his scheme and manner of acting as to bring any advantage to his Majesty's service. But till this point is absolutely determined, I entirely agree with your Grace that the consideration of the lesser employments is indifferent, excepting that Sir Richard Cox has made himself so obnoxious both during the session and since to all ranks of people who have supported the Government, that his removal is expected and wished for with unusual impatience, and I cannot help desiring (more as a measure than as a gratification of resentment) that I may be empowered to signify to the Commissioners of the Revenue his Majesty's pleasure for removing him.

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* See p. 235, *below*.

"If the Speaker refuses to explain himself I shall think it necessary to proceed immediately to the forming of an administration upon some new system, and shall have many things to submit to his Majesty's consideration, upon which, not knowing what turn would be finally taken by the Speaker, I have been hitherto silent; amongst which the management of the Treasury is very material, it being impossible for any administration to be formed with any hope of success unless that important branch of it is under the direction of persons that can be confided in." *Draft.*

Henry Pelham to the Duke of Dorset.

1754, Feb. 28.—"Pursuant to my own original opinion, confirmed by your Grace's advice and authority, and also by that of most of the King's servants in Ireland, transmitted hither in your letter to my brother, I have prepared, and the King has signed, the proper instrument to your Grâce for the payment of 77,500*l.* towards discharging the National Debt. . . . I must own my opinion to your Grace freely, which is that if the Crown had not exerted its authority in this instance, it would have been highly improbable that another proper opportunity would have happened. My mind is therefore extremely at ease. . . . There is another King's letter also for the increase of pay to the officers and private men of the Foot, pursuant to the address of the Commons transmitted in your Grace's letter to the Treasury. . . . We wait with great impatience for the arrival of Lord George and your Grace's final representation of what appears to you necessary to be done for the better settlement of your Government. Strange and surprising accounts of the behaviour of the Opposition come over every day. We think you have shewn great candour in giving the Speaker an opportunity to reconcile himself to the Government if he pleases. For my part I have long despaired of it, and indeed he has as good as said so, by attending their drunken and mobbish assemblys att the very time he was treating with your Grace. I shall say nothing of my opinion as to what is passed, but if a proper stand is not now made the dependancy of Ireland upon this country is over."

The King to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1754, March 2.—For the additional pay of 6*d. per diem* to the captains, 2*d.* to the subaltern officers and a penny to the privates of the foot regiments in Ireland. *Copy.*

Duke of Dorset to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, March 27. Dublin Castle.—" . . . I shall have no sort of objection to Lord Besborough, if our friends in England approve of the measure; you know the great objection I had to it will be removed if the King and his servants are not against it;

as to the Lord Deputy, will there not be difficulties about his pay, and other little points. I do not mention this by way of objection, for you know Lord Hertford will be very agreeable to me and all our friends."*

Lord Huntingdon to the Duke of Dorset.

1754, May 8. London.—Requesting the Duke's recommendation of his brother-in-law, Lord Rawdon, to an earldom.

Alexander Bisset to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, May 14. Dublin.—" . . . I take the liberty of wishing you joy of my Lord Duke's leaving this country in the manner he did on Friday last. It is agreed on all hands that no Lord Lieutenant has ever been so attended as his Grace was, and among the prodigious number of people who assembled to see him pass there was no sign of ill humour, but all the decency and respect imaginable. It may perhaps be accounted for how it happened that nothing like an insult was attempted in the streets or upon the North Wall, but I am sure nothing could have prevented any indecent indications of disrespect from the windows of the houses, at each of which I believe there were half a dozen people from the Castle Gate to the place where my Lord Duke embarked. This behaviour of the people in general must have proceeded from good will, and it may certainly be concluded from it that the attempts to poison and enflame them have by no means had the desired effect. Mr. Sp—k—r yesterday had an address† presented to him by Sir Samuel Cook with about seven or eight gentlemen, thirty or fourty merchants, and two or three hundred mob, who went round the town and groaned or hurraed as they were directed at the houses of the principal people. Each of the Lords Justices were groaned. My Lord Kildare, before whose door they assembled, was not in town. It is said they meant to assure his Lordship that they were not concerned in the parade of Friday last. They attempted no violence anywhere, nor were they heard of any more after a party of men were sent out against them by my Lord Molesworth."

Cornet Edward Smith to Lord George Sackville.

1754, May 29. Maryborough.—Our march being so quick after our review prevented my letting you know that we had so bad a day that we could only go through our evolutions and trot home as soon as we could. I hope to merit the kindness you have shown me in taking me into your troop by my diligence and care of the men. Maryborough barrack is very agreeable,

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* Cf. Horace Walpole's Memoirs, Vol. 1., p. 390 (H. Colburn, London, 1847).

† From the city of Cork. See this address versified at p. 239.

and I hear that Col. Sugborough's health encouraged him to venture home, and "gives me a very good chance of making the old barrack smell very comfortable, though I must own I think I have a much better chance of Preston or Ashenhurst, who are both so much in love you would think they could never outlive the week. Besides, poor Preston is just out of a sweeting, so that his passion for Miss Myhill must fling him into a consumption, and Ashenhurst so violently fond of Belle Waldern that bumpers to her health must putt him in a high fever."

Thomas Waite to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 1. Dublin Castle.—The Speaker left Dublin last Wednesday morning for Lord Carrick's. He went to the Lord Chancellor's the day before, but his Lordship was in the Four Courts. Frederick Gore sailed for Parkgate last Tuesday on his way to London, to settle matters in his new occupation of wine-merchant. Lord Bessborough is at Ben Burton's, whence he proceeds to Bessborough. The Chancellor expected him to dinner this day at Merion, and was not a little out of temper when he found he was gone into the country without keeping his engagement.

Examinations have been taken by my Lord Mayor, and his Lordship has issued a warrant thereupon for apprehending Mr. Drury, but for what offence I cannot yet learn. Drury sent a friend yesterday to his Lordship to desire to see the examinations, and to know whether he would take bail without Drury's personal appearance before him. He refused a sight of the examinations, but said he would take bail if Drury attended him in person, and not otherwise. He was then asked whether the warrant that he had issued was for any riot, to which he replied that it was for something more than a riot, but would not explain. Drury in the mean time keeps out of the way, not choosing to be dragg'd along the streets like a vagaband and to be made a spectacle of, which would certainly be the case if my Lord Mayor's Ragamuffins could lay hold of him. Some time ago, there was a quarrel in the Liberty between two men, in which one was so severely beaten by the other that he died soon after. The report is that the man who beat the other was instigated thereto by Drury, who had given money and drink to several people to knock down all those who should speak disrespectfully of my Lord Lieutenant. . . . I have seen Drury very often since my Lord Lieutenant left; . . . he has very frequently observed to me how happy a circumstance it was for him that upon the day when my Lord Lieutenant set out from hence, the people whom he carried with him to the water-side separated and went home without committing the least irregularity or disorder, and that the patriots had it not in their power to attack him for having been guilty of any action whatever that was contrary to law. I am afraid that there are several in this town

capable of swearing and procuring persons to swear anything against him, and that in the present disposition of the minds of jurymen, if he was to be brought to trial, he would be found guilty. Your Lordship will have heard from my Lord Primate that the grand jury of the city of Dublin have thought proper to throw out the bills of indictment that were preferred against Williamson and others for the villainous libels that they published in the *Universal Advertiser* last winter. I presume that thereupon the Government will order the Attorney or Solicitor General to file informations in the King's Bench against those libellers, as is the practice in London.

Postscript.—"I hope Miss Sambrooke has forty thousand pounds at last. Indeed, my Lord, you cannot afford to take less."

Thomas Waite to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 4. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Gardiner has prayed the Lords Justices for a warrant for moneys paid to the sergeants, corporals and drummers added to Col. Alderson's regiment upon their embarkation for the East Indies. Their Excellencies seem of opinion that the money ought to be paid by Great Britain. Drury still keeps out of the way. "I am told that on the night of the Speaker's arrival at Leighlin Bridge there were several bonfires made, and all in abundance given to the people, but all at his own expence. If your Lordship has any curiosity to see the characters of the three Lords Justices [the Primate, the Chancellor and Lord Bessborough] drawn by a patriot hand, you will find them in the *Universal Advertiser* of this day." This day being the Prince of Wales' birthday, we had a tolerable full Levee. The Lord Mayor appeared with all his proper attendants about him. The Surveyor-General finds Duncannon Fort in a most wretched condition. Lord Rothes goes there tomorrow morning.

The Same to the Same.

1754, June 4. Dublin Castle.—Concerning the intended disposal of Ensign Beresford Moore's commission to Mr. George Clarke, and Lord Bessborough's wish that Mr. John Warren, son of Major Abel Warren, should be allowed to purchase it instead.

Col. Chevenix to the Same.

1754, June 6. Carlow.—Concerning Capt. Acheson, Lieut. Preston, Capt. Killigrew and Adjutant Peterkin, officers in his regiment.

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 6. Leixlip.—Returned last night from Dublin, where he went to celebrate the Prince's birthday. "Everything there is quiet, and all indecencies seem to be at an end." Lord Bessborough is in the country, and Cunningham and his lady at Fortescue's. A progress to Monaghan is intended.

Captain R. Cuningham to the Same.

1754, June 6. Reynoldstown.—Matrimony goes on successfully and pleasantly. Lord Limerick is very civil. Fortescue and Lady Blayney Fortescue wish to say all that is friendly to Lord George, who is "so very well in this family" that the writer cannot fail to be so also, while he remains in his Lordship's favour.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, June 11. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Drury still keeps out of the way. Alderman Dawson told Mr. Merydeth last night that Mr. Clements would not be removed from the Treasury. It is reported that Dick Boyle, who lately went to England, is to fight Mr. Maxwell before he returns. I hear Lord Molesworth is in a declining condition, and I would not give a month's purchase for General Richbell's life. How should Nevil prepare for the next session, about his barrack matters? He will conform to whatever is thought proper.

The Bishop of Ferns to the Same.

1754, June 11. "Chappel Izod."—On behalf of the Rev. Peter Hichington, chaplain to O'Farrel's regiment, who, having been presented by the writer to a prebend and parish in the diocese of Leighlin, had to read himself in, and could not attend the musters, but from whom three months' pay as army chaplain has been nevertheless "respited"; and of a printer who for the better support of his family and his father is solicitous of being discharged from the army. "We are here in a dead calm of politicks, which even the late squawl from the English coast of the *State of Ireland** has not ruffled. I doubt whether the notion of its coming from your side of the water be true, for it carries with it so much spleen and bitterness and so very much of the galled withers, that I am much mistaken if its author has not had some occasion given him to wince. . . . Our English pens rarely are so envenomed in things they either know nothing of, or concern themselves so little about."

P.S.—"We had just such a summer as this last winter, said Dr. Swift, I suppose of such a one as this is."

* "The State of Ireland laid open to the view of his Majesty's subjects," London, 1754. An attack upon Archbishop Stone and Lord Geo. Sackville. See Adderley's letter in the Report on the Charlemont MSS. (Report xii. pt. 4. p. 196.)

William Richardson to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 11. Dublin.—Many of the friends of the Government are made uneasy, since not only his nearest relatives but Mr. Clements himself says that he has made his peace on the terms I mentioned. The conclusion generally drawn from this is that the Lord Lieutenant must have resolved not to honour us any more with his presence here. These surmises obstruct the endeavours of the friends of the Government with individuals, and are attended with several bad consequences besides. The uncertain state the Treasury is considered to be in is attended with great loss to the kingdom in general, "for not a banker, as I am well informed, will discount the most unquestionable bills, nay bills upon themselves although accepted, much less lend one penny until this point be cleared up." The damp this casts on the most zealous of the friends of the Government, and the encouragement it gives to the adherents of the other side, is deserving of serious consideration. There is not a member of either side that does not know how the gentlemen of the Treasury behaved to Government the last two sessions. I have endeavoured to remove the uneasiness, and account for things not being yet done, but I cannot conceal from you that these things are by the generality placed to the account of the Lord Lieutenant and not to the backwardness of the King or his other ministers.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, June 13. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Clements says the Duke of Dorset told the King that he, Clements, was the most proper person in the Kingdom for the employment which he holds in the Treasury here. The report that he is to continue gains ground and makes the friends of Government very uneasy. It is likewise given out that Mr. Dilkes has presented a memorial to the Duke of Cumberland, who on learning that he had not been dismissed by Court-Martial, said "Sir, there is something very strange in your case; I assure you I will inquire strictly into it."

The Earl of Rothes to the Same.

1754, June 13. Dublin.—Concerning the review of the army for the year, reports thereon, &c.

Sir Robert Wilmot to the Same.

1754, June 15. St. James' Street.—Concerning the title deeds of a house leased from Lady Shiers to Mr. Durham, and assigned by him and Lord Archibald Hamilton to Lord Cathcart.* "If your Lordship likes the title as it stands in the enclosed paper, I think, as the term is so short, you might have a proper assignment drawn and written upon stamped paper, which would save your Lordship some guineas, which, as you are a poor younger brother, and likely to have an increasing family soon, may as well be laid out in a coral for your first child."

* Cf. letter on p. 43.

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 20. Leixlip.—Respecting the conditions upon which alone Mr. Clements should be allowed to retain his office in the Treasury. If he is safe upon his present footing, the game is certainly lost. It will be impossible to convince people that he has not made his peace with money, as the Speaker's friends give out. There must be an explicit confession that Government was falsely traduced.

The Same to the Same.

1754, June 22. Dublin.—Mr. Clements has told the Lord Chancellor that Mr. Hill is bringing a letter from my Lord Lieutenant to the Lords Justices, directing them to talk with him (Clements) concerning the assurances he is disposed to give of his behaviour. Mr. Downes has been found run through with a sword in his house in Dawson Street. The poor man was decent, sober and religious.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, June 22. Dublin Castle.—"Yesterday morning, Robin Downes, member for Kildare, was found in his parlour with a sword run through his body. . . . There are hopes of his recovery. He himself says, as the report goes, that he received the wound in a fair duel, . . . but the general opinion seems to be that he transfixed himself, though no one pretends to assign the reason. My Lord Kildare is come to town in vast agitation at this accident. The election for a burgess at Athy comes on next Monday, and Robin was one of his Lordship's most powerful advocates at the late bustle in that town." Rumour has given Downes Commissioner Bourke or Wat Weldon for an antagonist, but I believe quite without reason. Mr. Disney and Surgeon Bradford have prayed the Lords Justices that the troops at Athy may assist the justices if there is any riot at the election, but no order was given. Lord Rothes embarked for Holyhead yesterday. General de Grangues is still in the land of the living, but very weak, and believes himself dying. The Chancellor has expressed himself in such terms about Drury that I fear I shall never get a warrant for the poor fellow's money. The Primate goes to Lord Belfield's on Monday to join Miss Rochford and Mr. Butler in holy matrimony. The Countess of Waterford has written asking me if there was any ground for the report that Lord Winchelsea was to be Lord Lieutenant.

The Primate to the Same.

1754, June 24. Dublin.—Mr. Hill landed this morning and has been with me. I could wish that no commission had been given him to the Lords Justices, but there is no doubt that the deliberation will be held with coolness and temper. General Desgrangues died last night.

Thomas Waite to Lord George Sackville.

1754, June 25. Dublin Castle.—Announcing the death of Lieutenant-General de Grangues, who died "last Sunday night," and has left Col. Arabin's son, who married his niece, most of his money. General St. George has applied for his regiment. The Bishop of Derry and his family embark for Parkgate next Thursday. Robin Downes died last night. Drury is now on the Grand Jury for county Dublin, and has not been touched by the Lord Mayor. He says the matter sworn against him is absolutely false. Mr. Ponsonby and Lady Betty have sailed for Holyhead, on their way to Chatsworth.

Colonel John Arabin to [the Same].

1754, June 25. Dublin.—Announces Lieutenant-General De Grangues' death. "As your Lordship has on all occasions honoured me with your good will and protection, hope you'll not be displeased to hear that the General (considering the situation he had been in for some years past with respect to those about him) has disposed of his fortune more to the advantage of his niece, Mrs. Arabin, than was expected he would do. By my calculation (though I am not yet certain) the General is dead worth eleven thousand pounds, and his legacies do not amount to more than four thousand."

Colonel Philip Chevenix to [the Same].

1754, June 25. Powder Mills.—"Last Sunday, in the afternoon, General Desgrangues died. He has left to his sister a hundred and twenty pounds a year during her life, and three hundred pounds. To Mrs. Cartier two thousand pounds English, the house in Dublin with all the furniture, and three hundred pounds to her husband. To Captain Sheyla two hundred pounds, five hundred pounds in small legacies, and the residue of his fortune, with his country house, to Captain Arabin's lady, which may amount to near eight thousand pounds. His executors are Colonel Arabin, Captain Desbrisay, and Capt. Sheyla. . . ."

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, June 29. Dublin Castle.—Announcing the delivery by Mr. Hill to the Lords Justices of the Lord Lieutenant's letter to their Excellencies in relation to Mr. Clements' being continued in his employment. There is to be a Court-Martial to try Lieut.-Col. Wilson and the others of whom Mr. Colclough and Mr. Ram have complained to the Lord Lieutenant. "A report is gone forth this day that orders are come over for removing every individual patriot that had an employment under Government, the military men not excepted."

LORD BOYNE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1754, June 29.—Begs to know if he may have any hopes of his Majesty's further bounty, through the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant and Lord George. "Ever so little is a help to a person of a small income."

The MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON to [THE SAME].

1754, July 2. London.—Recommending Col. Pole to the Duke of Dorset for a regiment of dragoons, if there should be a vacancy by the death of Col. (*sic*) Degrangues. "I hope your Lordship will be so good as to excuse the liberty I take of desiring you to mention it to his Grace with my most respectful compliments, and to assure him that as I am aware of his kind intentions to Col. Mostyn, that I do not mean it in competition with him, but only to recommend him to his Grace when it shall not interfere with any other engagement."

COL. JOHN MOSTYN to THE SAME.

1754, July 2.—Expressing his great obligations to the Lord Lieutenant. Degrangue's death is well known and many candidates are talked of, including Mr. Conway and Lord Bury.

THOMAS WAITE to THE SAME.

1754, July 2. Dublin Castle.—The Bishop of Litchfield has come on a visit to Lady Betty Southwell. Capt. Killigrew and his lady have embarked for Parkgate, and "a most noble portion of licences of absence, ordinary and extraordinary" have been signed. Sends a pamphlet by Dr. Leland, the famous dissenting minister in Dublin, in answer to a scurrilous pamphlet of Mr. Bruce.

MAJOR PEPYS to THE SAME.

1754, July 3. Athy.—Sends the regimental returns for June. As there was an election there lately for sovereign and a burgess, and a great riot in the town, the men were kept in the barracks. They hung poor George Bradford in effigy on the gallows and then dragged it through the streets and afterwards beheaded it and put it (*sic*) on the Castle. Each party chose a sovereign and burgess, and Saturday sennight they are to elect a burgess [at Kildare] in the room of the unfortunate Mr. Downes. The commanding officer here, Cornet Ball, dined at Mr. Bradford's, "where was a handsome appearance of gentlemen and a genteel entertainment." Cornet Mellifont has returned from Paris and is gone to Kilkenny to be married to Miss Meredyth of Shrouland, who has fifteen hundred pounds. Lieut. Ashenhurst is in a fair way of marrying Miss Bell Waldron, being deeply enamoured.

THOMAS WAITE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1754, July 4. Dublin Castle.—The Commissioners of the Customs, Mr. Cavendish and Mr. Bourke, have accepted the Duke of Dorset's recommendation of Sir Robert Wilmot, but Mr. Bristow doubts whether the office of their Solicitor and that which Sir Robert already holds under the Government are not incompatible. "Mr. Stannard, the Prime Serjeant, called upon me this morning and told me he heard that the Speaker was soon to make a progress through the kingdom, and that it was not [to] be conceived how much the party triumphed at Mr. Clements's being continued in his employment."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1754, July 6. Dublin Castle.—Recommending Mr. Eyre Evans Powell to succeed Mr. Chaigneau as Register of the barracks. "Last Wednesday night a large quantity of English woolen cloaths just brought home from the Custom House were seized by a great number of the spinners and weavers living in and about the Liberty, and carried into some fields near that part of the town and publickly burnt. The goods were worth upwards of 1,000*l.*"

THE SAME to the SAME.

1754, July 9. Dublin Castle.—Concerning the transmission of his Lordship's plate and linen to London. "The Lords Justices and Council had a meeting this day upon the affair of burning the English woolen cloths last week, at which meeting the Lord Mayor and Recorder attended, and I hear a proclamation is signed against the persons concerned in that outrage, and a considerable reward offered for apprehending and convicting any of them."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1754, July 11. Dublin Castle.—Concerning an allowance to James White of 20*l.* per annum out of Mrs. Waterson's place of office keeper. Begs to suggest Harry Waterson's name in connexion with an opening which may shortly occur in Lord George's office. "A Bill of Indictment is found against Justice Drury for a riot by him committed upon the 10th day of May last, which was the day on which my Lord Lieutenant left Dublin. Now it is very remarkable and well known that the people who attended his Grace to the waterside under Drury's command dispersed and went home without being guilty of any irregularity whatever."

THOMAS WAITE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1754, July 20. Dublin Castle.—The Lords Justices yesterday took into consideration the question of Mr. Clements being continued in his employment, but as a messenger sent for him did not find him at the Treasury, they proceeded to other business. The Chief Baron is anxious for a King's letter concerning his State Paper Office affair. The Court-Martial upon Col. Wilson and the other officers assembled this morning, but as no one appeared to support the charge, it was adjourned.

LORD TULLAMOORE to [THE SAME?].

1754, July 20. Redwood.—Sending, at the desire of the Commissaries of the Musters, a duplicate of a memorial which he had presented for them to the Lord Lieutenant some time before he left Ireland, when he was pleased to say he would take their case into his consideration. Submits whether, since the Commissaries have "to transact business with gentlemen, and consequently live as such, they can subsist upon their present allowance now that provisions of all kind, especially for horses, bear as high or rather higher prices than ever were known."

THOMAS WAITE to [THE SAME].

1754, July 26. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Clements was with the Lords Justices nearly an hour yesterday. The writer hears nothing of the patriots or their motions. The town is exceedingly employed at present in conjecturing whether Mr. Clements is or is not to be continued in his employment.

CAPTAIN R. CUNINGHAM to [THE SAME?].

1754, July 26. Dublin.—"I am just now come from drinking your health at the Solicitor-General's. Stannard dined with us. He says nothing is wanting but resolution to make everything go well. His toast was, 'Resolution to our friends and let the Lords Justices take care of themselves.' There are great suspicions among our friends that the Lords Justices' answer will not be a proper one, and Stannard meant by his toast that nobody would pity them in any future distresses if they did not take care of themselves upon this occasion. Clements was called in last Monday, and was twice called in yesterday, and before next Monday I do suppose they will have prepared an answer to the Lord Lieutenant's letter. Do not expect a very strong one, for I am afraid his Grace, by the strain of his letter, has recommended it to some people to take care of one, and you know that two will never take upon them to send any answer without the concurrence of the third. I wish their answer may prove to be better than is expected, for all depends upon Clements's fate. . . ."

Captain John Lyons to Lord George Sackville, Chief Secretary to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1754, July 27. Council Office, Dublin.—Encloses the produce of his Lordship's office for a quarter ended at Midsummer last. Nothing much of importance has occupied the Council: the old dispute of the Corporation of Clonmel, including all disputes since the year 1724, is to come before them next Monday. The Portreeve of Navan, the only subject which takes the whole public attention, is to be determined on the 29th inst.

Captain R. Cuningham to the Same.

1754, July 28. Reynoldstown.—". . . All your friends in this country are gaping for news; they expect soon to hear that the great event is determined. If the decision does not answer their expectations I shall be most extremely sorry to see you again in this country in the character of a secretary. But I am in hopes that although the Lords Justices may be timid, the necessity of the measure will make our friends on your side of the water more resolute and bold."

The Lords Justices to the Duke of Dorset.

1754, July 29. Dublin Castle.—"My Lord, on Monday last we communicated to Mr. Clements the letter which some time before we had the honour of receiving from your Grace by the hands of Mr. Hill.

"When Mr. Clements had read the letter he desired us to assure your Grace that he was sincerely concerned to find that he had by his past conduct offended the Government, which he never intended to do, but that he would for the future endeavour to make all possible amends for it.

"We told him that considering the opposition that had been raised and seemed still to be carrying on against the Government, it might possibly be expected that he should give some particular assurances how far, and with regard to what persons, his influence either by the means of his office or of his private connections might extend, that those to whom his Majesty's service was entrusted might know with some degree of certainty what strength they could depend upon in a future session of Parliament. He said that Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Macarell had authorized him to give assurances on their parts, and that he would endeavour to bring his two sons into Parliament; that he might be able in time to do more, but he would not venture to answer with certainty for more than he was at this time sure that he could effect.

"In a matter of so great importance to his Majesty's service here, as we conceive this decision to be, we thought it proper to defer writing to your Grace for some days, that Mr. Clements might have an opportunity, if anything material should have

occurred in his affairs upon this communication, of explaining himself further to us. On Tuesday last he was again with us and repeated in the most solemn manner the same assurances, that he would do everything in his power, both by any influence of office or by his private connections, to support the Government: that, besides Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Macarell, he believed he might answer for his son-in-law, Mr. Burton, though he was at this time absent. He repeated the same that he said before concerning his own sons, and added that if a vacancy should happen at Cavan, where Mr. Weston serves, his nephew, Captain Clements, if he conducted himself properly, would be elected there, and also that he had hopes in time of being able to pevail upon other persons now in Parliament, and that he would omit no occasion of exerting himself to that purpose; that his future conduct should convince the Government of the sincerity of these professions, and that he would at all times be ready to receive and obey all commands from those whom his Majesty does at this time or may hereafter entrust with the Government of this kingdom.

"These are the assurances that Mr. Clements has given us, and we have the honour to transmit them to your Grace in the same terms as nearly as can be recollected in which he delivered them.

"When we consider the earnest manner in which he expressed himself upon this occasion, and the visible concern he was under, on the apprehension of his being dismissed from serving his Majesty in a post of so great an advantage, we cannot but suppose that he intends to act up to his professions. But what may be the consequences of his being continued in employment with regard to the effect it may have upon the minds and expectations of those who have adhered steadily to his Majesty's service in the last two sessions of Parliament, and how far the nature of his private connections may, in the present situation of affairs, enable him to carry the influence of the Treasury in support of the administration further than in those instances which he has mentioned, are points of such extreme delicacy and difficulty as in our opinions ought not to be determined by us, but must be submitted finally to your Grace, who is so perfectly acquainted with the springs as well as the progress of the Opposition. And we beg leave to observe to your Grace that, whatsoever the determination may be upon this affair, whether favourable to the person concerned or otherwise, the effects of the measure would in either way, according to our apprehensions, be greatly impaired and weakened by its being brought to a conclusion here, from the opinion that would certainly prevail that we had been actuated by pique and prejudice on one side, or by partiality and tenderness on the other. We must therefore from our duty to his Majesty and our zeal for his service, and from our sincere regard for your Grace's administration, humbly lay it before you as our opinion that the decision upon this case will lose much of its weight and authority should it not in appearance as well as in reality proceed from your Grace imme-

diately and from his Majesty's other ministers. We are with greatest truth and respect, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient humble servants,

"George Armagh.
"Newport C.[anc.]
"Bessborough."

Thomas Waite to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, July 30.—" . . . The Lords Justices will be impatient to hear that their letter about Clements which is inclosed is come safe to hand, and therefore your Lordship will acknowledge the receipt of it by return of post to my Lord Primate and not in an office letter to me."

Major Pepys to [the Same].

1754, Aug. 1. Athy.—Partly on matters relating to his regiment. "General De Grangues had sent for an attorney the day before he died in order to make a new codicill to his will in favour of a female friend, by which she was to enjoy his seat at Newland during her life and three thousand pounds more than he had left her before. Captain Arabin and his lady had a narrow escape. Mr. St. Leger and his bride were married in town a Tuesday night, and came down here to their seat at Grange Mellon the next day ; Mrs. Butler and the bride and Miss St. Leger in her coach and six, and the bridegroom and Sir Patrick Bellew, his bridesman, in theirs, with favours and cockades displayed. . . . General Bowles's sister, that married Major Brownrig, left two thousand pounds to a nephew that lived with her, and all the rest of old Dean Cross's treasure to her husband. . . . General St. George was taken very ill after eating cherries. Physicians were sent for and they despaired of him till one advised 'usquebath,' which entirely recovered him."

The Primate to the Same.

1754, Aug. 1. Leixlip.—Respecting the letter of the Lords Justices to the Duke of Dorset of July 29 (*see above*), and the case of Mr. Clements. It was very plain that the Lord Lieutenant wished Mr. Clements to be kept in his command, and yet, after hearing him, not even the most moderate of the Lords Justices could take upon himself to say it would be well to continue him in his employment. During the inquiry, Sir Richard Cox and others of the same sort have made the Treasury their daily resort, and their anxiety for Mr. Clements' safety shows that some advantage must be derived from him. Mr. Malone has just lent Frederick Gore a thousand pounds without interest, which act of generosity will make it impossible to draw

Mr. Gore from him. "In the mean-time, the war is carried on everywhere in the country with great pains and industry. Papers are printed of the worst tendency, and the object is the Administration of England. Sir Robert Walpole was never worse used by the writers in London than his Majesty's present ministers are by those here, yet when things come to any trial, there is no reason for being discouraged." The late Master of the Rolls was nominated as a magistrate at Navan, all the force of the party was used, the Speaker wrote urgent letters on his behalf, money was employed; but on Monday he was beaten by ten or twelve voices.

Our troops fight well, but with somewhat the less courage that they "still apprehend that there is a battery behind them." *Extract.*

Cornet Edward Smith to Lord George Sackville.

1754, August 1. Maryborough.—". . . This little town is become very disagreeable from the vast riot of party which rages here. It is between Gilbert, supported by Dawson and Westenrow against Pigott, that you made High Sheriff of this county. I believe Pigott will carry it, though he is hard pressed, Lord Napton having declared on the other side." They tell Pigott he is a courtier, and has drunk the Lord Lieutenant's health at the assizes, and that they determined to support and defend the Speaker.

Lord Clanricarde to [the Same].

1754, Aug. 4. Bellmont, Hampshire.—Forwarding a letter from Ireland, the contents of which are of such a nature as ought to be laid before those whom his Majesty honours with his confidence in that kingdom.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, Aug. 6. Dublin Castle.—"The patriot sheriff of Dublin, Mr. Wray, died the day before yesterday of a violent fever, which they say was occasioned by a very hard drinking bout at a late meeting of the Patriots at the Tholsel, and this day the Lords Justices and Council approved of one Mr. Alexander Ryves to be sheriff for the remainder of the year, who I hear is a man of other principles than his predecessor was."

Sir Thomas Hales to [the Same].

1754, Aug. 6. Howletts.—Will attend the assizes, since the Duke of Dorset and Lord G. Sackville expect to see him there.

Lord Rothes to [Lord George Sackville].

1754, Aug. 6. Hitcham.—The returns called for from Ireland have been ready made out some time, as he is informed, but no opportunity has offered to send things of such bulk by a private conveyance, though Mr. Waite and Lord Rothes' brother have both been looking out for such a person.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, Aug. 7. Dublin Castle.—Sir John Spring embarks this day, carrying the Review Returns directed for his Majesty's service to your Lordship; also some remarks upon the present state of the regiments in Ireland compared with their state in 1753, to be laid before the King.

The Primate to the Same.

1754, Aug. 17. Leixlip.—"I cannot but think that the letter of the Lords Justices contains and points out considerations from which their opinions may be fairly deduced. They are asked whether Mr. C[lements] may not give such assurances, &c. They answer by setting forth the assurances given, and throw in their own scruples. Though I were sure it would be for the King's service that a person was dismissed, yet it might be proposed to be executed in such a manner as would cut the other way. It has been said that those already removed here fell by the hand of ministers only, and that his Majesty was not offended. How much worse is it that an opinion should go out of this person's being given up to the ambition and resentment of the Primate and Lord Bessborough (for we should have borne the load, or probably the whole would have been upon me), and my Lord Lieutenant, it would have been said, was forced by us into measures against his judgment and inclination. If his Grace would but deliver that judgment which he is so capable of forming as well as of delivering with explicitness on his own part, it would create explicitness elsewhere, both in places where he is not supreme as well as in those who are subordinate to him, and the ill-humour, diffidence, and confusion which you too justly apprehend would be prevented. That his Grace (in this transaction at least) has declined taking upon him the supporting his own and the Royall authority is too evident to receive any contradiction or colouring. You cannot conceive what use is made of it here to lessen the credit and influence which his Grace is supposed by his friends to have, and consequently to lessen the dependance upon him and those attached to him. If that should spread and be known, how far it may really lessen that credit and influence you best can judge, but I cannot help thinking that his Majesty may be as little pleased with hesitation where his service is concerned as some people here appear to be. There is not the least falling off of friends, as I can perceive; but there is an apprehension that the

Government is falling off from itself. Mr. Cory and Mr. Lowry are both returned and will attend next session. Let Clements be pressed closer; if any reall good can be got out of him let him be received. As it stands now, he thanks nobody for saving him, and has even promised only in generals which he may keep or not as he finds expedient. . . ."

Captain R. Cuningham to Lord George Sackville.

1754, Aug. 19. Dublin.—On the necessity for more spirited action on the part of the Lord Lieutenant in the management of political affairs. "Notwithstanding the little encouragement your last letter gives us I must hope that what is now before you will be determined favourably for our friends. If people are allowed to remain as they are now it is impossible to go on. The spirit of patriotism is higher than ever and Government more abused. The hopes of your ennemies seem to be founded upon the supposition of his Grace's being out of favour with his Majestie. . . ."

The Primate to the Same.

1754, Aug. 24. Leixlip.—Urging the necessity of supporting his Majesty's servants, the Lords Justices, by some expression of the King's approval of their conduct. "Our Chancellor would be very glad of receiving some commands of a brisker nature that we have yet had. He sees the danger before us, and says *Non Progredi est Regredi*. For my own part, if we are left to shift for ourselves, I see the impossibility of my subsisting here even in the most private situation, and am considering in what manner I may the least indecently betake myself to some place of shelter. When that imprudent advertisement was printed concerning Robinson, he came to me in order to shew what he intended publishing against it, but said he imagined it was calculated only to draw a publick acknowledgment from him of his being the author of the pamphlet in support of the King's prerogative, and frightening him at least with threats of censures. Robinson said he was ready to acknowledge it, and if a person who avowed those principles could not be protected from censures, he should not think of living longer in this country. I told him that my case was just the same. And so it is, for if I am left to be torn to pieces only for having done my duty to the King I shall consider myself as having fallen in a good cause which will one day or other get up again. . . . But in this state of suspense I cannot deny that I am to the last degree unhappy."

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, Aug. 24. Dublin Castle.—"Your Lordship will find Mr. Robinson served up again in the *Advertiser* of this day with vast variety of sauce about him, but notwithstanding all their

endeavours to make a laughing matter of the paragraph that they published against him some time ago, they will not easily wipe off the imputation of having had the lie so solemnly given them in print. Our politicians here were speculating yesterday at the levée that in the course of next week or, at farthest, in the beginning of the week after, we should hear some news about Mr. Clements, and I can assure your Lordship the determination with respect to this gentleman will be expected with the utmost impatience. . . ." Lord Mornington is going to England at once, and is whispered that Dr. Smith has advised the Master of the Rolls* to pass the next season at Bath.

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1754, Aug. 27. Leixlip.—"My dear Lord, our affairs are certainly in a very critical situation. The opinion that there is a faltering somewhere amongst us gains ground daily. Our adversaries are openly supported and assisted by persons of no small name in the King's service, and they recruit for votes from Chelsea Hospital. These things give them a credit which is of more consequence than the reall strength they add, and gives colour to those reports that the actual Ministry do not mean to carry us through. The Preamble to the Loan Bill hangs still heavy about our necks, and we alone are not equal to that load. To bring over the vulgar by reasoning is as vain a thought as to reason them into a new religion. Yet so far is there from being a flame in the country that the assizes have passed over with remarkable decency and quietness, and the most so in those places where the contrary seemed to be threatened by pompous advertisements, such as King's County, Queen's County, &c., as you may have seen in the papers transmitted to you. The impudent and repeated lie about Robinson must give any fair and impartial judge satisfaction as to the methods of their proceeding. The paragraphs from Cork are equally false, and I have no doubt that these trumpets of sedition and falshood would be silenced if the noise of them gave less alarm and uneasiness. But it is too plain that they have their effect and are heard at a great distance. . . . The state of this Government grows very serious indeed, and, abstracted from personal considerations, most worthy of attention. God knows what lengths some of the desperate leaders may go, if they are not restrained. I am not a stranger to the peculiar difficulties that Administration in general labours under at this time. It is now past controversy that the discontents here are fomented and encouraged from England. If it is considered in any other light, endless mistakes will follow. The swing of an established and active Ministry there will put an end to them, and when that appears we shall be strong enough here. But just at this moment we are not gaining,

* Mr. Singleton had succeeded Mr. Carter as Master of the Rolls.

because it is not believed that the present system is to subsist: and there is no opportunity of recruiting, as the enemy is retired in safety into the citadell of the Treasury, which is considered as impregnable."

Thomas Waite to Lord George Sackville.

1754, Aug. 27. Dublin Castle.— . . . "I am told that last week a gentleman of the profession of the law arrived here from London, who reports that when he left town it was publickly talked and understood in London that Lord Chesterfield was soon to be appointed Lord Lieutenant in order to quiet the minds of the people. The patriots likewise give out that the King has rumped the Duke of Dorset lately three or four times and did not speak to his Grace at the levée. . . ."

The Primate to the Same.

1754, Aug. 29. Leixlip.—"When anything occurs that in speculation only relates materially to the Government, I shall never fail to inform you of it, and such I conceive to be the conversation I have just now held with Mr. Flood, our Attorney-General, who came to me early this morning and has this moment left me. I expect Lord Shelburne and all that family to dinner, but I hope to have time enough before they come to give you an account of what the Attorney has told me in great confidence and has imparted to me only.

"He asked me first how affairs stood, according to my opinion (upon which he said he could depend), as to a majority for the next session: that my Lord Bessborough had assured him before his journey to England that it was safe, and he wished to have it confirmed by me. I told him that I could upon very reasonable and probable grounds shew him the difference of twenty-five votes in our favour, taking the calculation from the day of the Loan Bill, but there was not a sufficient general confidence in our quarters as was necessary to make people believe that protection or safety was to be had there, and it would not be easy to remove that impression untill some overt acts were done to demonstrate the resolution of the Ministry that the work which was begun should be perfected by the same hand which undertook it. The Attorney said that since his return hither he found that people talked much in that strain, and particularly that Mr. Clements had by his own strength repelled an attack made upon him. For his own part he (the Attorney) knew the contrary, and that if he was saved it was owing to lenity and not want of power; but still the appearance was different, and he doubted whether Clements would take much pains to set the transaction in its true light. He then asked me whether the Duke of Newcastle did not hesitate upon that point. I told him that he did not, but there was a great difference between consenting to

or even approving, and singly determining a measure which was become an object of attention from a long suspense ; that my Lord Lieutenant himself, who was naturally to take the lead, and might perhaps at this moment be particularly called upon to take it, could not but be under some difficulty likewise, as his Grace would wish to see clearly and to have ascertained to him the advantages in the way of Parliamentary strength that would accrue from changing of hands in the Treasury before he took the measure entirely upon himself ; and that although it might be demonstrated that no good could come from things continuing as they are there, yet an alteration would be rather uncreditable at least, if there was not an immediate change for the better. I then asked him his opinion as to the effects of removing Clements. He said it would depend upon the choice of the person or persons to supply his place. I told him that probably (were the thing to happen) that neither he nor I should have the nomination referred to us, but if it were so referred, whether he could point out a person the appointing of whom would answer to the Government. He asked whether Mr. Dawson (the Alderman) had never occurred. I said that he could not occurr to our considerations, as his conduct shewed him to be enlisted with the other party, and not inclinable to any commerce with the servants of this Administration. The Attorney then lowered his voice (though we were not in the reach of any hearers) as men do when they speak what they think to be of consequence, and told me that he had reason to believe Mr. Dawson wished to be employed in that business ; that before he took his last journey to England he was with Dawson to settle some money-business, which he has always transacted at his house ; that Dawson then told him he imagined that Mr. Clements would be removed; that, if he were, he would find it no easy matter to make up his accounts with the Government, that Mitchell and Macarrell would be hurt to the bone, and advised him as a friend to leave no property behind him in those notes. He added that Clements deserved it for pretending to be a friend of the Government and acting the part of an enemy,which he did to the utmost of his power.

"The other day, since the Attorney's return to Ireland, he was again with Dawson upon his own business and found Mr. Clements there. After the first salutations, the Attorney said to Clements that he hoped he found them all in good humour. Clements said in a short manner he hoped so too, and soon left them. As soon as he was gone, Dawson said, 'That man seems to think himself secure, but he is not so yet. He is a vain fellow. He has just shewn me a letter from one of the Lords of the Treasury or Admiralty in England, of which he was very proud. It was a civil letter, but I did not give much attention to it, nor do I remember the name, as I have no knowledge of the person who wrote it, but I can tell you, Mr. Attorney, that Clements is a hollow rascal and professes different things as they best suit his purpose or his company. For my own part I despise such a fellow and such a conduct. I have been an open enemy,

but a fair one at the same time, and will never act a double part.' The Attorney told him he believed by his talk that he had a mind to come amongst us. He laughed and said that he should not ask for an employment, but [if] one was offered to him he could not tell what might happen.

"This was the Attorney's story. It opens a scene to my view as if something of great advantage might be made of it. If the whole Treasury were cleared, this man of great property at the head and two younger men under him would be an establishment of weight and efficacy and credit. Gardiner is sinking every day in health and spirits. Suppose some feather or dignity procured for him. I have only as yet undigested thoughts, but I think this sketch looks like widening the bottom. Dawson would have prodigious weight in that office. Whether he could be made a friend is another question. If he were a friend he would be a strong one. This seemed to be of too much consequence (though it is only *une idée*) to delay the communication a moment. I have made it hastily and abruptly, and perhaps before this letter is at Holyhead I may think it idle, but at present it seems to me, could it be brought to perfection, to obviate many objections that have been raised against altering the Treasury administration, and particular[ly] that of the want of substantial and experienced hands. Our younger friends, who are capable in fact but not accredited by practice in business, might be trained under this great chief, and his substance and reputation in business put him above all suspicion with regard to the security of his Majesty and of the publick."

Lord G. Sackville to the Primate.

1754, Aug. 31.—"My dear Lord, I told you in my former letters that my Lord Lieutenant, upon seeing the dissatisfaction of his friends at the thought of continuing Mr. Clements in the Treasury upon the general assurances which he had given of supporting Government without the appearance of any material accession of strength, began to see the necessity he should be under of giving his opinion that upon these considerations it would be for his Majesty's service to remove him from his employment.

"His Grace accordingly upon his arrival in towne on Thursday last mentioned this affair to the Duke of Newcastle, and advised with him about what was proper to be done in the present situation. The Duke of Newcastle agreed with him that the disobliging of those who had supported his Majesty's measures with so much zeal and spirit would be highly imprudent, but at the same time expressed some concern that Mr. Clements had not given satisfactory assurances to those in his Majesty's service. He said that the King would certainly consent to his removal provided the good effects of such a measure were made apparent to him, and advised my Lord Lieutenant to lay his thoughts clearly and fully before his Majesty. He accordingly the next

day had an audience of the King. He there told his Majesty the desire he had of making Mr. Clements usefull to his service, both in his publick and private capacity, but that he feared the continuing him in his present situation would discourage our friends, and add spirit to our enemys, since his declarations did not appear so satisfactory as might have been expected from him. He then read the Lords Justices' letter to him, and explained to him how very far their Excellencies were from answering for Mr. Clements' future conduct. The King said upon that, that he did not understand enough of the situation of affairs in Ireland to have formed any direct opinion, that he perceived Mr. Clements had voted with us, that he answered for the good behaviour of some and declared he could not influence others that were related to him: all that may be very true, and yet it may be right to dismiss him from his employment, 'but will you and those in my service in Ireland say the turning of him out will secure a majority in the House of Commons next session of Parliament. If they will, I am ready to do it immediately, but I do not yet hear whether the dismissing the others has yet brought any accession of strength.' The Duke of Dorset said that it was impossible to answer with certainty for events, and that all that could be said was that this measure would in the opinion of those entrusted with his affairs in Ireland most probably secure a majority in the House of Commons, upon which the King said, 'If they are ready to answer for that, I am ready to turn him out.' The Duke of Dorset reported this to the Duke of Newcastle, upon which the Duke of Newcastle said that he would write private letters to you and to Lord Bessborough and to Arthur Hill, desiring to be informed of the true state of affairs in Ireland, and to have your opinions whether Clements being turned out will secure a majority next session.

"I have told you as minutely as I can what passed in these conversations, and I do it for your instruction, that you may know as near as I can convey it to you the true situation of things here. It is not very prudent in me to repeat anything that passes in the closet and among the ministers, and you must be sensible of the prejudice it would be to me if it was known that I wrote so minutely upon such affairs. I must therefore entreat you that you would look upon this letter as information given for your own conduct only, and by no means to be communicated to any person whatever, for I have full experience that the whole contents would be the subject of coffee house conversation if it was read to three or four people only. I do earnestly beg of you to keep it to yourself.

"What I gather from these transactions is that the King had rather there was no necessity for removing Clements, but seems resolved to give up all private considerations and inclinations to the publick service. At the same time he requires and expects all possible assurances of success from those entrusted with his affairs, and everything that is said upon this subject should be as full and as explicit as possible. The ferment in Ireland is alarming here, and any thing [of] irresolution in our councils argues

weakness, and as in my opinion everything will depend upon having a majority next session, no means should be neglected to procure it if possible. If we succeed, all will be right; if we fail, explanations and reasonings will go for nothing, it will be all owing to rashness and ill-management, and we shall be condemned in general though we may be able to prove that every particular of our conduct was right. This being the case, let me recommend to you to form your opinion deliberately, but when you give [it] avoid everything that can be construed doubt or irresolution. As Lord Bessborough and Mr. Hill will be called upon for their opinions, I have no objection to your shewing them this letter, under proper injunctions, for their information. I hope your accounts will correspond." *Draft.*

The Primate to Lord George Sackville.

1754, Aug. 31. Leixlip.—Relating the circumstances under which a duel between Mr. Arthur Rochfort and Mr. Pery "at the Fifteen Acres" was prevented, the Primate receiving an intimation that it was about to take place from Thomas Roche, who was to have acted as Rochfort's second.

Mr. Pery and Mr. Rochfort.

1754, August.—Memorandum relative to letters which had passed between Mr. Pery and Mr. Rochfort on the subject of an alleged injury conceived to have been done by the former to the latter. Copies of the letters are attached and are dated from Dublin and Limerick.

Lord Clanricarde to [Lord G. Sackville?].

1754, Sept. 1.—"I am extremely glad to hear their Excellencies have taken such wise and prudent steps as will probably prevent the repetition of the complaints I lately received from Ireland. . . . I most sincerely wish a happy conclusion to this and every measure conducive to the public tranquillity."

The Primate to the Same.

1754, Sept. 7. Leixlip.—Acknowledges the receipt of Lord George's two letters of the 31st of August, entirely agrees with his conclusions, and will most strictly obey his Lordship's directions not to communicate these letters. "We must now call our friends together and come to an explicit account of the strength that can be depended upon, making ourselves answerable for our undertakings if we think it practicable; if we do not, we must declare so in time and strike our sails. Then the mutiny will

be quelled as Sir Peter Warren used to do in the West Indies. . . . Singleton was here yesterday; he is going to Bath immediately. I think it hardly possible that he should hold out this next winter. He is wasted very much since you saw him, and when he speaks is with difficulty to be understood. . . . It is my real opinion that we have at this moment a majority in the House of Commons, but to be told that you are to be answerable for the consequences if any disappointment should happen, is the same thing as fighting with a halter about your neck, and is not a pleasant hearing, considering the cause that we are engaged in."

The Primate to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Sept. 12. Leixlip.—Mr. Clements has just left, stating that he is going to meet his son in London. "I told him that I was not sorry that he had a call to London, as he would have an opportunity (when his private business was transacted), of seeing with his own eyes whether the reports that of late have been so industriously propagated here were true or false, and if he should find that his Majesty was determined to support his servants, and that there was no probability of any alterations in England by which the measures with regard to this country were to be affected, he might be able to convince some of his friends in the Opposition that they were hazarding the interests of their country without any immediate view of advancing their own. He was full of fair promises, and said he should be the happiest man in the world if he could be the instrument of bringing things to a composure. He seems, as well as I can judge, to go over with an intention to try the ford; and if he is properly spoke to there, and perceives that the Government is resolved not to give way, it may not be impossible that use may be made of him; but at present he is as unsound as ever he has been, and the gentle dose of physick that has been administered has by no means carried off the bad humours nor mended his constitution. I thought it necessary to send you the earliest account of his intended journey. . . . The Master of the Rolls grows worse every day. He now doubts whether he can bear the journey to Bath. He is a melancholy object, and I think can hold out but a very short time. Every body else thinks the same of Mr. Gardiner, but men of his constitution and habits, in this climate especially, have so often recovered when they have been considered as desperate that he may possibly get upon his feet again, though appearances are certainly very strong against him. . . ." Lord Robert Bertie paid me a visit yesterday, and has now gone back to town to his regiment. "He seems very good and obliging."

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1754, Sept. 14. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Merydeth, one of the voters at the election at Cavan, has returned with the agreeable

news that his Lordship's friends had carried their point by a majority of twelve. "The Patriots were very tumultuous as usual and made illuminations in the town, declaring that they had a majority of four. . . . I have an account this evening that the Master of the Rolls is better, but it is generally thought that he cannot live above two or three days. . . . Ben Burton came to town yesterday and was shut up above an hour with their Excellencies, and thereupon a report is gone forth that he is to succeed Mr. Singleton."

Thomas Waite to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Sept. 17. Dublin Castle.—"The Master of the Rolls is this day reported out of danger. The Chancellor and Lord Bessborough were shut up together yesterday near an hour after the Primate had left the castle, and people speculate that Ben Burton must have been the subject of this conference. It is publickly said about town that the Bessborough party are dissatisfied that nothing has been done for them upon the late changes, and that they had particularly taken offence at the appointment of Arthur Hill to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chief Baron and Mr. Clements sail this day for Parkgate; and your friends flatter themselves that this motion of Mr. Clements denotes his being in a tottering condition. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1754, Sept. 21. Dublin Castle.—The Master of the Rolls sent a message yesterday to the Lords Justices to desire that he might have the use of the yacht to carry him to Parkgate upon its return hither, for that he found himself strong enough to venture to undertake a journey to Bath.

The Same to the Same.

1754, Sept. 24. Dublin Castle.—The yacht is returned and the Master of the Rolls purposes sailing for Parkgate to-morrow morning. He is so very weak and broken that we expect the journey by land from Chester to Bath will put an end to him.

The Primate to the Duke of Newcastle.

1754, Oct. 25. Dublin.—Upon the dissensions that have done so much to hinder the service in Ireland, and repelling the charge that they have been occasioned, as asserted, either by Lord George Sackville's haughtiness of behaviour or the Primate's ambition. Lays before his Grace a general view of his own conduct since he has been "in business," with a relation of the

"true springs" of the disorders, and the proceedings of Mr. Carter, whose animosity is stated to have sprung, in the first instance, from the Primate's refusal to promise that his son, "a very young man and little known," should have the reversion of his father's office of Master of the Rolls. Relates with much detail the circumstances of the Cork election, the attack upon Mr. Nevil, and the proceedings in relation to the two Money Bills, and attributes the animosity against himself to his having thrown himself into the scale of Government with more weight than others in his station have been able to do. *Copy.* 29 *pp.*

Thomas Waite to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Nov. 19. Dublin Castle.--The Lord Chancellor was married last Saturday. General Bligh has written complaining grievously of the badness and unfitness of the men who were draughted from the regiments in Dublin and sent to Cork. The Lords Justices have signed an order for sending back to their respective regiments as well the unfit men as all the non-commission officers.

Captain R. Cuningham to [Lord G. Sackville].

1754, Nov. 19. Dublin.—"I have just now received your letter of the 14th, and have communicated it to the Primate. He is much pleased that you are satisfyed with his and Lord Bessborough's letters, and would conclude that they must have the desired effect, if he thought there was any solid system of administration formed in England. He is very sorry you can give no better account of some considerable men in the House of Commons, and is affraid, if some method of accommodation is not soon thought of, you may have a troublesome session, which of course must greatly affect the affairs of this country. We are greatly at a loss for intelligence of what is going on in your political world, and we only depend upon you for information. Maxwell['s] correspondence with the Primate goes on but heavily. His Grace you know is sometimes lazy and often prevented when he is inclined to write; and Maxwell insists upon letter for letter. Since the packet arrived this morning some of Mr. Clements' female friends have been found in tears, particularly Mrs. Nicholson and Mrs. Pegnam. They were asked if Mr. Clements was turned out. They said no, but that such conditions were imposed upon him if he chose to remain in employment that he could not act honourably to himself nor his friends, and therefore had resigned. Lord Bessborough thinks that Mr. Clements, though in his last extremity, has nothing to propose. The Primate thinks he has. They both wish that the affairs of this country were settled in any way that was not dishonourable to them, but cannot hope to have peace soon, as there seems to be such storms gathering in England. . . ."

Thomas Waite to Lord George Sackville.

1754, November 21. Dublin Castle.—Encloses a copy of Lieut.-Gen. Bligh's letter received yesterday. Mrs. Humphry's application to the Court of Chancery for an injunction to stop the Surveyor-General from proceeding with the works ordered by the Lord Lieutenant in the Castle Garden was refused, and the Surveyor-General is at liberty to proceed unless Mrs. Humphry can shew any new reasons for stopping him by Saturday next.

The Primate to the Same.

1754, December 22. Dublin.—An event which happened last night may be taken up as a momentous affair, or may be turned into laughter. In the late war, Capt. Weller, the late (and father of the present) commander of the yacht stationed at Dublin, seized a ship bringing goods from France. The owners alleged it to have been freighted at Rotterdam, and the Judge of Admiralty decided in their favour, but the Commissioners of Prizes reversed his judgment, and gave 200*l.* damages to the Captain. Capt. Weller, as executor to his father, had the owner—one Kirwan, a merchant—apprehended, but released him on parole until yesterday, when many of his brother traders came with him and surrendered him, but with warnings of the consequence, and immediately afterwards a mob attacked Weller's house, and was only dispersed by the Sheriff and the Guard.

Papers in relation to the Irish Parliament.

[About 1753, 1754.]—1. Notes on the jurisdiction in money matters of the Parliament of Ireland. Begins, "The Parliament of Ireland granted the hereditary revenue to King Charles the 2nd," ends, "Mr. Attorney-General then proposes a supply for the support of his Majesty's government . . . but he does not mention any particular sum."

2. Memorandum. "The Parliament of Ireland made laws formerly as the Parliaments of England now do, the Chief Governour holding Parliaments at his pleasure. An ill use was made of this power by Lord Gormanstown, Deputy Lieutenant, in the reign of Edward 4th. Poyning's Law, enacted in the 10th of Hen. 7th, was made for restraining the power of the Chief Governour as well as of the Irish Parliament. This law was enlarged and explained by the Act of Philip and Mary, and so jealous were the people in Ireland of losing the benefit of that law by having it repealed, that it was enacted by the Parliament in the 11th Eliz. that it should not be repealed or suspended, unless the Bill for that purpose, before it be certifyed to England, be approved by both Houses.

Oct. 27th, 1692, the Commons resolved that it is the sole and undoubted right of the Commons to prepare heads of Bills for raising money. On the 28th they rejected an Act for

granting certain duties for one year, and then resolved that it be entered in the Journals of this House that the reason why the said Bill was rejected, is, that the same had not its rise in that House.

"By which votes and resolutions the said House of Commons do exclude their Majestys and the Crown of England from the right of transmitting any Bills for granting of money or other aids to their Majestys or their successors.

"Lord Sydney protested the 3rd of November, 1692, six days after the first resolution. Lord Townshend protested on the 26th of December against the vote of the 21st of November. Which vote tends to exclude, &c.

"Thus we find law, precedent, and practice uniformly operating for this question of transmission. Henry the 7th founded, Henry the 8th acknowledged, Philip explained, Elizabeth perpetuated, and both the Charles's pursued this principle in calling Parliaments.

"The opinion of the judges in Ireland confirmed by Lord Chief Justice Holt and all the judges of England 22nd June, 1693.

"That it is not the sole and undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled to prepare heads of Bills for raising money.

"That the Lord Lieutenant and Council may prepare and certefy Bills for raising money, to your Majesty and Council of England, and afterwards sent to the Commons, albeit the heads of such Bills have not their rise in that House."

3. Copy of Lord Sydney's speech and protest (above-mentioned) concerning the right of the House of Commons of Ireland to prepare heads of Bills for raising money, and also notes on the National Debt and revenue of the same country. *All in Lord George Sackville's handwriting.*

Lord George Sackville to the Lord Primate.

1755, January 15. Pall Mall.—"I am to acquaint your Grace that the Duke of Dorset and I yesterday waited upon my Lord Chancellor* and the Duke of Newcastle, and we had then an opportunity of discoursing fully upon the affairs of Ireland. The Duke of Dorset insisted upon all personal considerations being laid aside, as he neither desired or declined continuing in his office. That he was ready to do what would be most acceptable to his Majesty, and what would tend most effectually to the promoting of his service. In that light they conversed upon the situation of affairs in Ireland with openness and freedom; of the temper of the Parliament, of the views of particular members, and then deliberated upon what method could be pursued most likely to support the dignity and authority of Government, and restore decency, quiet, and good order among the people. The conclusion was that in their opinion the return of the present

* Lord Hardwicke.

Lord Lieutenant to Ireland was most conducive to those ends, and that if his Majesty, of which they had no doubt, should be in the same sentiments, that it would then be necessary to consider of the means that were to be used for declaring the fullest support of the Crown and the Administration here, not only to the Lord Lieutenant, but to his Majesty's principal servants in Ireland, that the system which was begun might be carryd into execution, and that no doubt might remain in whom the King's confidence was placed. In order to this it was agreed that the last letters which came from your Grace and Lord Bessborough should be laid before his Majesty, and if the Duke of Newcastle should be empowered by the King, that he should then acquaint you and his Majesty's principal servants in Ireland of his intention of continuing my Lord Lieutenant in the Government, and of the King's determined resolution of showing favour and protection to those who had served him with zeal and fidelity, and of his readiness to do what should be most advisable for carrying on the affairs of Government with credit and success. My Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle did not hesitate a moment in acknowledging the necessity of having the Treasury under the immediate direction of Government, but I found that the Duke of Newcastle was not clear in his opinion but that Mr. Clements from having seen his danger might for the future be depended upon for exerting his influence in support of the Government, that what he said did not proceed from any partiality to Clements, nor from any want of power to remove him, but purely from what he conceived to be the true interest of those he wished to support.

"The King had declared himself willing to direct that Clements should be removed, if by removing him he could be assured that the next session would be attended with success. Now the Duke of Newcastle says that if any question should be lost it will certainly be imputed to that step having been taken, and those who advised it will be reproached for not having foreseen the bad consequences of that measure; on the other hand it was stated whether the continuing Mr. Clements in the Treasury would not be looked upon among our enemys as a triumph, and whether it might not occasion an alarm, and even a desertion among our friends; that last consideration had great weight both with the Chancellor and the Duke of Newcastle, and they both agreed that an alarm among our friends might be got over, but that a desertion would be attended with irreparable ill consequences.

"I was therefore directed to write to your Grace, and that you would, after consulting with my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Bessborough and any other of our principal friends, let me know your final sentiments upon this affair, whether you think it essential to the King's service to remove Mr. Clements, or whether you think he might be continued upon his good behaviour, that is condemned but not executed. As time presses extremely I must beg as speedy an answer as possible, and if the measure of removing him takes place you will then let me know

who you wish should succeed him, and likewise who you would propose for successors to Mr. Frederick Gore, and Mr. Lambart, Collector of Navan; as to Mr. Nesbitt, Collector of Cavan, the Duke of Newcastle intends to know first from his brother whether he will answer for his behaviour.

"Your Grace will consider that his Majesty may probably go abroad in April and how little time there is left for settling so many things of consequence relating to the affairs of Ireland. It is upon this consideration that the King's pleasure will be taken upon what I mentioned in the first part of my letter, and nothing will remain suspended but the last resolution about Mr. Clements." *Draft.*

Army in Ireland.

1755, Jan. 19.—1. Numbers in H.M. army in Ireland. Four regiments of horse and six of dragoons, at 21 per troop; total, 1,876. Twenty-six battalions of foot at 29 per company; total, 9,726. Whole total, 11,602.

2. List of exchanges, "humbly recommended to the King."

Thomas Waite to Lord G. Sackville.

1755, January 28. Dublin Castle.—Tuesday next has been appointed for courts martial for the trials of Capt. Temple and Lieut.-Col. Crosbie.

The Same to the Same.

1755, Feb. 15. Dublin Castle.—The Lords Justices have prepared a draft of instructions for the Surveyor-General on his intended expedition with Mr. Nevil to visit the barracks. They heard Mr. Meredyth's report about the fees, which they ordered to be altered in some particulars.

The Primate to the Same.

[1755, February.]—On the same subject. (*Unsigned.*)

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1755, February 17.—Sending the amended report of Mr. Meredyth to the Lord Justices of Ireland on the fees in the Secretary's Office for warrants, &c., upon the King's letter for the augmentation of the pay of the Infantry.

Also a private letter (same date) on the above report, suggesting that Mr. Meredyth may be directed to return the fees received upon the augmentation to the agents of the regiments.

JAMES COTTER to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1755, Feb. 18. Rock Forrest.—Would give any reasonable sum for a seat in Parliament; one is now vacant through the death of the Prime Serjeant, which Lord G. Sackville's acquaintance and interest with Lord Middleton might probably procure for him; is satisfied to deposit 1,000*l.* with any person Lord Middleton will appoint for this purpose, with the condition only of being re-elected in case his Majesty should die within five years.

The PRIMATE to the SAME.

1755, February 20. Dublin.—Has received his letter of the 15th. Matters are taking a turn in favour of the Government. He is "clearly for dividing the Treasury." There is no truth in the ridiculous story told to Lord Kildare that disagreements exist between Lord Bessborough and himself, and the three Lords Justices are on the best and most confidential terms. *Unsigned.*

COL. IRWINE to the SAME.

1755, February 21. Kinsale.—Requesting a pension for his mother as the widow of a colonel.

THOMAS WAITE to the SAME.

1755, March 4. Dublin Castle.—" . . . The town was in great consternation yesterday on account of the shutting up the banks of Wilcox and Dawson and of Lennox and French. These last it is said will open again soon, and the talk is that they are in very substantial circumstances, but Wilcox and Dawson are by report deficient in the sum of 30,000*l.* All the other banks felt the effect of this accident, and a most extraordinary run there was upon them all yesterday morning, but the Government, principal nobility, gentry, and merchants having signed an association to take the bills of the five remaining banks, people were much easier in their minds and in their demands in the afternoon and I hear that this day all is quiet again."

Also, a further letter, same date, stating that Lennox's are not thought to be in so promising a state as was believed, and that the Court-Martial upon Temple is going on but will be a work of time.

The PRIMATE to the SAME.

1756, May 17. Leixlip.—Writes to tell his friend "with what sort of temper" he is supporting his disgrace.

He has kept to his profession of serving Government, and if the Duke of Dorset had been Lord Lieutenant he could not have done

more; but has been kept at an entire distance, and as to Cunningham's promotion, although it bore the semblance of good will, it had been bargained for before. When the settlement with the late Speaker became public and Mr. Ponsonby's succession took place, it was supposed that the persecution of those who had supported the latter would cease; but suddenly they heard of "applications made to the heads of the opposite party that they would engage to support the new Speaker on condition of his having no sort of communication in business with the Primate." These applications did not meet with the success hoped for, but signs shortly appeared of a general pacification, excluding only himself. He neither lost his temper, however, nor changed his conduct, nor has he ever applied (as has been stated) to be put into the commission [of Lords Justices]. He has had a visit from Lord Duncannon, who "in rather a dry though not a disobliging manner" assured him of the Lord Lieutenant's high opinion of his capacity and business knowledge. In reply, explained the reasons for his own conduct, and his views on his position and treatment. Gives the reasons assigned by Mr. Ponsonby and his friends for the indignities put upon him. "*The King had absolutely commanded it before my Lord Lieutenant left England: and it was not in his Grace's power to do otherwise.* Next, *a promise had been made which could not be dispensed with.* Then, *that Mr. Fox insisted upon it in order to mark his superiority over another person who still continued nominally at the head of business in England.*" Has since waited on the Lord Lieutenant and explained to him his conversation with Lord Duncannon. "Considering that I am looked upon as a man abandoned and left without a single friend to lean upon in England, and that all power there is to be exerted to break and crush me, and that it is a point determined from thence by the present administration both there and here that I am not to be taken up in any publick way of business or confidence (all which is now taken for granted), I am surprized that so many people are ready to persevere in avowing their regard for me." Asks when Lord G. Sackville can see him. Will come over to England immediately he names a time.

Sir James Caldwell and Mr. Pitt.

1759, Nov. 29. London.—"Copy of a letter to the late Lord Shelburne containing an account of Sir James Caldwell's conversation with Mr. Pitt relative to the state of Ireland just at the time that the French intended to invade that kingdom."

The Corcagian Address* Versified.

Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing?—Psalm ii.

Sir—We the free and *independant*
Inhabitants of this transcendent

* Viz., the address from Cork to Henry Boyle, the Speaker, presented May 13, 1754. *See* p. 209, *above*.

Metropolis, the town of C—rk,
Renowned for butter, beef and pork,
Congratulating, humbly beg
To scrape a most obsequious leg.
Your city banquets being over
You come to feed on country clover;
That Dublin-Castle gave cold quarter;
You're welcome home to Castle M—rt—r.*
And now for eloquent addressing—
We take this handle of expressing
What might be said of John O'Nokes,
And has by many simple Folks
Been said and said and said already
Of that your conduct wise and steady,
In filling *High important posts*,
And filling *High*—to *party toasts*.
Which conduct both of State and club
Might waddle on without a rub,
Had not some persons at the helm
A greater biass to the realm,
A tribe of Levites on the lurch
To prop their old *established Church*,
Whereas the *church without a steeple*
Might quietly content the people.
But you in early life, Sir, you
Stood up for Protestants *true-blue*,
For protestants, without respect
To this, or that, or t'other sect,
Though various as the birds in feather
You lump'd them by the gross together.
Then for the matter of succession—
O' wonderfull beyond expression!
You seconded with zeal industrious
The house of Hanover illustrious,
Defender of our Faith's-Defender
Against the Devil and Pretender.
Your principles were yet so fair
You acted ever on the square,
And hit the medium to a tittle
Between the monarch big and little,
No King of *me*, but such a thing,
As you may call our *proper King*,
To whom in order to maintain
The sole dominion of the main
To keep the Spanish Don in awe,
And give the lawless Louis law;
To guard us in serene repose
From foreign and domestic foes,
We would, we would—What would we not,
Ye Gods! contribute on the spot?

* Castle Martyr.

From such a leader on a pinch
What son of liberty could flinch?
Our 'squires would venture broken pates,
And *half* to save their whole estates;
Our Knights forsake their peacefull dwelling,
Like Hudibrass, for Colonelling;
Our Lords, tho' frugal of their lives
Would waste their *better halves*, their wives,
And for the common people—they
Would fight most loyally—for pay.
To such a sage preceptor, school'd,
To such a ruler, overrul'd,
You might submit without contention,
With all the pomp of condescension,
His royal dignity support
With all the splendour of a court;
His crown assert, his issue nourish
And bid him Europe's father flourish,
Replenished with a cornucopia
Of wealth and power from Eutopia,
To whom indulgent you may give
The tinsel of *Prerogative*;
As fond mamma to humour master
And rivet his affections faster,
Presents him with a painted hobby,
To caper on about the lobby.
Distinguished thus, to shine right able
In senate or at council-table,
And blessed with patriot virtues more
Than *Oliverian Broghill* bore,
Your country,—we would say the county
Of C—rk in her abundant bounty,
(And she you know has vast donations)
Of course preferr'd you to such stations,
The King reposed such trusts of honour
In you, another King O'Connor*
As might enable your perfections,
Adroit at canvassing *elections*,
To prove how far your talent goes
In rhetoric of Ayes and Noes;
Which grand endowments could not fail
To profit much the Common-weal.
Sir, in this general distraction
We with peculiar satisfaction,
And truth declare, at all events
What you may call our *sentiments*,
That you through all your wholesale tenor
And counter-tenor of *demeanour*
Have answer'd, when to *tryal* put most,
Our expectations to the utmost.

* Roderic, King of Munster.

Your conduct on a late occasion,
As famous, as the Dutch invasion,
In opposition to a set
Of courtiers in the alphabet,
C.O.N.S.E.N.T. Seven
Combin'd with such malicious leven,
As would enslave us, hookt like fishes,
By *yielding* only to our *wishes*,
This conduct merits from all ranks
(And here we give them) hearty thanks.
Some thought your partizans absurd
To cavil at a harmless word,
To which, though read, and read, and read,
Nor *they*, nor *you* their wiser head
Objected in the former Session,
According to your own confession.
But this without the hopes of pension
You did through perfect condescension,
To show you could with *major* skill
Reject it in a future bill,
As mountebanks, to raise the wonder
Of all the gazing rabble under,
Appear as dropping, when aslope
They spring rebounding on the rope.
Whatever were your motives then
To vote like *temporizing* men,
We now could swear, you never meant
To pass it into *precedent*.
However civil as we deem,
The word *consent*, if analyz'd,
Is downright tyranny disguis'd,
A cabalistic plot, no doubt
And thus we plainly make it out.
C. stands for Court, and O. that borders
Thereon may pass as well for Orders:
Then N. numerically pat
Implies these orders are to *Nat.*:*
That S. included in the middle
For *surplus sums* I would unriddle,
E. bids exhaust, and N. the second
The *nation's money* may be reckon'd,
Or what is tantamount; for T.
Can only mean the *Treasury*.
Our breasts with gratitude may burn;
But, Sir, to make a full return
Is never to be done, in lieu
For what *you did* and *did not do*;
For [all] the places, *neat* and *fine*,
You had the spirit to resign,
(And sure no spirit could be stronger)
When you could hold them on no longer.

* Nathaniel Clements, at the Treasury.

Such actions in themselves must bear off
More honour, than you are aware of.
But, as a people (be it spoken)
Oblig'd we give this golden token,
And what's more precious than the *Box*,
The motto was composed by *C—x*.
And now, Sir Sampson of the nation,
To close this eloquent oration,
Since truth, which only was, when told,
A simpleton in days of old,
Improved by modern devotees,
Admits, it seems, of three degrees,
The great, the greater, and the greatest,
We are, though somewhat of the latest,
With truth superlative, as bound
In duty to the very ground,
In State affairs deep Connoisseurs,
Votre tres humble Serviteurs.

VIII.—IRELAND 1775–1783, AND SOME MISCELLANEOUS AND UNDATED PAPERS.

SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1775, Dec. 30. Dublin Castle.—Concerning the difficulties of the proposed scheme to use some of the Irish troops for the American service and to replace them with the brigade of Scotch Dutch, to be recruited, paid and placed on the establishment in Ireland.

COL. WILLIAM TONSON to THE SAME.

1776, Feb. 18. Rathcormuck near Castle-Lyons.—Soliciting Lord George's recommendations to procure him an Irish peerage. Has a clear estate of 12,000*l.* a year, which will eventually be increased to 16,000*l.* Offers to resign the Lieutenant-Government of Cork, to put anyone whom his Lordship names into the borough of Rathcormuck, and to purchase a seat in the English Parliament.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1776, Aug. 4. Lisnegar, near Rathcormuck.—Renewing his request for a peerage.

GENERAL SIR JOHN IRWINE† to THE SAME.

1777, Jan. 31. Royal Hospital.—In relation to a military order (enclosed) issued by him as Commander-in-Chief (signed

* Col. Tonson was created, 13th Oct., 1783, a peer of Ireland as Baron Riversdale of Rathcormack.

† Commander in Chief of the forces in Ireland, 1775-82.

J. Garden, Acting Deputy Adjutant-General), that henceforward all correspondence, returns, and reports of the cavalry officers, with certain exceptions, shall be sent to him through Major-General Johnston.

Thos. Waite to Lord George Germain.

1777, Feb. 20. Dublin Castle.—"Lord Buckingham[shire] delivered to me his Majesty's letter for my being of the Privy Council publickly at his Levée, the first day of his arrival. . . . It is rather too early to pronounce upon the sentiments of people concerning his Excellency and Mr. Heron, but hitherto the symptoms are as favourable as could be wish'd. The levées have been uncommonly well attended, and by the persons of the first rank and power in the kingdom, and my Lord Lieutenant's polite behaviour and great attention to them is not lost. They speak of it with much pleasure. He has a free open manner of conversing which makes more way than he thinks, and I hear from all hands, patriots as well as courtiers, that there is a general good disposition towards him and his administration, which will not be lessen'd when they find he has no new supplies to ask. Even Mr. Ponsonby told me that he foresaw no difficulties in their business, whilst Lord Buckingham continued to treat gentlemen properly, unless any should occur concerning the measures of the last administration. Mr. Heron is a very sensible man, ready in business, and treats gentlemen so differently from what they experienc'd very lately, that he stands very high in their esteem. For myself, I have every reason to be satisfied with his Excellency and his Secretary, and in return shall endeavour to shew them by my assiduity and fidelity, that I hope to preserve that impression which your Lordship has made upon their minds to my advantage.

"I understand that some disapprobation has been expressed on your side of Sir John Irwine's having left the business of inspecting the cavalry, and of the late augmentation, to General Johnston." The General arrived in April last, and, when Sir John Irwine came over in June, had already made considerable progress in his service, wherefore it was recommended to Sir John that he should be allowed to go on with it. "I have only to add, that from the first of his arrival here General Johnston was manifestly in great favour with Lord Harcourt, and I cannot say the same observation occurr'd to me with respect to Sir John Irwine." Major-General Cuninghame is to go over to England to settle certain military points conformably to the English practice for the use of the army in Ireland.

Earl of Buckingham[shire] to the Same.

1777, May 4. Dublin.—I had yesterday morning a long conversation with Major-General Cunninghame on the subject of his mission, but as his papers are not yet arranged we confined

ourselves to generals. "I think the official arrangement will not be difficult, something resembling but possibly not exactly in the mode stated by your Lordship. It is my inclination, as, knowing his Majesty's pleasure, it is my duty, to use every effort to carry the military arrangements into execution."

Earl of Buckingham[shire] to Lord George Germain.

1777, May 24.—"I think it necessary to inform your Lordship how far we have at present determin'd to settle the military department in our office. Mr. Waite, upon consideration, declines accepting of it, and therefore it will devolve to Mr. Meredyth, with a Mr. Butler, who is an excellent accountant, and a Mr. Usk under him. . . . The business of the Courts Martial is is at present carryd on in a most slovenly manner. The deputy judge advocate knows nothing of his business, which has produc'd some irregularitys, but I will take care that a more proper appointment may soon be made. The infantry here will never be compleat so long as they inlist any Irishmen. They should be confin'd to recruit in England, and the English regiments might procure numbers of men from hence if the recruits were sent away or at least put on shipboard immediately upon their being attested. It concerns me to find by the last monthly returns that the number of deserters is increased, the people of this country are but too much dispos'd to encourage and protect them. . . . Everything here relative to myself continues to wear a favourable aspect, but I much fear that the bills which my predecessors have left behind them will scarcely pass without Parliamentary animadversion."

Sir James Caldwell to the Same.

1777, June 15. Castle Caldwell.—Enclosing a paper on the smuggling of wool, particularly from Ireland, with a scheme for its prevention.

Rev. John Hotham to the Same.

1777, July 19. Dublin Castle.—Mr. Knill, private secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, has resigned, on the plea of ill-health.

I have scarcely yet quitted the Castle, and begin to long to get away from the smoke of Dublin. I receive great civilities from everybody, and am well pleased with my situation, but cannot yet accustom myself to the "inveterate sloth and shocking poverty of the lower class of natives. Nor, to confess the truth, am I enraptured beyond measure at the obstinate longevity of the Bench; because, most certainly, the immortality which I wish them is by no means a terrestrial one."

EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Oct. 31. Dublin Castle.—"My own original sentiments suggested to me that at the first blush my acquiescence in the omission of America might not be agreeable, but I flatter'd myself that the arguments stated in my letter would have been deem'd conclusive. It has prov'd otherwise, which, notwithstanding the consciousness of having acted upon the whole to the best of my judgment, affects me with real concern. It appear'd to me unnecessary to mention to your Lordship the unusual circumstance of meeting a new House of Commons in which there are ninety untryd members, nor did I chuse officiously to state the favorable spirit towards the Americans so generaly prevailing amongst a particular sect in this kingdom, which must influence the votes of members representing countys and populous citys, whatever their private opinions may be, when the subject is directly before them. My own sentiments are fully known and must evidently appear when the questions relative to the troops, &c., are agitated. As to the gentlemen lately in opposition, whose support Government has reason to expect, they none of them express'd a wish that America might not be mention'd in the speech, but even those of the persons consulted who judg'd it expedient to introduce the subject, were, from the present circumstances, inclin'd to treat it in terms more exceptionable perhaps than total silence. Having no instructions to offer new propositions, it appear'd to me expedient, when so advis'd by the most respectable counsellors, to carry on his Majesty's measures upon the line in which I found them as quietly as possible, and not to add fuel to a flame which, particularly in the North, as I have lately learn'd from very good authority, is ready to break out, when the army is barely sufficient to preserve tranquillity and, frequently with difficulty, to inforce the law.

"Your Lordship will recollect that since the last Parliament his Majesty has lost three most respectable servants, in Mr. Malone, Mr. Clements, and Mr. Tisdale, men not easily replac'd. The last, who has long been the principal support of Government, at the most critical moment, when that time was necessarily given to the settling of consequential arrangements which ought to have been dedicated to the preparing business for the Parliament; and it realy appears to me that without the new connections the business of the publick would with difficulty have been carryd on, and it would have been impracticable, as it now may not be easy, to prevent very disagreeable retrospective resolutions relative to some arrangements previous to my arrival in this country.

"The state of the Treasury speaks strongly, and when quieter times will admit of a thorough investigation of the situation of this country it will be found that Government cannot long be conducted upon the system which for some years has prevail'd, and if persevered in will absolutely prevent the parent kingdom from deriving that assistance from Ireland which, when it can be

given, ought to be required. Do not suspect me of ambitioning the character of an Irish patriot; I reason as an Englishman who, with a proper attention to the interests of a kingdom in some sort committed to his care, cannot be unmindfull of his first great duty, the carrying his Majesty's measures into execution, and in them furthering the prosperity of his native country.

"What your Lordship mentions with regard to the sentiments of Lord North and Lord Weymouth gives me some satisfaction, but my primary wish must be the King's approbation, and the loss of your Lordship's cannot but be sensibly felt by," &c.

Postscript.—"Your last favor will only be communicated to Mr. Heron, but it is impossible that his Majesty's sentiments and yours should not in a degree transpire and influence disagreeably upon my situation here."

Earl of Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1777, Nov. 1. Dublin.—"I will trouble you with a line just to mention what pass'd this morning in the House of Commons. Mr. Daly mov'd that accounts of the provisions exported from this country for two years past might be laid before Parliament. The Prime Serjeant* observ'd that the motion in itself was so unexceptionable that he was ready to second it, but if it was meant to lead to any question relative to embargo's, he was happy to take the earliest opportunity of pledging himself to defend the legality of them. This business will be agitated in a committee."

The Same to the Same.

1777, Nov. 4.—" . . . That my speech has not quite pleas'd in England is a matter now known to many. The Prime Serjeant lately mention'd to Mr. Heron that the omission of America seem'd to him in that instance expedient and judicious, but that he should think he deserv'd to lose his head if, in his present situation, he did not zealously support his Majesty's measures for the reduction of the Americans, and that he was determin'd to take the earliest opportunity of declaring his sentiments in the most publick and the most explicite manner."

The Same to the Same.

1777, Nov. 28.—Concerning the failing health of some of the King's Ministers in Ireland and the difficulty of replacing them. Mr. Waite's retirement is certain, and Mr. Meredyth is also about to resign. With regard to Mr. Waite's successor "he must be an *Englishman*; a gentleman of this country, however honourable and well-intentioned, must carry an imperceptible bias into every transaction. . . .

* Walter Hussey Burgh.

"Tho' the armaments of France and Spain will fully justify the continuance of the embargo, I cannot but desire to learn the exact language which it is intended I should hold. I directed Mr. Heron yesterday to acquaint the Provost that nothing could be more disagreeable to his Majesty or would be esteem'd more hostile to Government than the encouraging any Parliamentary proceedings relative to the embargo, exportation of provisions, &c. He received the message civily, and declar'd himself ready to take any line we pleas'd."

Dr. John Hotham to Lord George Germain.

1777, December 1. Dublin Castle.—" . . . Though I am now full ten months gone in Ireland, it is rather difficult for me to give any account of the country. The very little of it which I have hitherto had an opportunity of seeing, I must frankly confess does not enchant me. The mud fences and rough stone walls, both of them unfinished at best, if not ruinous, as they generally appear to be, and the next to total absence of wood, hurt my English eye very much; nor can I reconcile myself as yet either to the excessive dirt and poverty of the natives, or the universal dejection of mind visible in the countenances of the lower sort. They are certainly cruel also, and savage in their nature, and as ignorant of all law, and indeed averse from all wholesome restraint of it, as the wildest Indians. They are slothful, gloomy, obstinate, and ungrateful; and neither improved by benefits, nor sensible of kindness.

"This must be understood of the peasantry, and most inferior ranks. If we consider those who stand a step higher, who have votes for members, who serve on juries, and in short are reputed of some sort of consequence (which the peasantry here are not), I fear an account of them, if truly given, will not be very favourable. They are absurd, shortsighted, tumultuous, and corrupt; and such friends to perjury, on almost all occasions, that though no people go more to law than the Irish, I believe there is no country in the world where real justice is so seldom done by the determination of a jury.

"With regard to the lowest orders of gentry, I mean those who, calling themselves esquires, and being called so by their neighbours, live by their dog, their gun, and fishing net, or by retailing the land which they rent in the wholesale,—a practise which is the bane of this Iland,—I can say but little of them, not having hitherto fallen in their way; but as far as I can hear or discover, they are not a race of beings from whom much information or advantage of any kind is to be extracted, by any human chemistry.

"As to the nobility and gentry of landed property, they are of two kinds; foreigners and natives. The first are such as possess considerable property in Ireland, and enjoy it elsewhere. To these lovers of their country, I have nothing to say. The last, that is the natives, live indeed in Ireland, and enjoy their

possessions so thoroughly, and in a manner so truly Irish, that they generally become beggars in a few years' time, by dint of hospitality and inadvertence. From distress of circumstances to modern patriotism, the transition is not uncommon, but daily; indeed the one is the certain consequence of the other. Accordingly they all turn patriots, and vociferate in Parliament; where, if nature do not admit of their being able, custom I am sure does not prevent their being abusive, to an astonishing degree; and scurrility we all know is the forerunner of places, pensions, sinecures, &c. &c. &c., which in this country have the singular property of gathering like snow balls, and multiplying themselves and one another *ad infinitum*. In short, either from the want of public virtue, or superabundance of it, in people here (I will not pretend to decide which), Ireland seems an unfortunate country. Its size, situation, soil, and climate, make no part of its misfortune; for it is peculiarly happy in them all. It suffers only by the conduct of its principals. Would but the chief people of the Iland open their eyes to its real interest, and therein their own, Ireland would be a favoured spot; but I have long said, and do maintain, that its first and greatest enemies are the men of greatest rank, property, and popularity in the country; and so long as they continue their present line of conduct, so long will Ireland infallibly continue in the state it is; namely, as my countrymen would be apt to express it, growing every day worse and worse. . . ."

[Lord Buckinghamshire] to Lord North.

1777, Dec. 3. Dublin Castle.—Announcing the transmission of the Money Bills. In the copy of the Stamp Bill sent up to him certain words were omitted, which have been inserted, from the Bill itself, by the Clerk of the House, acting under advice from all the Law Officers of the Crown. *Copy. Unsigned.* [*Bound by mistake in the volume for Home Affairs.*]

The Bishop of Derry to Lord G. Germain.

[1778, Before July*?]—"I cannot omit so safe an opportunity as the present of renewing my assurance to your Lordship that the great armament is levell'd against Ireland, tho' a ridiculous feint will be made on the Isle of Wight. The coast of Galway is the place of landing, as the bearer can inform you, who knows much of the detail. The manifesto intended to be dispers'd exhibits *Independence, Liberty of religion* to all sects, and *a free trade*. The man who gave the plan is son to a late minister, well acquainted with England, and therefore dissuaded them from

*This letter was apparently written during the spring of 1778, after the acknowledgment by France of American independence, and before the bringing in of the Irish Roman Catholic Relief Bill. *Cf.* a letter from the Bishop to Pery, dated May 15 of this year, Report viii. of the *Hist. MSS. Commissioners*. Appendix, p. 197.

× Frederick Hervey, Earl of Bristol.

their first intentions. They are encourag'd likewise to fix on Ireland by letters and emissaries from both ends of the kingdom.

"Your Lordship will please to remember that nothing has yet been done for the Romish clergy or for the people of that persuasion, who hold everything cheap in comparison of their religion; that the Romish gentlemen are few, and of course have little interest either over the clergy or peasantry; that to my knowledge they think the gentlemen sacrific'd the liberty of religion to the security of their property, which idea has considerably lessen'd the little influence they had. If something therefore be not speedily affected to pacify both the Papists and the Presbyterians, we risque a general insurrection even upon the appearance of the French.

"With all the regard I have for the Presbyterians, many of whom I know to be excellent men, yet I deem them much more dangerous at this crisis than the Papist. Their principles are truly republican, and the profer of independency, which will be instantly exhibited by the French, cannot fail of success among them. The bearer can tell you this idea is only the revival of a scheme under *Conflans*, and tho' it will not now be back'd by the Popish gentlemen, yet it will be greedily swallowed by almost all the Presbyterians.

"For God's sake, then, my Lord, let us not be sacrific'd either to ind[olence?] or incredulity, and much less to the fear of disgusting a venal faction in Ireland. The rights of humanity demand a general and unlimited toleration at all times. Policy peculiarly requires it at present. A seasonable indulgence to the Presbyterian and Papist may save the kingdom. The Presbyterians cannot believe that the K[ing] loves them—let his Attorney General, or rather his eloquent Prime Sergeant, move a repeal of the Test Act. It can disgust only a few ignorant High Churchmen among ourselves, and will reclame some thousands of ill dispos'd subjects among those sectaries.

"Place us all, my Lord, on the same footing, and we shall all be equally good subjects; but whilst Benjamin's mess is distributed only to a few Episcopalians you cannot wonder that the rest of the brethren should do something more than murmur. 'Tis unreasonable to expect equal loyalty where there has not been shown equal favor; the crop will ever correspond to the culture, and woe must betide that farm where one spot is cherish'd and the rest neglected. One happy, masterly stroke may save Ireland for ages; its ruin shall not lie at my door." *Enclosed in this letter is a note on American affairs.*

General Irwine to Lord George Germain.

1778, July 3. Royal Hospital.—Concerning army matters and his application for additional allowance.

"I am impatient to know what you will do with the Roman Catholick Bill: I mean with the clause respecting the sacramental test: and shall be obliged to you if you will let me know its

fate as soon as you can conveniently. Various are the opinions here whether that clause will or will not return hither; and if it does not return, whether without it the Bill will or will not pass; and lastly suppose it to pass with the clause, whether the Bishops will not object to the Bill in the House of Lords.

"So I perceive, *que la guerre est bien entamé*; we suppose here that the Duc de Chartres will not come out of Brest; I take for granted very few days will decide that matter. Lord Camden says the only chance we have is to fight and beat them this year, for that if this year passed over without a blow we were utterly undone. I confess I did not see the reasoning, and did not care to ask for an explanation, as it happened at my Lord Lieutenant's in a full company, and I know not only Lord Camden's talent of debating, but the dexterity all lawyers have of explaining their meaning to be anything else, the very reverse even of what they first said; so out of prudence let the matter drop, and nobody else took it up, only the Attorney General [Scott] sometime after said somewhat of the little attention he gave to opinions where America or American ideas were the leading principles. By the way that same Attorney is a very stout gentleman, very firm in his opinions or attachments, and very much your humble servant. He has uniformly opposed the clause in the Popery Bill about the test, not only in Parliament but in Council. I am told he made a considerable figure during that debate."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1778, Aug. 23. Dublin Castle. Private.—"The conceiving some hopes from your Lordship's most friendly letter that his Majesty may approve of those efforts which have been successfully exerted in the carrying through the Act for the releif of the Papists affects me with most sensible satisfaction. From the peculiar circumstances attending it no measure has ever been agitated in this kingdom of a more intricate and delicate nature. The question once decided, individuals state their sentiments with candor, and convince me in what circumstances my judgment was founded and where erroneous. Weighing the whole, I should almost venture to pronounce that, with respect merely to the temper of Ireland, the mode in which it found its way, however embarassing at the time, has in the consequence prov'd the best.

"On Thursday last I wrote to Lord North and stated generaly the probable very great arrear, which, notwithstanding the large sums voted by Parliament, must be contracted before the next sessions, even supposing that the expense of encampments should not be necessary next summer. The papers upon which the estimate is to be founded are drawing with all possible accuracy; the deficiency will, I believe, be nearer three than two hundred thousand pounds, but I judg'd it better not to mention any precise sum to his Lordship till our estimate was fully digested.

"An union with England and the opening the ports of Ireland has been hinted by more than one in conversation, from some

who think such an arrangement the only method of parrying the impending evils, from others who wish to know the probability of such an idea's being adopted by Government. I have given Sir R. Heron a caution which will be most religiously observ'd by myself, not to risque any opinion upon so nice a subject.

"The address to the Lord Lieutenant and the unanimity with which it pass'd was very flattering, but it was not realy approv'd by every individual, as Sir J. Blaquiere observ'd, when the draft was preparing in the committee room, that it was a libel upon the preceding Government.

"It is unnecessary perhaps to tell you, that my present ground in Ireland, however good in many respects, is a little tender in others. The immediate friends of the late Administration are disgusted at my not placing an implicite confidence in them, and cherish with others, whose expectation of emolument have been disappointed, a deep tho' secret dissatisfaction against that oeconomy adopted first from principle, but which now, from necessity, must be adhered to.

"Lord North's conduct respecting my situation has been uniformly honorable and liberal, nor can I in any instance trace those misrepresentations of facts which most probably may have reach'd him. This, as my appointment was not his immediate object, gives him a double claim to my gratitude. The persevering gradual rise of the funds would almost induce me to flatter myself that expectations are forming of happier days, though the grounds, if any, of those expectations are utterly unknown to me.

"Your Lordship will not possibly be sorry to see a return of our little army at Clonmell, which was sent me by Major Vyse, one of my aide-de-camps. In mentioning his name it were injustice (if I may risque an opinion upon a military man) not to add, that he seems fully possessed of those qualifications which may intitle him hereafter to take a lead in his profession. I will name one which interests me particularly in his favor. He is a gentlemen in the strictest sense of the word. Your Lordship in looking upon the return will observe that the Light Infantry Companys are detach'd and the officers are not included.

"Is it true that Lord Hertford is gone to Paris?"

General Irwine to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1778, Sept. 30. Royal Hospital.—Giving his views on the subject of desertion from the army, and suggesting remedies, &c.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1778, Nov. 13. Dublin Castle.—In a letter just receiv'd from Sir H. Clinton, dated Sept. 24, he states that he was that day to join Lord Cornwallis, who was marching to observe Washington.

"Poor Irwine, the embarassment of whose circumstances must, as it is apprehended, daily increase, sent me a memorial a few days since for the continuance of his extraordinary allowances during the winter. It was in consequence transmitted to Lord Weymouth, but could not be recommended, particularly as it would be a precedent for numberless other similar claims.

" . . . Mr. Beresford was with me yesterday, and assur'd me that there was no immediate probability of the Revenue's mending. We reason'd a great deal upon the abuses in the collection, but he seems to think an effectual remedy impossible to be obtain'd, as the change of measures which usualy attends a change of governors would overturn any system of reform before it could well be put into operation. . . . There should undoubtedly be a first Commissioner of Revenue here, as there is at the Treasury, Admiralty, Board of Trade, &c., in England."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1778, Dec. 8. Dublin Castle.—Concerning the impending death of the Archbishop of Dublin. "His loss concerns me, as I have long known him a pleasant and agreeable man. I would not trouble you with an unnecessary word, yet wishing to acquire every possible merit with you, indulge me in mentioning that your recommendation of Dr. Fowler has had great weight in the intended arrangement. Lord and Lady Crosby sup with me this evening."

General Irwine to the Same.

1778, Dec. 20. Royal Hospital.—Desiring permission to go to Bath, for his health, and expressing his gratitude to the King for continuing his additional six pounds a day.

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1779, Jan. 19. Dublin Castle. Private.—" . . . The Prime Sergeant has promis'd to send me his letter respecting the present state of Ireland, &c., &c., &c., this day. I do not believe he will go so far as the Speaker. That gentleman's paper you will have seen, and I should think it will convince you that if he did not suggest, at least he do's not disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen. The Provost, who is much connected with him, has attended several of the meetings of the manufacturers, &c. It has been, tho' vaguely, insinuated to me that his harangues, tho' they express'd a disapprobation of associations, &c., were not exactly calculated to annihilate them.

He do's not seem in haste to communicate his opinions in writing to me. Various circumstances may incline him to this delay; possibly he may be conscious that, like a great English orator who is now no more, his declamations by far excell his compositions.

"His Majesty's ministers are now tolerably well acquainted with the state of this kingdom, and will probably give their first leisure (when releiv'd from Parliament and the illiberal Billinsgate of the wildest faction that ever distress'd a country) to the determining something with respect to Ireland. Much deliberation will be necessary, and some time requir'd in settling a plan; the outlines therefore cannot be drawn too early."

General Irwine to Lord George Germain.

1779, Jan. 28. Private.—"Government has a fair prospect of a decided majority upon every question, but certainty cannot be obtain'd. Lord Hillsborough receives by this post the most accurate list of the House of Commons which we can form; some mistakes there must be. I have signifyd both to Lord North and to Lord Hillsborough that if there is a wish to name a successor immediately, no endeavors of mine shall be wanting to render his situation agreeable or to promote his Majesty's service. I dare not take upon me to determine what would be the best, but the man who suspects me of a selfish bias wrongs me cruely. The anarchy of the times is such that the opinion of every prudent man must fluctuate."

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1779, April 10. Dublin Castle. Private.—Respecting a statement of Lord G. Germain that the idea of making new levies had been given up in consequence of Lord Buckinghamshire's not having transmitted any plan for the King's consideration. The writer quotes from one of his former letters:—"If this letter together with that of the 1st instant should lead to the determination of adopting such a measure, your Lordship, as time presses, will favor me with the earliest answer, informing me of the most extended latitude his Majesty would please to allow respecting the appointment of the officers, who probably would expect to have half pay and to keep their rank." He then goes on to say, "Surely it was impossible for me to form a plan till some answers had been given me to that most necessary preliminary."

Dr. Hotham to the Same.

1779, May 29. Dublin Castle.—Concerning changes in the Bishops' Bench in Ireland (consequent on the death of the Archbishop of Dublin), and his hopes of appointment to the vacant see of Dromore.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1779, May 29. Dublin Castle. Private.—Complaining of the attitude of Lord Weymouth, who gives no opening for any communication distinct from official routine. There are many things that cannot be put into a despatch which, after being submitted to Parliament, may be circulated in every newspaper. "Would it be prudent to insinuate my suspicion that the real object of the associations and the paraded increase of the independent companys is to alarm Great Britain into commercial concessions, and that a personage of the first consequence, who has been greatly oblig'd to English Government, and professes himself well dispos'd, is in my opinion, clandestinely encouraging those political engines, and using his best endeavours to propagate that spirit of apprehension which has been so zealously adopted by English patriots? They meet (*sic*) those opinions to embarrass administration, which are circulated by Irish patriots from the laudable principle, however erroneously conducted, of releiving the distresses of their country. The gentleman above alluded to, told me he had heard the present measures of the Irish stiled a passive resistance.

"Lord Rockingham's motion and the general language of alarm held in Parliament, has, as I hinted in a former letter, influenc'd most disagreeably here, and renders some indulgence from England more immediately necessary to smooth the way for public measures through our approaching sessions. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1779, June 2. Private.—"None of my letters from England, either official or private, indicate whether it is understood that the English Parliament means to take any further steps relative to the affairs of this kingdom previous to the summer recess.

"My own opinion of the great first cause of the distress you will have read in my late official despatch to Lord Weymouth upon the subject. The gentlemen to whom application has been made for their sentiments with respect to the origin of the evils and the probable remedys, will linger in the formaly delivering them, but the necessity of expedition shall be represented. The Commissioners of the Revenue, from whom the fullest and most authentick information is to be expected, have, as you must have been inform'd, express'd the necessity of their being allowed time for investigation and deliberation.

"The loosening the restraints upon the Irish commerce will certainly give very great satisfaction, but the operation will be only temporary, and no material advantage can be deriv'd till the merchants trade with respectable capitals and the manufacturers become industrious. The abominable policy at this time practic'd is, the moment there is an extraordinary demand for any commodity, to work it up of an inferior quality and to advance the price.

"About twenty butchers yesterday broke the windows of two woolen drapers, and did some mischief in a haberdasher's shop,

but were immediately dispers'd by the magistrates and the military. Three of the ringleaders were sent to Newgate. The Dublin Volunteers (whose numbers I am told do not exceed fifty) were accidentally assembled to exercise and dine together, [and *erased*] exerted themselves in quelling the riot. Offers of service from the independent companys and requisitions for arms are press'd upon me from all parts of the kingdom, and the mode of declining the one and refusing the other without offence is delicate and embarassing."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1779, Aug. 20. Private.—"The important subject of your Lordship's last letter will have the fullest consideration, the result of which, when a little digested, shall be communicated to you. It is the only measure which can produce permanent tranquillity, substantial opulence, and diffuse civilisation in this kingdom. But in the accomplishment, so many prejudices and local and individual interests must be surmounted, as will render it an arduous undertaking. . . . When you hear that the Prime Serjeant has declar'd he can no longer stand forth in Parliament as the leader of the publick business, you will deem it no trifling addition to my other other difficultys. He complains of want of confidence, and alledges that his opinions may urge him to press more earnestly for commercial indulgences to this kingdom than would become him when consider'd in the light of a minister. He at the same time expresses the most cordial regard to me, and a determination in general to advise, support, and assist Government. Mr. Foster seems perfectly steady, and in my opinion the other will come round, or at least his differing upon a particular question will be by far less embarassing than when he was consider'd as a leader. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1779, Sept. 24. Dublin Castle. Private.—"In the few lines with which your Lordship was troubled upon the subject of my projected speech, I omitted mentioning an alteration made at the instance of all the persons consulted, greatly against my judgment. It was the striking out a paragraph originally inserted, which took notice of the important boon conceded to Ireland in the releiving the establishment from the charge of the regiments upon foreign service.

"The circumstance was peculiarly mortifying to my private feelings, as I conceiv'd myself to have deriv'd some little merit with this kingdom from the success of my reiterated applications upon that subject, and surely it would be prudent in the Legislature by the most gratefull acknowledgments to have given an idea of permanency to the regulation, and not to let an appearance of insensibility for favors obtain'd indispose Great Britain

to that further indulgence which Ireland with one voice sollicits. The objections stated against the paragraph were, that the present army, from the additional two regiments and the augmented numbers, amounted nearly to the legal establishment, and that the introducing the subject might lead to some unpleasing retrospective animadversions. As the whole consideration is at this time before the Cabinet, my anxious wish is that it may be settled into the form most agreeable to his Majesty and best conducive to his service. The sentiments of the Attorney General, who was absent upon the circuit during the consultation, agree intirely with mine. Your Lordship must approve of my sollicitude not to use an expression or to introduce or omitt a circumstance in the language held to Parliament at this crisis but with the sanction and approbation of English Government.

"The arm'd societys daily increase, and the whole island will be very soon, literaly speaking, *herissé de combatants*. Nothing can effectually dissolve them but such a Militia Law as will carry itself into execution, which must be one of the first objects of the sessions. At the present, considering the various military services to be provided for, and the check which the riotous disposition of the lower order of men too universaly calls for, without these bands the kingdom would be without police, and in no degree in a state of defence.

"The receipt of the revenue made some little advance lately, but is now sinking lower than ever, the non-importation agreements are more rigidly adhered to than could have been imagin'd, and an unlimited extension of commerce is, with very, very few exceptions, the general language. When these facts are considered the consequential embarassment need not be suggested.

"Do not suspect me of being unmindfull of the important matter stated in one of your Lordship's last letters, but as it can only be mention'd with the greatest delicacy and precaution, I am not prepar'd to give you an answer. It concerns me to say that hitherto the idea has met with little encouragement. My opinion upon the general state of Ireland is that the full exertion of the best abilitys can only, for the present, mitigate evils. The effectual cure must wait for those settled times which will admit of full deliberation and uninterrupted attention."

Sir James Caldwell to Lord George Germain.

1779, September 28. Sidmouth, Devon.—A long letter upon the woollen trade of Ireland; combating the objections of the monopolist English merchants to a free trade in Irish wool. The Yorkshire merchants seem not unwilling to grant it, but those of Norfolk, Devon and Manchester object, first, that the Irish would undersell them, and secondly, that they would be deprived of the Irish wool, so essential to their manufacture. The difference in expense is certainly very considerable. In England a wool-comber must be employed, who earns from 9*s*. to 10*s*. a week; the wool is prepared with oil costing 7½*d*. to 8*d*. a pound or more, and the woman that spins it would think 6*d*. a day small wages. In Ireland the spinner would be content to earn 3*d*. a day and herself goes

through the whole process, from the sheep's back until the worsted is ready for the loom, preparing it with the worst butter at 2*d.* or 3*d.* a pound, mixed with a mucilaginous juice got from fern roots. The spinning can be done by girls of six or seven years old, and the weaving is also done very cheaply, as "the women of every peasant manufactures clothing and blankets for the family."

"The confined notions of the selfish monopoliser will always induce him to be averse to the encouragement of competitors" but England has more interest in the prosperity of Ireland than they imagine, and by the preventing of smuggling, and the better chance of making these kingdoms the great centre of the woollen trade, the prosperity of the traders would probably be greatly increased. "Plenty, variety and cheapness must always draw an extensive trade; a person that wants goods would sooner go to a town where there were ten shops that manufactured and sold them, than to a town where there was only one."

Enclosing, letters from the Right Hon. Owen Wynne, M.P., Mr. Armour Lowry Corry, M.P. for co. Tyrone, Sir Fitzgerald Aylmer, Bart., M.P. for Kildare, Mr. George Rochfort and Mr. Patrick Cullen, on the bad condition of trade in Ireland, and on the dangers that may arise from the martial spirit stirred up in the people by the rumoured prospect of invasion.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sept. 30. Dublin Castle. Private.—"The idea of his Majesty's Ministers having a more intimate connection between the two kingdoms in contemplation has, by some means or other, been in a degree communicated from England, and the temper with which it is received leads me to apprehend that most unpleasing consequences might insue should it be circulated with an air of authority that this government had canvassed the opinions of any individuals upon that subject. My duty to his Majesty's service therefore renders it incumbent upon me to wave any further investigation and earnestly to recommend that at this time no measures of that tendency may be agitated. I cannot, however, but be of opinion that some of the ablest men in this kingdom see the propriety of a similar arrangement, but the circumstance which the most convinces me of the immediate inexpediency is their sentiments with regard to the pressing it now.

"The desire of unlimited commerce will be the unanimous language of this House of Commons. The few moderate men will either be aw'd by national clamour into silence or their voice will be lost amidst the general cry. Nor can anything much short of this be expected in England when the Cabinet consider the stile of the several confidential servants of the Crown in the letters which have been transmitted. An address to his Majesty of this tenor will undoubtedly be introduc'd. The directly resisting it would be the attempting to stop the ocean with a hurdle, but my best efforts shall be exerted, tho' perhaps in vain, to reduce the terms and temperate the expectations.

"I have not received any letter from Lord North since the remittance of the fifty thousand pounds. Lord Weymouth seldom enters into any particulars. His last despatch only mention'd the approbation of the speech, and a general recommendation of attention to the proceedings of Parliament. I have hitherto in rather embarassing situations with better fortune than ability preserv'd the tranquility of this kingdom. As to the sequel I can only answer for my zeal for the publick service."

Dr. John Hotham to Lord George Germain.

1779, Oct. 27. Dublin Castle.—Thanking him for his kindness in procuring for him the Bishopric of Ossory.

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1779, Oct. 28. Dublin Castle. Private.—"Your Lordship's letter of the 21st leads me to mention once more what little satisfaction I receive at this time from the approbation my conduct has receiv'd here, tho' I cannot reproach myself with the most distant wish of obtaining it at the expence of that first incumbent duty owing by every individual to his native country. But supposing my conduct to be directed implicitly by selfish principles, can any transient popularity here stand in competition with the favour of my sovereign and the good will and esteem of those friends with whom my last scenes must probably pass?

"The various circumstances which have occasioned the present situation can never be fairly investigated but upon the spot. Had your Lordship pass'd this last twelvemonth in Ireland you would easily trace those evils which inevitably produced it.

"The Prime Serjeant's having been introduced and recommended to Government by Mr. Tisdale has been repeatedly mentioned, and at the moment was conceiv'd to be a wise measure. Previous to this last step, tho' his indecision has inconvenienc'd, it never had any material consequence.

"When the sessions opened it was universally known that he no longer acted with the Castle, and his rash and ill-conceiv'd amendment carry'd an air of hostility with it which could not, but wilfully, be misunderstood.

"Tho' it has generally been thought in England that the favours of the Lord Lieutenant have been withheld from the old friends of Government, it is the contrary conduct which has contributed to produce the present difficulty. The appointing Mr. Carlton Solicitor-General, at the recommendation of the Attorney-General, the engaging the deanery of Derry to the Speaker's brother, and the next vacant bishoprick to Mr. Beresford, has in my opinion determined the cast of all the late proceedings. A free trade would certainly have been press'd for, but in a very different mode, and with a very different temper.

"My political spirits are rather better, but I can answer for nothing. Everything depends upon England's acting with more wisdom than the wild patriots of this kingdom."

Postscript.—"The Duke of Leinster has wrote me a letter in that equivocal stile which evidently shews that no usefull support can be expected from him."

Thomas Waite to Lord George Germain.

1779, Nov. 11. Dublin. Secret.—Concerning the proposed extension of Irish trade. Sir Lucius O'Brien and Mr. Beresford are qualified by their special knowledge of the subject to assist the English Government in any inquiries they may make in that direction. "The two newspapers which are regularly transmitted from hence contain such full accounts of our proceedings in Parliament that I need not say anything thereupon. The cry at present is a short money bill, and it seems to be the general opinion it will be carried unless something softening be applied before the meeting of the British Parliament."

James Callander to the Same.

1779, Nov. 18. Hamilton Row, Dublin.—Upon the lawless state of Ireland. "If your Lordship will please to cast your eye upon a supposed line, drawen from Sligo to Wicklow, the country to the South-west of that line are all Catholics—I say all, for the Protestants bear no proportion whatever—universally ill-affected to Government and well armed, for such has been the rage for self-discipline that few villages are without fifty men tolerably equipt. Many of the principal people concealed Catholics, the peasantry not volunteers tho' called so, and wished to be thought so, but payed by their officers and the money raised by subscription amongst the better sort. The Catholic priests have subscribed largely, and most certainly not for exterior defence, for supposing an enemy to land, those who know them think they (these volunteers) would join them to a man. That part of the country round Tipperary is inhabitated by a set of miscreants called White Boys; there, even the common operations of justice cannot be carried into execution, such as to recover rents, or to eject the defaulter from a farm; it has been tryed; the tryal ended in the murder of the officers of justice and impunity to the offenders. These White Boys within these last three months have been in unusual commotion; much money has been distributed amongst them, and they are neither despicably armed or disciplined. . . . The priests have been extremly active, pretending that they have not, as formerly, the same power over their flocks, and upon that pretence, take leave to subscribe largely towards furnishing part with arms to contain the others in obedience. In short it is a district most lawless in the strongest acceptation of the word."

To the north of a line drawn from Sligo to Dundalk, the inhabitants are mostly dissenters, "violently attached, with puritanical sentiments, to republican principles; from thence their strong predeliction to the American rebels, but that attachment has subsided to a degree not to be conceived, ever since

their (the American) depredatory excursions upon the Northern coast. . . . The peasantry in the north are all armed and in general well disciplined. . . . Some of their volunteers have Presbeterian clergymen at their head."

The inhabitants of the intermediate and richest part of the Island are a mixture of Church of England and Catholic; the landlords in general Protestant. "This district is armed, but not in such numbers as the others; in general averse to government, and the utmost violence of temper fomented in the minds of the lower class by their ill-judging landlords, who have assumed a military command over them."

THOMAS WAITE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Nov. 24. Dublin. Private.—As to the weakness of Government in acquiescing to a proposal of the Opposition for a short money bill of six months for the supply to the Crown. "Whether a short money bill could within this week past have been resisted with effect I cannot say, but I have it from the authority of gentlemen who understand the House of Commons perfectly well, that by proper sollicitation and speaking firmly in time, it might and certainly would have been rejected. In all events it should not have pass'd without a division, tho' Sir Richard had been the single member to divide. This spontaneous offer of Government to accede to it without a strugle is a record that will hang about our necks like a millstone, and be for ever quoted to prove what encouragement people here have to persevere and to scatter terrors. . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1779, Nov. 25.—A motion "that at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes" has been carried against the Government by a majority of 123. Encloses a statement of accounts showing the arrear on the Establishment and Loan Funds at Lady Day, 1779, and also the state of the Loans and Loan Duties.

JOHN [HOTHAM], BISHOP OF OSSORY, to ————

1779, Nov. 26. Kilcullen Bridge, 20 miles south of Dublin.—Giving an account of his visit to Kilkenny, his diocese, and the incidents of his journey thither. Also relating a conversation which he has had with the Archbishop of Armagh relative to his obtaining the see of Clogher. He wishes this letter to be shown to Lord George, to whom the Primate had recommended him to write.

LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Nov. 29. Private.—" . . . As in any event, government requires the adventitious assistance of men of

ability in the House of Commons, it may be very proper to suggest the difficultys which may occur in any new arrangement. And for that purpose I will say a few words relative to those gentlemen who have pretentions upon that line, the Prime Serjeant excepted of who you have already heard but too much.

"The Attorney General's abilitys, his uniform zeal and attachment for his Majesty's service, render him deservedly the corner stone of Government. Mr. Forster has superior talents for business, is particularly conversant in matters of account, and greatly attended to by the House. His friendship to the Prime Serjeant may be objected to him, which, in my opinion, however, would not in any instance bias his Parliamentry conduct, more especially as that gentleman's late intemperate and unjustifiable language has alienated the esteem of several of his most intimate connections. (This leads me to inform you that in consequence of Mr. Conolly's having observed to several gentlemen that the Prime Serjeant's last speech was of a more seditious cast than ever made by Mr. Hancock, Adams, or other patriots previous to the American Rebellion, a relation of the Prime Serjeant's attack'd Mr. Conolly in the House in very insulting terms. This proceeding, if an immediate interference had not taken place, would have led to a very serious decision.) Mr. Fitzgibbon has been understood to be inclined to Government and there was an idea of bringing him forward upon the first arrangement, but his conduct has latterly been rather hostile. Mr. Dennis Daly has clearly the best abilitys of any member of the House of Commons, the lawyers excepted. I some time since conceiv'd an idea that he might have been induc'd to attach himself to Government, but that impression no longer exists. Mr. Grattan, who owes his seat in Parliament to Lord Charlemont and is intimately connected with him, would not probably be tempted by any consideration to vary his political line. Mr. Yelverton is possess'd of very great Parliamentary talents, but it would be a disgracefull return to the deservings of the Attorney General, with whom, without adverting to recent most aggravating provocation, he has ever been upon bad terms, to attempt the connecting them in official business. Mr. Brown, brother to Lord Altamont, tho' his abilitys are not brilliant, is esteemed as a man of business with a sound usefull understanding. He is much esteemed, and has a brother and nephew whose political conduct will be determined by his. Tho' it is accidental the Provost would not be well pleas'd to find his name the last in the list. He will not be satisfy'd without being first, nor, being first, will he ever be satisfy'd with any possible proportion of gratification; and it is my firm opinion that were he considered as the leader of Government his unpopularity would more than counterbalance his ability. The day of the second division he was ill in bed, but directed one of his sons to insinuate his disapprobation of the measure of government."

Sir J. Irwine to Lord George Germain.

1779, Dec. 8. Royal Hospital.—"I return you thanks for yours of the 30th of November. On Sunday night the Money Bills were dispatched to you. I signed them, not that I approved of them, but because I am of opinion that should they be rejected there will be a rebellion in this country. The Primate and I talked the matter over very seriously, and upon that ground and that ground alone, agreed to sign them. I should never have done were I to repeat the numberless stories I have heard of the opinions and conversations held here respecting commerce, independence of England, and the utility of the volunteers to force England to consent to all the demands of this country. Those who mean the best, and those who pretend to mean the best say, What can we do? We disapprove of all these violences, but we have the bayonet at our throats, and must submit, and indeed it is not possible to conceive a parliament more under the subjection of the people than this is. I hear that a sham suit is to be instituted in order to bring an appeal before this House of Lords, and woe betide their Lordships if they reject the appeal."

Regrets that Lord Weymouth has left the Secretary's office, but has no objection to Lord Hillsborough. Hopes for union among the ministers, as the King's authority would be considerably shaken if a total change should take place.

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1779, Dec. 9. Dublin Castle. Private.—Stating that the news of the commercial indulgence which Lord North will propose for Ireland has given great satisfaction to all moderate men. On the raising of new regiments, &c.

Postscript.—Sir Richard Heron wishes to retire. It will be absolutely necessary to have someone in his place "who can firmly explain and support the measures of government in the House of Commons."

The Bishop of Ossory to the Same.

1779, Dec. 12. Dublin.—Complimentary.

Thomas Waite to the Same.

1779, Dec. 13. Dublin Castle. Private.—" . . . Yesterday Sir Richard Heron received a letter of the 9th inst. from Mr. Chanier, inclosing by Lord Hillsborough's order a copy of the Resolutions which Lord North read in the House of Commons on that day, and which he says his Lordship proposed to move as on this. They are so very beneficial to this kingdom and so much beyond what they had any reason to expect, that my Lord Lieutenant thought it right immediately to make them known to the Privy Council, where I hear they were received with great satisfaction, and I am further inform'd this day that they have spread a general joy through the city. There was no idea of our being able to obtain a free trade without an union, and until that

is established the thorns are still left in the sides of English Government. We shall have the same disagreeable road to travel every Parliament winter, for we shall always have something to wish and to raise mobs for, and how can we doubt of success after what we have lately obtained. The greatest blessing that could befal this country is an union upon proper terms. I shall not be surprized, even before this Session closes, to see attempts made to abolish Poynings's law, to deny the power of the British Parliament to bind us by British laws in any case, and to set up a claim in the House of Lords here to hear causes upon appeal from the Four Courts. . . .

"Mr. Fox seems to have winced at the charge of the English and Irish Opposition being in correspondence. That gentleman is so very abusive and petulant in his performances, that I wonder he is not called out ten times in a day."

THOMAS WAITE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Dec. 14.—Giving further information of the success of the Resolutions. When read in Council, "each member stood up and declared his perfect satisfaction with them excepting the Speaker, the Provost, Mr. Vice-Treasurer Flood and Mr. Brownlow, who sat sullen and opened not their mouths." Lord Charlemont is contented, and it is to be presumed that Mr. Grattan will not differ from his patron.

[THE SAME to the SAME?]

1779, Dec. 16.—Defending Lord Buckinghamshire from the charge of having neglected the political friends of Lords Townshend and Harcourt, and giving further details of the general satisfaction of members of the Privy Council with Lord North's Resolutions. *Docketted in Lord George's writing*, "Mr. W."

LORD BELLAMONT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Dec. 17. Dublin.—A long letter, giving a very minute account of the part taken by the writer in the debates in the House of Lords, and of an interview with the Lord Lieutenant.

LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE to the SAME.

1779, Dec. 21. Dublin Castle. Private.—"After having experienced many, very many, anxious moments, it is with pleasure I can assure you, that the proceedings yesterday in the Irish House of Commons exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and fully met my wishes. The tryumph of Lord North and the disgrace of his English opponents were equaly compleat. Two resolutions expressing the satisfaction of Ireland pass'd with mark'd acclamation, not a dissentient voice.

"Every effort has been exerted by the emissarys of faction, France, and America to check this gratitude, which have had no

other operation but to prevent a general illumination, as the magistrates apprehended it might have occasioned a mob riot. The Castle was to have been illuminated upon Sunday night. The Lord Mayor signifyd a request that it might be defer'd till the next day in order to enable the city of Dublin to make the necessary preparations. In the morning I receiv'd a message from the Lord Mayor, &c., earnestly desiring it might be postpon'd, which was acquiesced in, as had any disagreeable circumstance arisen, the blame would then have fallen upon the Lord Lieutenant.

"There now seems a fair prospect that the Irish business will proceed after the holidays without material difficultys. More embarassment is to be apprehended from the insidious insinuations and secret intrigues of those who enjoy the greatest favors from the Crown than from any part of Opposition. The Provost has done a great deal of mischief at Corke. I have been accus'd of withholding confidence. Some, I doubt, have been trusted too much, but I will not tire you with suspicions, tho' perhaps founded.

"Mr. Foster is, to the conviction of my own mind, acting a fair and honorable part. It was his firmness which prevented the whole spirit of the Resolutions of yesterday from being negotiated into nothing, before the House met. The Speaker privately labor'd totaly to prevent the measure. Your Lordship will be cautious how you communicate that circumstance. I am assur'd that several of the speeches of yesterday were very fine performances, particularly Mr. Forster's, Mr. Daly's, Mr. Ogle's, Mr. Burgh's, and Mr. H. Flood's. The Attorney-General clos'd very well with expressing a wish that the newspapers should not venture upon this occasion to misrepresent the language of Parliament."

Lord Bellamont to Lord George Germain.

1779, Dec. 21. Dublin.—Concerning Lord North's Resolutions. "The Resolutions have just now past our House with perfect unanimity. They exactly correspond with those of the House of Commons, which I had the honour of sending to your Lordship. The motion was made by Lord Shannon, as I believe I mentioned, and was seconded by the Archbishop of Cashell."*

Revenue of Ireland.

1779.—Abstracts of the expenditure and revenue receipts of Ireland, for two years ending Lady Day, 1779.

Charge of Government:—

	£	s.	d.
Civil List	336,475	0	6
Military List	937,679	13	0¾
Extraordinary Payments... ...	432,474	3	6½
Total ...	£1,706,628	17	1¼

* Dr. Charles Agar, afterwards Lord Somerton.

Produce of the Revenue :—

	£	s.	d.
Hereditary Revenue	668,123	14	10¾
Additional Duties	480,921	1	10¾
Stamp Duties	28,787	16	1
Poundage and Pell fees, &c. ...	42,865	4	3½
Total ...	£1,220,697	17	2

Excess of Charge over Revenue, ... £485,930 19 11¼

As compared with the two preceding years, the charge shows an increase of £77,253 2*s.* 9¼*d.*; and the Revenue a decrease of £323,230 4*s.* 3½*d.*

The Present State of Ireland.

1779. Paper unsigned, headed as above.—The chief causes of the present distress are said to be the decrease in the value of land; the impoverishment of the farmers and manufacturers by the decline in the linen trade, the non-payments of rent and of interest; the fear of invasion; the increase of the National Debt; additional taxation, and notwithstanding this, a decrease in the revenue. These evils are principally imputed to commercial restrictions and the American War.

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord G. Germain.

1780, Jan. 25. Secret.—Sir Richard Heron has requested Lord North to send some proper person in his place, and the writer has signified his desire that Mr. Eden might be induced to come. Defends himself against the accusation that he has exhibited supineness and dissipation. "There is not a man in the office who will not vouch for my having paid a very unusual attention to business. Last summer, during Sir Richard Heron's absence and Mr. Waite's indisposition, I frequently acted as a *commis*. Mr. Waite's health is now so bad that he cannot in fact be considered as an official man."

The Same to the Same.

1780, Feb. 3. Private.—Announcing the death of Lord George Germain's "old friend Mr. Waite, who after having gradualy declin'd was seiz'd yesterday with a slight convulsion fit, after which he fell asleep and died without a groan." The writer has fixed upon Mr. Sackville Hamilton to succeed him.

The Same to the Same.

1780, Feb. 5. Private.—"This is wrote with the same degree of confidence which dictated your Lordship's letter of the 31st.

"From my first arrival, no opportunity has been omitted of misrepresenting my conduct by a few gentlemen who have found means to persuade Lord North's interior cabinet of their having a

degree of weight in this kingdom which by no means belongs to them. If, whenever his Majesty names my successor, he should lean upon them for support the publick business will be very ill conducted. A man of the first consequence in this kingdom, and of those most zealously attach'd to his Majesty's Government, mentioned lately to Sir Richard Heron that my administration was in an awkward situation when I could not dispatch an express without it being accompanied with another calculated to cut my throat. Some weeks ago I evidently trac'd a concerted plan to frighten me from hence at the same moment that insinuations were propagated in England of its being impossible for me to carry on the business, and a list of the House of Commons transmitted by a very officious but very ignorant gentleman, in which the Opposition had nearly a majority. Lord Shannon, Lord Ely, the Clements's, and Sir R. Deane are completely satisfyd with me. The Archbishop of Cashel has cordialy undertaken to watch the business of the House of Lords. As to the Provost, he is impracticable. Upon the whole I do not believe that the gentlemen who illiberaly and ungratefully affect to complain of being neglected could make four votes in Parliament.

"Mr. Conolly has never during my residence in this kingdom attempted to interfere in my councils, or even to talk upon business, professing himself always to stand independent of Government. At this time indeed (and the *Attorney-General* is the loudest in declaring it), he is a most active and efficient friend to Government, and I am confident will be the first man to express his disapprobation of any motion relative to Poynings Act or any captious question whatsoever. The Duke of Richmond has indirectly attempted to interefere with his politicks, but met with no attention. Mr. Conolly is rather upon cool terms with the Duke of Leinster, and something worse with the late Prime Sergeant. Without troubling you with tedious particulars, you may rest persuaded that no assurances of support from one quarter prevents me from seeking it in another, for the majority upon any question should be very superior to awe the ill-dispos'd without doors. Tho' such an opinion cannot be officially risqued, I will whisper your Lordship that there seems to be the fairest prospect of my closing the session with honor. . . ."

R. [Fowler], Archbishop of Dublin, to Lord George Germain.

1780, Feb. 5. The Palace [Dublin].—Since his former letter, (praying his Lordship's assistance against the Bill sent hence for the Repeal of the Sacramental Test), the four Archbishops and the Bishops now in Dublin have written to the Archbishop of Canterbury desiring his help also. But in case the Bill be approved by the English Privy Council they now take the liberty of recommending strongly that the following or a similar declaration should be inserted to be made by every person before his admission to any office of power or trust in Ireland :—

"I, A.B. do solemnly profess and declare that I do not believe that the Publick Worship of the Church of Ireland as by law established is sinfull or idolatrous, and that I do not hold myself bound in conscience to use any endeavours to introduce any other form of Publick Worship which in some respects I may conceive to be more expedient." If the Bill should be returned without such a declaration from Dissenters, the Bishops have reason to apprehend "that our religion would not remain many years the Established one in Ireland, and if they adhere to their ancient tenets will not be even tolerated."

The Bishop of Killaloe to Lord George Germain.

1780, Feb. 5. Dublin Castle.—Thanks him for his appointment, and expresses his belief that the Lord Lieutenant will have respectable majorities when Parliament meets next week.

Sir James Caldwell to the Same.

1780, Feb. 19. Bath.—Encloses copy of a letter received from General Fraser, suggesting that he should raise a regiment of cavalry in Ireland to be commanded by his brother, Frederick Caldwell, now a Major of Cavalry in the Portuguese service.

P.S.—"I was yesterday informed by a letter from Ireland that Mr. Grattan and Mr. Yelverton had proposed in the Commons that no supplies should be granted until Ireland was admitted to be as free with respect to the controul of the English Parliament as it is now in its liberty of trade, and that Sir Richard Heron consented that the supplies should not be gone into until after the Assizes." Much has been said in the Irish debates of Sir John Poyning's Law. One member described it as the Palladium of the constitution, to which another responded that he wished to God a Ulysses could be found to steal it away. "I have had lately some conversations with Lord Gower, who is now here. When we were together at Paris I had the honour of his acquaintance. His Lordship does not seem inclined to opposition, and mentioned to Colonel Bathurst and to me that he was well pleased that his county (Staffordshire) had not petitioned. Lady Gower is a most zealous friend to the Ministry. Her Ladyship said she hoped my near connexion to Lord Shelburne did not make me of the same way of thinking; I said no person could be more averse to it."

Sir John Irwine to the Same.

1780, February 20. Royal Hospital.—I say nothing of the politics here, as General Cunninghame will tell you everything. I do not think his account will please you; it is not possible "for any Government here to have been more to the wish of those who want to throw off English government than the present. It would be useless were I to attempt telling you the ridiculous things I hear every day of the Secretary [Heron], and the contempt he is held in by all parties." Lady Harriot Hobart is to

be married immediately to a Mr. Corry, a man of great estate and wealth. Poor Lady Kildare is dead. Lord Ross has got it into his head that there is to be some expedition sent from this country, and is most anxious to serve on it, but does not wish his desire to be known on this side of the water "lest he should have his wife and all his relations teazing him to death." I shall be obliged to you if you will lay his request before the King. No officer could have done his duty with more care and exactness than he has done ever since he was employed, or shown more intelligence, zeal and alacrity upon all occasions. "He never asks any questions, but on a moment's warning is ready to mount his horse, and to go anywhere or to do anything. . . .

"For God's sake what could have made Lord Carmarthen (to all appearance) so ungrateful to the King? I hope it was not his being refused the place of Cofferer. Who is to have the key in his room? Will the Duke of Dorset get it?" Lady Crosbie mends apace.

MAJOR CALDWELL.

[1780, February?]—Plan of the above for raising a regiment of cavalry in Ireland.

The EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1780], March 6.—Stating that Sir Richard Heron is on the point of starting for England, and will be followed in a few days by the Speaker, who, though a zealous Irishman, knows the true interests of his country. The business of the commercial regulations has met with such delay that it has had to be postponed until after the recess. The determined language of the Duke of Leinster in the House of Lords has had a very material effect, and many respectable gentlemen, who mean to attend the Assizes, have pledged themselves to use every endeavour to check the spirit so industriously excited.

Underwritten, in the Earl's own hand.

March 11. *I rather suspect . . . that the original of this letter was in the mail which was sunk when the packet was taken. Your lordship will attribute to the hurry of business and this being fixed for my daughter's wedding day, my having employed another hand to copy this letter from my book.*"

LIEUT.-GEN. CUNINGHAME* to [THE SAME].

1780, April 20. Dublin.—"Yesterday Mr. Grattan introduced his resolution, and the Speaker did not quit the chair till between 6 and 7 o'clock this morning." An amendment to the resolution was carried by the Government by 136 to 97, "but although

* M.P. for Monaghan; commander of the forces in Ireland, 1793; afterwards Lord Rossmore. He was A.D.C. to the Primate when the latter was Lord Justice in 1751. *See* p. 172 above.

there were 136 of opinion that such a resolution at this time was inexpedient, there was not a single member that spoke who did not declare that Ireland was not bound by British Acts of Parliament in any cases whatsoever. . . . . It seemed to be the general sense of gentlemen that there should be Irish Acts to confirm all British Acts that are necessary and now in force here. . . . Many gentlemen who were magistrates declared they would never execute for the future any part of the British Act of Mutiny."

William Knox to Lord George Germain.

1780, May 26. Dublin.—Concerning the Mutiny Bill. Lord Buckingham is not ignorant of anything it behoves him to know in his situation, and were he unconnected with the families he is related to in Ireland, and had an abler Secretary, no man is fitter for Lord Lieutenant in the House of Peers, but Mr. Conolly and Sir Richard [Heron] are two millstones about his neck. "Firmness and temperance, with a readiness at expedients, will do here yet, but you must be sparing of your instructions, for it is much better people here should use their discretion without pledging administration, and then your judgement has free scope to operate afterwards."

Sir J. Irwine to the Same.

1780, July 11. Dublin.—"I landed here on Saturday night after a most tedious passage, and a very narrow escape from the *Black Prince* privateer. I passed by a vessel about three leagues from the hill of Howth which had been taken and ransomed a few hours before; and I find that within these six days upwards of thirty vessels, chiefly colliers, have been taken by that privateer. The people here complain very much on this subject. I suppose my Lord Lieutenant will make some representation to England about it.

"I found his Excellency very much agitated, and very apprehensive that any alteration should be made in the Mutiny Bill, for he assures me that if any material alteration is made the bill will be most assuredly rejected here, and every sort of confusion will follow. His Excellency thinks it is absolutely necessary to temporise for the present with this country, and in more peaceable times, under another Governor and another mode of government, to try to recover that authority which seems now to be shaken. I say it is more than shaken, for I think it is gone. It is to no purpose to repeat what I have so often said when I last had the honour to see you, that I do not meet a single Englishman here (the Beresfords excepted) and I have not yet seen the Primate nor Lord Chief Justice Paterson since my return. The fact is they (if any really do wish well to English Government) are affraid of their popularity, and of the volunteers, and it seems not unreasonable for men under these impressions to wish the Mutiny Bill to pass in a manner which will be agreable here, because if the army were to be disbanded, or not kept under discipline, the only sort of support they can have will be their

popularity, and their only protection the volunteers, which naturally makes me reflect on the original misfortune, which was suffering these volunteers ever to be formed, and which I still think might have been stopped at first. Lord Buckingham says he wishes most earnestly that he could see the King, and explain to him and the Ministers the state of this country.

"I most sincerly congratulate you on the good news from Sir Henry Clinton. I think we shall all live to see matters settled in that part of the world.

"With all Sir George Rodney's pains, and a great deal he takes, I find he cannot bring the French fairly to action. I trust he will be able to give a good account of the Spanish Fleet he is now looking out for.

"We talk here as if there might have been an action off or near Brest, between Admiral Geary and the combined fleets; if there is any thing in it, I suppose we shall soon hear from you." The letter concludes with family matters.

George Howse to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 14. Wicklow.—Informing him of the success of his recommendation to the Archbishop of Dublin in the writer's favour, and of the latter's appointment to a living worth near 150*l.* a year. "But, my good Lord, I have received greater advantages from your Lordship's goodness than you were aware of. I have lately married a most amiable young lady of a good family, and with a fortune nearly sufficient to pay off my incumbrances, and whose friends were induced to consent to my happiness merely because they considered me as under your patronage and protection."

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1780, Aug. 14. Private.—"As yet the efforts of faction to raise any appearance of sedition have been ineffectual. . . . The future Lord Mayor of Dublin, tho' rather dull, is very well disposed and resolute. This circumstance is not without its weight."

R., Archbishop of Dublin, to the Same.

1780, Aug. 16. Dublin.—Captain McBride has taken a French man-of-war of 74 guns. The new Sugar Bill was carried in the House of Commons by 119 to 38. The return of the Mutiny Bill has closed and healed imaginary wounds, having operated like a charm on many turbulent spirits. "This morning an account of the Bishop of Cloyne's death was received, which very fortunately makes room on our bench for Dr. Woodward, a very learned, able divine, and one of the most respectable characters in the kingdom. He is an Englishman and has been many years Dean of Clogher. As my Lord Lieutenant does him the honour of recommending

him to his Majesty for the vacant bishoprick, I flatter myself there cannot be the least shadow of doubt of the Dean's succeeding to it. But shou'd there be the least demur, may I take the liberty of intreating your Lordship to represent the real worth of the Dean where I am sure such intrinsick and transcendent merit is always duly regarded. Dr. Woodward had formerly the honour of being acquainted with Lord North, and is at present very well acquainted with Lord Nugent. Should he, the Dean, have the misfortune of not succeeding to the bishoprick, it wou'd, I am convinced, be one of the most sensible mortifications that cou'd possibly happen to Mr. Conolly, whose principal object here for some years has been the procuring his friend, the Dean, lawn-sleeves. And allow me to say that altho' Mr. Conolly is sometimes a little eccentrick, yet, believe me, the two kingdoms are highly indebted to him for curbing, repressing, and stifling the democratick and enthusiastick spirit so ready to burst out on many occasions during the last and the present year. For besides his parliamentary interest (which is considerable) he has a very great personal one in this kingdom, particularly in the north. The character I have had the honor of giving your Lordship of the Dean was not dictated by friendship (altho' I have a sincere one for him), but is a tribute due to his transcendent merit. Therefore I flatter myself your Lordship will excuse the liberty I have taken above."

P.S.—"Past eleven—House of Commons not yet up."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 17.—"Your Lordship will not be sorry to learn that the Army Bill was carry'd last night in the House of Commons, 115 to 63, tellers included. . . . The spirits of the opposition appear'd to be greatly sunk, and the debate was conducted with, of late, unprecedented tameness. This division and that of Monday, 119 to 38, cannot be deemed a discreditable conclusion of so turbulent a sessions. The language held by the gentlemen who first introduced the Army Bill could not but be offensive to English Government, otherwise, as it now stands, it appears to me in every light a most desirable measure."

John, Bishop of Ossory,* to the Same.

1780, Aug. 26. Dublin.—On my return to Dublin, "I found the session here drawing to a conclusion, and party business within doors pretty effectually silenced for the present, tho' some of our worthy, or rather worthless city of Dublin patriots seem more violent, if possible, than ever, and the *Freeman's Journal* and some other prints have been lately more than commonly inflammatory." Resolutions in both Houses of Parliament directing the writers, publishers, &c., to be prosecuted "will probably help to cool the ardor of these wrong-headed and wrong-hearted gentry."

* Dr. Hotham, translated to Clogher, 1782.

"Your Lordship's hint on the subject of my removal at a proper time to Clogher is so full that I cannot possibly mistake it, and so friendly at the same time that I can never express my thanks sufficiently. I leave the matter entirely to your Lordship, and do not intend to be impertinent or intrusive any farther on the subject, convinced that I have nothing to do but sit still, quiet and silent. I understand, however, by accident that I have a rival, whom I confess, in the words of Shakespear, 'my wisdom fears.' It is Dr. Hawkins, who having just succeeded to Raphoe, which I understood was to have contented him for the rest of his life, now thinks he should be better contented with Clogher for the rest of his life, unless something still better than that should afterwards befall him and content him better still to the end of his life. Lord North being his patron and (what perhaps is much more to the purpose) Mr. Keene being his sollicitor at Lord North's elbow, I confess alarms me. Yet considering the wonder of everyone here at his having gotten thus far, and the deplorable policy of giving such a borough as that of Clogher into the hands of a person of this country, on which I need not expatiate in writing to your Lordship, I am willing to hope that in times like the present he may not succeed to the particular see in question. But be all this as it may, I do not mean to add another word on the subject. I am very certain that it is not possible for me to be in better hands; and my chief wish is that my poor friend of Clogher may live to see the beginning of another administration here, tho' as soon as the autumn is fairly set in I shall justly tremble for him."

The Archbishop of Dublin to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 30. Tallaght.—Has written as pressing a letter to Mr. Dealtry for his votes in favour of Mr. Mansfield and Lord Hyde as he could possibly pen.

General Cuninghame to the Same.

1780, Aug. 31. Dublin.—I am just returned from seeing Lord and Lady Clermont set out for England. He has been very active and of singular use to the government since he came here. He wishes much to see you and will be able to tell you more than any other person that can come from this country.

"The Lord Lieutenant will make his speech on Saturday, and then I sincerely hope this country will go to rest for twelve months. It will not now break out into outrages of any kind, yet still it will grumble while the American War lasts.

"Since I wrote the above we have been at the Castle with the most flattering addresses any Lord Lieutenant ever received, and I may say the House of Commons is now shut, thank God, for twelve months."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 31. Private.—" . . . The Duke of Leinster, notwithstanding his late frank and cordial support of Government, has baffled some weak attempts to remove him from his command in the Dublin Volunteers, and Mr. Conolly informs me that his letters from the north give him some reason to expect that two considerable corps mean to publish resolutions disapproving of the late infamous publications in the newspapers of this city. Mr. Conolly has been hung up in effigy at Belfast, but their resentment, it is said, was satisfyd with his martyrdom. They declar'd, however, that they would subscribe for the assistance of any printers or publishers who were prosecuted. Since this was begun I have received most flattering addresses from both Houses of Parliament, which were voted *nem. con.*

"As it had been rumour'd that magazines of warlike stores had been form'd in the north of Ireland, I employ'd an intelligent friend to investigate that fact, and he reports that the whole quantity purchas'd in this year is only 161 barrels, most of which must already have been consum'd in Reviews and Field Days."

Col. William Tonson to the Same.

1780, Sept. 8 and 9. Rathcormuck.—Respecting the writer's claim to a peerage. Two years ago, the Lord Lieutenant wrote to him as follows:—" Permit me to advise you to wait with "patience till the time of promotion shall come, for it can be "no disgrace to you to remain a commoner of great weight and "property till his Majesty thinks it fitting to augment the "peerage. If any others were made and you omitted, I should "joyn with you in thinking that your merit and services were "not properly rewarded." Is therefore "sanctified by such "great authority" in thinking himself ill-used.

Lord Buckinghamshire to the Same.

1780, Sept. 13. Secret.—" Since his not being upon the list of those recommended to be Peers has been hinted to Col. Tonson, he has produc'd letters from your Lordship tending to shew that you were particularly sollicitous for his receiving that mark of his Majesty's favor. Tho' the interference of no person whatsoever ever shall or ought to be more attended to by me than your Lordship's, yet in the multiplicity of business, what you had said to me upon this subject had escaped my recollection, except your having once slightly hinted that you wish'd this promotion for him. But without unnecessarily dwelling longer upon the subject, if you signify to me a desire that Col. Tonson may be created a Peer, his recommendation shall immediately follow those already sent.

"Upon reconsidering the transactions of the late sessions, the surmounting the difficultys with which this Government was attended appears to me miraculous.

"Your Lordship well knows the wild ideas which had been conceived in this kingdom and the little awe in which Ireland stood of the Mother Country, from those embarassments which, almost in every part of her extensive dominions, distress'd her, from America, from France, from Spain, from the equivocal proceedings of the Dutch and some of the Northern Powers, but more particularly from the desperate conduct of domestick faction, which operated not only upon Parliamentary business, but even in some instances upon points immediately connected with the operations of the war. To the inconvenience of which these circumstances were productive must be added the open opposition and secret machinations of persons principaly distinguished by the favor of my predecessors; the Provost, Mr. Flood, and surely the exertions which were necessary to the placing Mr. Pery in the chair may add that gentleman to the number.

"I should also mention the lukewarmness of others and the total want of cordiality and concert between those who took the lead in publick business, which necessitated me to treat of every point with each individualy, and to court, sooth, and conciliate at moments when I was dissatisfyd with all. These together with a series of lesser evils, and an idea very generaly, tho' perhaps erroneously, conceiv'd that the Lord Lieutenant was not a favorite in the Cabinet, form such a total, that as he can now risque the assertion of not having fail'd in any material point of business, he will not be accus'd of supineness, of ignorance, or of notorious want of ability.

"I am now waiting with a degree of sollicitude for Lord North's answers to my last letters, and cannot, from knowing how many underplots are carryd on by gentlemen here with some on your side of the water, but doubt a little with respect to his decision upon the situations of the Provost and Mr. Flood. One circumstance cannot escape his penetration, that should those gentlemen remain undisturb'd in their present employments, it would obviously be infer'd that the opposing Lord Buckingham's administration was but a venial trespass."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1780, Sept. 21. Dublin Castle. Private.—By this post, Col. Tonson's name will be added to those recommended for a peerage. He has written a letter to Sir Richard Heron "which do's him great honor, and now fully justifys that step."

The Same to the Same.

1780, Sept. 30. Private.—Sir R. Heron's illness and total inability to attend to business, as well as my not yet having heard from Lord North, will probably prevent my projected expedition to Cork. "I wrote a line yesterday to his Lordship, pressing to be favor'd with his sentiments upon the ideas which have been

submitted with relation to Mr. Flood and the Provost. Till those measures are determined it is not possible for me to digest a plan to satisfy the well grounded claims of many expectants.

"We wait with trembling impatience for accounts from Rodney and Sir H. Clinton. You will by this time have seen the very circumstantial details which have been publish'd at Glascow of insurrections in several parts of South America. Should the whole prove a lye it is exceedingly elaborate and not uningenious.

"It is most kind in you so repeatedly to notice me. No other person whatsoever writes to me from London. Lord Barrington and Sir Charles Thompson are in the country, and Lord Hillsborough, since his late calamity, sends none but mere official letters.

"Upon a very urgent sollicitation from the Duke of Leinster I wrote last night to Lord Sandwich expressing his wish that his brother should be appointed Captain of the *Belle Poule* frigate. It was my duty to recommend the measure earnestly. The name of Fitzgerald, ever of consequence in Ireland, is at this juncture a material object."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1780, Oct. 5. Private.—"I this morning received a letter from Lord Hillsborough informing me that his Majesty had signify'd an intention of speedily appointing Lord Carlisle to this Government. Lord North has not as yet favor'd me with a line in answer to my several letters of the beginning of the last month, which leaves me under the greatest perplexity with respect to the fulfilling my engagements and maintaining the credit of his Majesty's Government. You will oblige me very much in writing to me as early as you can the precise time when my successor may be expected in Dublin. Sir Richard Heron's illness continues, which will keep me in the vicinity of Dublin."

The Same to the Same.

1780, Oct. 20. Altidore.—"The intelligence of Lord Carlisle's actual appointment was rather unexpected, as Lord Hillsborough had mentioned an intention of previously informing me when the day was fix'd. Very probably he himself had no notice of it. My situation till Lord North favors me with a letter is most whimsicaly awkward, and my mind, naturaly anxious and impatient, is distress'd in a degree that is almost insupportable. Your Lordship obligingly insinuates your opinion that in quitting this kingdom I shall have reason to be satisfyd with English administration. I will try to encourage that idea, yet you will confess that the First Minister's leaving my letter respecting my recall unnotic'd for six weeks, nay even after my successor was appointed, is a most melancholy prognostick.

"Your Lordship cannot be more firmly persuaded than myself that Ireland is call'd upon by honor and interest efficiently to assist Great Britain; but how seldom is the political conduct of

nations dictated by honor or essential interests? My only idea in recommending the raising new corps here for foreign service arose from the difficulty of recruiting in the ordinary mode. The following state[ment] will shew you, in a degree, the grounds for that opinion.

"Upon the 30th of January, 1779, this establishment wanted 1,967 men; at the end of August 1780 (nineteen months afterwards), the deficiency was 1,274. Permit me also to observe that a considerable proportion of the recruits has been rais'd in Scotland for the Highland Regiments. In the last two months the desertion, &c., has exceeded the recruits by 27. It is suppos'd that the Regiments destin'd for foreign service will lose some, and must discharge many before they embark, and that they will want drafts to compleat them, even to the English establishment. But I am assur'd that in general both the officers and men are happy at the prospect of having an opportunity of distinguishing themselves.

"Lord Hillsborough, in a letter receiv'd with your Lordship's of the 13th, yesterday, suggests, but merely as his private sentiments, that Lord Carlisle is to set out on the 23rd or 24th of November. This hint must necessarily hurry all my arrangements, and if I do not hear in two or three days from Lord North, I shall forward a list of some promotions in the peerage, and the names of two or three gentlemen who have applyd for seats at the Privy Council, to Lord Hillsborough, who probably may favor me with an answer. . . . This is wrote from a most pleasing spot in the county of Wicklow belonging to General Pomeroy and adjoining to your friend Cuninghame's. I came here on Wednesday, and had flatter'd myself to have passed a few days in the relaxation of cheerful tranquillity with those gentlemen."

Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord George Germain.

1780, Oct. 26. Secret.—"In a letter from Lord Hillsborough this morning receiv'd, he mentions that Lord Carlisle's departure is fix'd so early as the 5th of December. Lord North's obdurate silence continu's, and the whole proceeding can only be construed into either contempt or disapprobation.

"As it is my wish to be in a degree prepar'd for the reception which is to meet me upon my return, I must earnestly intreat your Lordship, as probably the last act of your friendship in my political situation, to give me a hint of the ground on which I stand with his Majesty and the Cabinet. You may depend upon it that if you wish your communication should be a secret, your letter shall be burn'd as soon as read."

The Bishop of Ossory to the Same.

1780, Nov. 3. Dublin.—For the most part complimentary. The writer has been unable to leave Dublin for his Palace of Kilkenny. "I think it next to certain that I shall remain here, to attend my old master, Lord Buckingham, to the water side on

his departure, and to prostrate myself at the feet of my new one, Lord Carlisle, on his arrival. We understand here that he is to leave London on the 5th of next month. May his journey and voyage be favorable, and his administration honorable to himself by being serviceable to his country! I can assure his Lordship, though it is to be hoped he will gain that knowledge from far abler mouths than mine, or scanty will be his information, that if influence over Ireland is at this juncture to be attempted to be recovered by England, the labour he has undertaken is Herculean indeed! . . ."

The Bishop of Ossory to Lord George Germain.

1780, Dec. 14. Dublin.—I am impatient to express my heartfelt gratitude for your Lordship's friendship, which "has set me on a footing so superior to that of any bishop of my time, or perhaps of any other, with regard to a new Viceroy, that when I am introduced to him, instead of suing for protection, I shall be able to hold my head up in a decent proper manner, conscious of the good wishes and aware of the recommendation of my sovereign, as well as firmly supported by the ablest and firmest of his servants."

The Same to the Same.

1781, Jan. 26. Dublin.—Thanking his Lordship for his friendly offices with the King, in consequence of which his Majesty had personally recommended him to the notice of the Lord Lieutenant.

Wm. Eden* to the Same.

1781, March 10. Phœnix Park.—" . . . I will not trouble your Lordship with our still-water system of politics; we are all quiet in this kingdom, and apparently well disposed to continue so. Your late manly conduct respecting the Mutiny Bill make (*sic*) an excellent impression here. I sincerely hope that we may have the merit of continuing very dull and uninteresting in the eyes of the great world. My situation is hitherto as comfortable as a state of honourable exile can be; but it is confoundedly expensive. I am obliged to live as English ministers ought to live, and am much less able to support it. . . . My hopes of recovering America have never quitted me. I had the honour of being, at some periods of our military mischances and misconducts, the only individual who was sanguine enough not to think the matter desperate. At present every man is full of hopes, and I begin to be full of fears. If you relax one moment in consequence of the cajoling appearances on the continent of Europe, the bad consequences may be irrecoverable. Then my

* Chief Secretary to Lord Carlisle. Raised to the peerage of Ireland, in 1789, as Lord Auckland.

heart akes too about the Gibraltar business. We should however do well there if our fleet were now fairly at sea. We live pleasantly here, but I cannot find any man who likes much to talk politics. Mr. Green, your Lordship's deputy, continues extremely ill. . . . His nephew, Mr. Patrickson, the third deputy, is a young man of much merit. Perhaps it would be reasonable to give Green a pension after his forty-eight years service; Patrickson gives up all his time to the office and receives at present only 50*l.* a year."

The Bishop of Ossory to Viscount Sackville.*

1782, March 27. Dublin.—Expressive of gratitude to his Lordship for being the means of his gaining the great object of his desires [*i.e.* the see of Clogher].

William Eden to the Same.

[1782?], April 21. Phœnix Park.—Regrets the lost occasion of raising some regiments in Ireland for active service. Nothing was wanting save confidence in the Irish people, but the conduct pursued by the English War Office has been full of inconsistencies, distrusts and embarrassments.

The Bishop of Clogher to the Same.

1782, July 9. Dublin.—Having lately returned from an expedition of no small consequence to me, I have two of your Lordship's letters to answer. It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find our sentiments co-inciding with respect to Tuam. When Mr. Eden suggested it to me last spring, I told him I would thank him heartily for Clogher, but not at all for Tuam, and when the Duke of Portland, three days ago, began to apologise for not giving me the Archbishopric, I assured him that I was perfectly contented, and wished by all means that it might be given to a gentleman of this country. According to common report, the Bishop of Ferns is to go to Tuam, and Clonfert to Ferns. "In the beginning of this letter I mentioned my having been lately on an expedition. It was to Clogher. I took advantage of our present parliamentary recess to run down and see what sort of a thing I had gotten. Since your Lordship was at Clogher things are greatly changed. My cathedral is now no longer a miserable but very neat and respectable parish church. It was rebuilt by Bishop Sterne and substantially repaired and beautified by the late bishop. Bishop Sterne also built the present palace, which though not so well contrived as it might have been, is far from a despicable place of residence, especially as my predecessor added two wings, the one an eating room of thirty feet by twenty, the other a library of thirty-two feet by twenty-two, exclusive of the bow window in

* See note on p. 77 above.

each. The demesne is sufficiently planted, and from that circumstance, and the uncommon irregularity of the ground, in my opinion extremely beautiful. It measures 560 English acres, and the whole is surrounded by a stone wall, without a road or even a pathway through any part of the ground except for my own servants, such as parkkeeper, shepherd, &c. My beef, mutton, veal, and lamb are all as good in their kinds as can be, the farm is to produce pigs, poultry, cream and butter, hay, oats, and straw. The decoy gives me teal and wild ducks. The warren supplies me with as excellent rabbits as I ever tasted; the pidgeon house with pidgeons; the water furnishes carp, tench, trout, eels, perch and pike, the venison in the park is remarkably good, and a most extensive range of mountain, of which I have absolute dominion, yields in the proper seasons an astonishing profusion of partridge, hares, and grouse. The city of Clogher stands on my ground, and the citizens are all of course my tenants. The borough is at present secure and likely to continue so till the present or some future furiously patriotic and vehemently virtuous House of Commons do me the honour to inform me (as I expect will be the case next session if not sooner) that it will be better in the hands of the volunteers than in mine. The country is healthy and fine and the roads about me very good. The diocese is in the highest order of any in Ireland, the clergy are a most respectable body of men, many of them very learned, all of them conscientious and exemplary, and except two or three for whom I must get houses to be built, strictly resident on their respective benefices. Finally, the income of the see is not less, as I am informed, than 4,000*l.* per annum, which in my judgement is no trifling emolument.

"Such, my Lord, is now my situation, and with unfeigned gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of all events, and those steady and active friends with whose assistance He has blessed me in my pursuits, I may now I think sit quietly down in my retreat and enjoy in my own way for the rest of my life the very great prize I have had the good fortune to draw in the lottery of the world. These are not times in which a person of my disposition can delight. So long as reason is attended to, a man in my line of life may hope to be of some little publick use by the exertion of that degree of common sense which God has given him. But when infatuation shall evidently appear to prevail, when solid argument and sound doctrine shall be drowned in clamor and confusion, and everything tend fast to anarchy and oppression, what is left for the man of moderation but to withdraw in time, and in silence lament the evils which all his endeavors could not prevent?

"These reflections will perhaps serve to show your Lordship my opinion of the wise step you took in retiring from the hurry and weight of public business, and that I do not hesitate in determining whether 'the state of care and responsibility or of ease and quiet be the most preferable state.' I may perhaps have expressed myself rather strongly, I may have drawn somewhat too gloomy a picture, and I may be altogether out in my politics; perhaps I may be apprehensive without a cause. I

shall rejoice in finding all this the case: but if I be not more mistaken than I ever was in all my life, we have as yet spoken the prologue only; the play is still to come. I hope it will not prove a tragedy; a comedy I am very sure it cannot.

"But enough of topics that are endless in point of speculation. Time, and probably a short time, will serve to shew how far Ireland is a contented country or cordially wishes the return of the former lustre or prosperity of Britain. In the meanwhile, my Lord, let us hope the best, and lay aside political subjects for the present. As to matters of a less publick nature, I will only add that in my own profession I am content and happy, and whilst I retain my senses never shall forget to whom I am indebted for such comforts. Methinks I hear you say 'Content and happy? How strange a language in a man, especially a clergyman at the age of forty-seven!' The case, my Lord, I will allow to be a rare one, but by the goodness of my sovereign in attending to the sollicitations of the warmest and steadiest friend I ever had or can have, such *is* the case at this moment with your Lordship's most obliged," &c.

N.D. (after 1759).—Fragment of a letter from Lord G. Sackville, explaining how the House of Commons have usually proceeded upon supplies being demanded.

N.D.—The Lord Lieutenant's speech to the Parliament of Ireland:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The attention you have shewn to the great objects which have been particularly recommended by me to your consideration and the provisions which have been made for the safety and security of this kingdom, call upon me not only to express my approbation of, but to thank you, as I now do, for your conduct in these particulars.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is with great pleasure that I thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the supplies which you have granted, and the provision which you have made, for the present establishment of the public credit and the safety of this kingdom.

N.D.—Paper endorsed "On the Gavelkind law of Ireland, by Sir Patrick Bullen, from Sir John Dalrymple," submitted to the consideration of Government.

N.D.—Paper entitled "On the Plan of importing Sugars directly into Ireland." Shewing its advantages to Ireland and to the British West Indian Islands, and also its disadvantages.

N.D.—Paper unsigned and undated, probably from Sir John Irwin, headed "Some difference in opinion having arisen, relative to the mode of conducting the military department of this kingdom, the following hints are submitted."

IX.—PAPERS RELATING TO THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.*

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1743, Aug. [6-]17 N.S.—Biebrich.—"We have been here since last Tuesday; the King's quarters are at a house of Prince Nassau of Ensinghen. It stands close upon the Rhine in a very pleasant country, and is altogether as fine a situation as you can imagine. Mayence is but a league from us, and the bridge of boats over which the Austrians are pass'd only a mile. I should have said the three bridges, for there are two islands in the river which they have taken the advantage of, so that by going through them they have three small rivers to pass instead of one large one, which happen'd very luckily, for it would have been extremely difficult to have made one bridge of so great an extent.

"The Hanoverians march over on Tuesday, and the English and Hessians follow on Wednesday. The King will be quarter'd in a convent, a little on the other side of Mayence, (that is) higher up the Rhine. How long we shall stay there nobody pretends to say, for I suppose by our stopping so long here it is not yet determin'd what is to be done next. It is reported that Prince Charles has contrived to cross the river, but I am afraid it is not true, for the Duke of Richmond had letters from his army dated the 13th, and they were then making no disposition for it. The French have left their camp near Spire, so that if our army is to march that way we shall be some time before we are able to find an enemy. Lord Carteret† lives at Mayence, and seems to be hard at work. The Elector was yesterday at the King's quarters and was very graciously receiv'd. As he came in his Majesty moved towards the door to meet him, and when he came close to him it was something between a bow and an embrace. The visit lasted about half-an-hour and then away he went, the King following him almost to the door. The compliment was to have been returned to-day, but the bad weather put it off. The Elector is a very good looking man, not unlike my Lord Orford.

"Sir Thomas Wynne keeps a magnificent table; he complains often of the expence, indeed it must be prodigious. He would gladly make it less, but does not know how to contrive it. He thought the number of dishes at the Green Cloth so great that if the King knew it he would order it to be lessen'd, so Sir Thomas very cunningly gave him the bill of the Green Cloth dinner instead of his own, but the plot did not take, and Lord Dalawar told Sir Thomas that the King thought it was a shame there should be so little. In short it is a joke with the Duke of Richmond, etc., to make everybody drink as much wine as they can on purpose to work Sir Thomas Wynne, and he is fool enough to show that it hurts him. A ribbon was never better bestow'd than upon

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* These letters should be compared with those from Col. Russell in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners on Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley's MSS.

† Lord Carteret was in attendance on the King as Secretary of State.

General Honeywood. It is impossible to conceive how ridiculously fond he is of his new honour. Lord Rothes is very ill of the bloody flux. It is what vast numbers of people have had, and the camp in general is more sickly at present than it has been yet, and chiefly of that disorder. It got first among them by their being obliged to lye out in the rain after the battle of Dettingen, and they have never been able to get rid of it since. And what is more extraordinary, it is catching, so that in one hospital no less than thirty-seven nurses have died of it. We have at this time upwards 2,200 English sick, and as many Hanoverians. How the Hessians escape I have not heard. The Duke [of Cumberland] is still lame; he says he shall soon be well, but I do not believe it, for the leg that was wounded is considerably shrunk up, but as it is the fashion to say that he is almost well I ought not to say otherwise. I have had no letter from your Grace since I left Spa. If you have wrote to me it never arriv'd."

Postscript.—"I thought to have sent this letter away yesterday, but it was too late for the post. Our passing the Rhine is put off till Thursday, for some of the Austrian cannon are in our way, for the roads were made so bad with one night's rain that the cannon stuck fast in crossing one of the islands in the Rhine, so that they have been obliged to dig them out and to mend the roads for us. No news yet of Prince Charles."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1743, [Aug. 22-]Sept. 2, N.S. Worms.—"I yesterday receiv'd your Grace's letter of the 12th (O.S.), and am very sorry to hear of the manner in which Lord Wilmington has left his affairs.* Lord Northampton will certainly be glad of getting so good an estate, but little obliged to the person it comes from. I thought I had told Bale when I went away how he was to dispose of any money he should receive for me from Ireland. When I left England I ow'd Lord John fifty pounds for the quarter due at Lady Day, which Gub was to pay him, and I suppose did as soon as he return'd from Newmarket. There were fifty pounds more due to him the 24th of June, which I desire may be paid out of the money Gub has receiv'd for me, and that he will leave the remainder in Captain Wilson's hands, for he gave me credit when I went abroad, and I draw upon him as often as I have occasion for money. The stay that we are to make here is very uncertain, but I dare say we shall not stir till the Dutch troops join us. They say they will be with us the latter end of this week, but I suppose something or other will happen to retard their march. All the news we have of the French is that they are in the lines of Lauterburgh, a very strong post, but then they are of so great an extent that I should imagine, notwithstanding the advantage of the situation, that they might be forced. That place is about

* Cf. p. 37, *above*.

three marches from Spire; if we should attempt attacking them and not be able to carry our point we shall be in a very disagreeable way, for Landau will be behind us. We are in great expectation of news from Prince Charles. The letters that come from his army shew that they are still confident of being able to pass the Rhine. His bridges are now ready, that is, the pontoons, &c., that they are to be made of, so that I hope we shall very soon hear of his being in Alsace. The Hussars took the other day about eighty French dragoons prisoners a little distance from the camp. The Lieutenant-Colonel that commanded them and several of his party were kill'd, and four officers made prisoners. The King does not know how to dispose of them, for there is no town within many miles that belongs to the Queen of Hungary. Brigadier Campbell has been so ill that he was obliged to stay behind at Mayence. He is now almost recovered, and I hear will soon be here."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1743, Sept. [5-]16 N.S. Worms.—"I take the opportunity of writing to your Grace by the messenger that sets out to-morrow for England. I was in hopes before this time that the motions we are next to make would have been publickly known, but we still remain in the same quiet situation without any day being fixed for our marching, or without anybody pretending to guess at the place we are to march to. The Dutch troops are all arrived except one battallion and three squadrons, which serve as an escort to their artillery, and they are expected to join the army to-morrow, I mean the Dutch army, for the Rhine still seperates us, and there remains as yet some difficulty about the rank they are to have in the line. The Queen of Hungary in compliment to his Majesty has given the precedence to the British troops, in which are included the Hessians and Hanoverians as being in our pay. So far the Dutch can have no just cause to complain, but they do not see the reason why they should not have the rank of that part of the Hanoverian troops which the King furnishes as Elector of Hanover. As that distinction has not hitherto been made, his Majesty is unwilling to seperate his troops, and this I hear is the occasion of their not having yet joined us. Prince Charles is still in possession of the island, and has thrown up works that secure his bridge and his men against the French batteries which play continually upon them. I still hope he will be able to pass the Rhine, tho' probably not at that place. The French army that is of this side of the country continue encreasing their entrenchments near Landau, and by the last accounts from their deserters have begun the building of a wall for their greater security, besides having made batteries that command every defile through which we must pass to get to them. The Austrian Generals, we are told, wish to attack them. The English to a man are against it. For supposing the best, that we should force their lines with little loss on our side, the only advantage arising from it besides the honour of beating them

would be that we should be masters of five or six miles more of a country which is so destroyed that it would not produce subsistence for a hundred men, and the French would retire into some other strong camp where you would have the same difficulty to get at them. The hopes of our people are that the army will be soon ordered back into Flanders, that they may be secure of good winter quarters, for considering they have forty days march to get thither, there is not much time to be 'loss'd.'

"My Lord Stair will possibly be in England as soon as this letter. The army in general certainly lov'd and esteem'd him. Think only of General Honeywood's commanding them, and then think how sensible they must be of the change. A day or two before my Lord Stair left us, everybody went to take their leave of him. He call'd me to him from the crowd and enquired after your Grace. He told me you were an old friend and acquaintance of his, and desired when I wrote to you that I would make his compliments to you, and to assure you that he still continued in the same way of thinking that he was in when he was first acquainted with you. I suppose the King will leave the army as soon as they begin their march for winter quarters. As everything is concluded for Princess Louisa's being marryed at Hanover, I suppose his stay with us will not be long."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to the DUKE OF DORSET.

1743, [Sept. 20-]Oct. 1 N.S. Spire.—"I forget whether I wrote to you the day before we left Worms or not. The order for marching came so quick upon us that it put everything in great confusion, the Green Cloth not excepted. In three days we reach'd this place, and the French have abandon'd all the posts between this and Lauterburgh, and the garrison of Landau keeps very close within their walls. The lines the French had between Germesheim and Landau were so extremely strong that the Generals who have been to reconnoitre them think it would have been almost impossible to have forc'd them, and yet they say those they have retir'd to are still stronger. The deserters give accounts that the Duke of Noailles is no longer at Lauterburgh, but that he has left ten thousand foot for the defence of the lines, and that he with the whole horse of his army is advanced farther up the river. We hear nothing yet of what steps our army is to take, but I am afraid it grows too late in the year to think of returning to Flanders for winter quarters, though by the weather we have one should never suspect winter to be coming on. Since we have been in the Palatinate the soldiers will not be persuaded but that they are in an enemy's country, and they have plunder'd and committed all sorts of disorders. The King, has, at last, been obliged to give out an order that whoever is taken half a league from camp shall be immediately hang'd up without any trial, and the Provost goes his rounds with a strong guard and an officer of each nation to put this order in execution. It has had a very good effect, for tho' the Provost was out all day yesterday I do not hear that anybody has suffer'd. It not

only extends to soldiers but to officers' servants and to the women that follow the camp. Marshal Neiperg* seldom appears at Court. I suppose the last time he was there he was surfeited with rump stakes, for indeed he had them in the highest perfection. This town is really a melancholy sight, for tho' there are several good houses in it yet the ruins are still very great. I wonder so much of it is rebuilt, for in the year the French burnt it they hardly left a house or a church standing. The Dutch troops are encamp'd within half a league of us. There is no reason for their not joining us, as they say, but that there is not room for them in the ground we are now upon, tho' I have not heard how the affair about their rank has been settled. I suppose you know that my Lord Holdernesse only waits for the end of the campaign to be marry'd. I do not know the lady's name, but she is niece to Mr. Fagel at the Hague. You cannot imagine how well everybody speaks of Jeff. Amherst. He is of great use to General Ligonier, and the General is very sensible of it. He cannot be long before he is promoted in his turn, for he is now eldest lieutenant in the regiment, and there can be no danger of any body's being put over his head. There is no talk of the King's leaving the army, tho' it is taken for granted that he is to go to Hanover to the marriage of Princess Louisa before he returns to England. Felton Hervey thinks it full time for him to set out, for you cannot conceive how sick he is of waiting upon a Lieutenant-General."

Postscript.—I have to send word to General Colyear of all we are doing, and he insists on my writing it in French.

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1744, May 19 o.s. Ostend.—" We landed here yesterday about noon, so that our passage was much shorter and better than could be expected. The latter part of it was disagreeable, for we were obliged to wait eight or nine hours in Ostend road before there was water to carry us into the harbour, and it blew hard all that time, so that some of us were sick, tho' I escaped very well. I was in hopes of getting on to Bruges to-night, but we have been in such confusion all this morning that I believe we must stay here till to-morrow. The horses as yet are not above half disembark'd, and the Irish draughts and those of Gardiner's regiment that were to have gone off early this morning mutiny'd and refused to march, because they had not received their sea pay. The General thought proper to order that they should not be pay'd that money till they got to camp, but the officers of Montagu's and Wade's horse paid them upon landing, which made the others immediately demand it; so that part of Ponsonby's regiment was order'd under arms and the General himself seiz'd two of the most mutinous and sent them away prisoners, and then told the rest that they were under Colonel Honeywood's directions, and whoever refus'd to obey should be shot upon the spot. So they went quietly to the ferry in their

* Austrian General.

way to Bruges, but I hear that they have begun again and a detachment of foot is sent to them. General Sinclair has ordered the two officers of Wade's and Montagu's to be put in arrest, for they certainly have occasion'd all this disturbance. If they had all been paid their sea pay, they would have been so drunk that it would have been impossible to have kept them in any order, and so to avoid one inconvenience they have fallen into another, and I am afraid it will not end without making an example of some of them. The French are still about Menin, but they have not yet fired a shot, but the batteries and everything are ready, so that the report here is that they wait for an answer from Holland before they begin to act.

"The Comte de Saxe is at Courtray with 12,000 men and our army lies between Brussells and Alost, but a strong detachment under Sir J. Campbell is at Ghent, and they expect soon to move towards Oudenarde. This is the news of the place, but whether it be true or no I cannot say. French parties have been as far as Bruges, and it is not reckon'd safe to go without an escort. I will write again as soon as I get to the army."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1744, May 22 o.s. Bruges.—"I was in hopes before this time to have been able to have given you an account of our safe arrival at Ghent, but to our great disappointment we were yesterday obliged to return to this place after we had march'd about twelve miles in our way to Ghent, and by very good luck we retreated without any loss. Had we reached the half-way house where we intended to have halted, (and we were within a quarter of a mile of it), I think we must have been all cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The first division under Captain Madan march'd the day before us without any hindrance; the second division under General Wentworth followed yesterday, and with horse, dragoons, and foot recruits it amounted to about 500 men. We left this town about 6 o'clock in the morning and heard nothing of any enemy till we had march'd above eleven miles. We then were alarm'd with the appearance of some hussars, upon which we immediately halted, and the horse were order'd to put on their skull-caps and the recruits of the foot look'd at their arms, and seem'd very desirous of having one shot at them. You [may] imagine we were in a little hurry, and everybody was proposing what they thought proper to be done, and as I thought I must say something upon the occasion, I told the General that I was afraid the hussars would be too hard for the horse and dragoon draughts who were not used to their manner of attacking, and that I wish'd he would dismount one of the rear squadrons of dragoons and make them advance in the front. He approved of what I proposed and sent me to see it done, but a little after they had got to the front and we had begun to march forward, a small party of the Queen's hussars appear'd on the other side of the canal and made signs with their caps for us to retreat, and at last with some difficulty, by speaking Latin, they made us understand that

there were 180 Hussars besides a large detachment of dragoons just before us in a wood, and that they were inform'd by a deserter that three thousand foot with seven field pieces were posted between us and Ghent, upon which intelligence we were very glad to go to the right about and return to Bruges till we could have some other intelligence. Sir James Campbell had sent on the other side of the canal a party of a hundred foot, an hundred dragoons, and fourteen or fifteen hussars, to meet us, and upon hearing of our retreat they came on to this town, but were obliged to stop by the way for about half-an-hour to engage with the hussars, tho' the canal was betwixt them. None of our men were hurt, but they killed three or four of the hussars, and this morning the party that were sent out from hence have brought in two hussars and a trumpeter prisoners, all which confirms the march of the French infantry from towards Menin in order to intercept our march, but they say they believe they return to-day.

This affair will possibly grow into a story by the time it reaches England, so that I thought it was right to send you an account of it. Mr. Wentworth will be blamed by some people for not keeping on the side of the canal farthest from the enemy, as the other party had done the day before, but his reasons were that as the baggage was to go by water, that any small party would have been able to have seiz'd that unless we were between the canal and the enemy, and he imagin'd that if any considerable body had march'd from the French army that Mr. Wade or Sir James Campbell would have known it, and sent an account of it. But, however, as our march was interrupted and we might all have been cut off, he will not escape without being censured. General Sinclair came yesterday evening from Ostend with the last of the horse, and we hope to march to-morrow morning on the safe side of the canal to Ghent. The bridges are taken up to prevent the enemy's crossing upon us, and we are supplied with waggons instead of boats to carry our baggage. An express was sent last night to Sir James Campbell to let him know what had happen'd, and we only wait for an answer from him before our march is absolutely fix'd, for we have already orders to load the waggons and be in readiness to march at four o'clock to-morrow morning. We hear our army is moved towards Oudenarde, and that the French are attacking Menin, but that they have hitherto met with more resistance than was expected."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1744, June 2,* n.s., Wednesday. Ghent.—"The post is just going out, and I have only time to tell you that we are all safe arriv'd at Ghent. The garrison here was in great pain for us, and General Campbell march'd out to our relief the day we had liked to have been demolish'd, with six companies of grenadiers and 300 dismounted dragoons, but he was not strong enough to venture on

* Evidently a mistake for June 3 (*i.e.* May 23, old style) which was Wednesday. June 2 n.s. would be the same date as the last letter.

the same side of the river with the enemy. Our army lies near Oudenarde along the Scheld, but I am afraid it is not strong enough to attempt to raise the siege of Menin. The Austrians have not above three thousand men in the field, and the Dutch about eleven thousand. The Hanoverians are in great favour with us, and the English encamp and do duty with them without the least dispute, so Mr. Wade was in the right to say that the reconciling of the troops was the least difficulty he apprehended when he accepted the command."

Postscript.—"The French infantry retired yesterday afternoon, and they report so differently about their numbers that it is impossible to be sure of them, for to-day we were told there were fifteen thousand of them."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1744, June [6-]17 N.S. "From the Camp at Berlinghen [Beirleghem]."—"We still remain in this camp, and altho' there is another mark'd out nearer to Oudenarde, yet I do not find that we are likely to make any use of it, unless the enemy may give occasion to it by any motions that way. The batteries are all ready and we are told that this day the King is to go to Ipres and that the siege will begin. The Comte de Saxe, with about twelve thousand men, remains near Coutray (*sic*), and parties from his army are often seen near the bridges we have made over the Scheld, and yesterday we were so alarm'd that the guard there was reinforc'd with three hundred men from the pickett, but I have not heard whether any enemy appear'd.

"We are in great hopes of soon seeing more troops arrive from England and Holland, that we may have an opportunity of making the French a visit, and not be any longer obliged to a river and an enclosed country for our safety. The Blues have shown their desire of fighting this campaign by picking a quarrel with Ligonier's regiment. It began with boxing but ended in drawing their broadswords, and four or five of the Blues are so hurt that I am afraid they will be able to give no further marks of their courage this year. Unluckily for them the quarrel was national, and they engaged too far before they reflected that their regiment had been lately compleated by draughts from Nevil's, who to a man prefer'd the honour of their native country to that of a regiment they have so newly been incorporated into, that they all turn'd on Ligonier's side, and used the Blues in such a manner as will teach them for the future not to put themselves in competition with their superiors. It is really very lucky it ended in the disabling only of four or five men. The picketts were turn'd out and dispers'd them, and some few were made prisoners, and I hope will be punnished. Both sides say the other was the aggressor. The truth I believe is that the Blues reflected a little too severely on our country, and that Ligoniers had not temper to bear it and so return'd blows instead of words.

"We go on in the old scheme of dry forrage, so there will be another fine bill of extraordinarys. I cannot conceive what they

mean by it, for the country is very well able to supply the army with green forrage, and if we think to make them our well wishers by good usage we shall only when it is too late find that we are mistaken, for they hate and detest us for a parcel of damn'd hereticks, and for their own sakes would be willing to-morrow to put themselves under the protection of the French. I cannot help every day looking with surprise on the good agreement of the English and Hanoverians. They get drunk very comfortably together, and talk and sing a vast deal without understanding one syllable of what they say to one another."

Instructions from the Duke of Cumberland for Colonel Lord George Sackville.

1748, [April 21-]May 2 n.s. Head Quarters at Hellinrouck. —"You will proceed with your pass and with a French trumpet and an English drum, and on your arrival at the first French post, you will, in case you should be stop'd, send the trumpet forward with the pass to inform the Marshal of Saxe of your arrival at their posts charged with a letter from me. As soon as you shall arrive at the Marshal of Saxe's quarters, you will deliver him the letter you are charg'd with for him, desiring at the same time that he will consent to your going into Maestrecht, which, if he agrees to, you will immediately do, and deliver the letter you are charg'd with to the Commandant, Monsieur d'Aylva, or to the commanding officer, whom you will desire to open it in case of any accident hapned (*sic*) to the other.

"You will represent to him that as the preliminarys for a peace are already sign'd, and that in consequence a cessation of arms has been agreed to, with an exception to the siege of Maestrecht, I am thereby deprived of the means of being able to second the bravery of their defence, and that it is therefore my advice that he accepts an honorable capitulation in order to save the lives of so many brave men, and in case that cannot be obtain'd, I need prescribe no rule of conduct to an officer who has already shewn so much gallantry and conduct. You will have copies of my letters to the Marshal of Saxe and to Monsieur d'Aylva. *Signed*, William."

Lord George Sackville to the Duke of Dorset.

1748, [April 25-]May 6. From the Camp at Hellenrect.— "We thought to have march'd from hence five days agoe, but the accounts from Aix-la-Chapelle, I suppose, made the Duke alter his resolution. As the preliminarys were sign'd, and a cessation of arms agreed to by the respective ministers at Aix, excepting what related to the siege of Maestritch, his Royal Highness thought proper to honour me with his commands to go to the Comte de Saxe in hopes of settling those affairs, and at the same time to endeavour to obtain an honourable capitulation for the garrison at Maestritch. Upon my arrival there I found Monsieur de Saxe not at all pleased with what Monsieur St. Severin had done, and

said, as he had no orders from his court to agree to a cessation of arms and hostilitys, he must wait the return of a courier before he could give a positive answer to what His Royal Highness propos'd, but at the same time he said that if he should have orders to conform himself to what had been settled at Aix, the scheme laid down by the Duke was void of objection and what he would readily agree to. He then deliberated about my being admitted into Maestritch, and the granting an honourable capitulation to the garrison. This took up a good deal of time, and Mr. de Lowendal was sent for and consulted, but I was present. They then call'd in a third person and I retired, and in about half-an-hour he told me he consented to what His Royal Highness desired, and I might go and deliver my dispatches to the Governor. Dinner was then upon the table, and the Marechal before he sate down sent an aide-de-camp to stop all his batteries from firing, as an English officer had business with the Governor. This was communicated to the town, but they had not the same politeness, so that it was near five o'clock before I could contrive to get in without running the risk of being kill'd. At my arrival the batteries from the town were all silenc'd, and the Governor made excuses, and said the thing was misunderstood. I deliver'd my dispatches to him, and I never saw a man more perplex'd. He saw the preliminarys were sign'd, and that the town must be taken, that honourable terms were offer'd to him, yet as he could still hold it out for six or seven days, and that he had no order from the Prince of Orange to capitulate, he was afraid he could not consent to it consistent with his honour and reputation. The Generals were then assembled and they all seem'd of opinion that they could not capitulate, and wanted eight or ten days to send to the Hague. I knew that proposal would have been rejected with scorn, from the difficulty the Comte de Saxe had made in giving any terms, as he was sure of having them prisoners of war in six or seven days. I then said that I thought that it could be no reflection upon their reputation if they capitulated to march out with military honours upon the day the cessation of arms and hostilitys was proclaimed at the head of the respective armys. They all joined in with this proposition and desired I would set down and draw up the capitulation, which I did, and they sign'd it, and Major-General Graham was sent with me to the Marechal to see if he would consent to it. But he was far from approving of it, and talk'd of the cessation of arms as if he might not so soon have orders to comply with it. Much conversation follow'd, in which the Duke says by my report to him that I did very right; and, when I almost despaired of any good arising from it, the Comte de Saxe consented to a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, and permitted General Graham to go to the Prince of Orange for instructions. I do not doubt but that upon his return the town will surrender, even if hostilities are not to cease, as there are twenty battallions in garrison there, and surely it is more material for us to save twenty battallions than to employ the French five or six days longer, in which time they might probably lose two thousand men. Upon my coming away, the Marechal

told me he would not stand for five or six hours, so that I suppose he will wait the return of Graham from the Prince of Orange, and indeed I had more expectations from the orders that might be sent in that time from Paris than in the probability of Graham's return.

"You may imagine that I thought myself greatly honour'd in being thus distinguished by the Duke, but I own I was frighten'd when I found so many unexpected difficultys, and that instead of carrying a letter and receiving an answer I was obliged to become a negociator. However, I had the good fortune to do nothing that H.R.H. disapproved of, and indeed he was pleas'd to say much more to me than I deserved. Tho' I was there but one day, I saw so many new and diverting scenes that it will furnish me with materials for conversation for some time. The ridiculous figure I must have made in riding blindfolded for above half a league in the French camp, the remarks of the soldiers upon me, my being unblinded at the head-quarters in a court fill'd with French officers, before I recover'd my eye-sight carried into a great room where the Marechal stood at his levee, my being obliged to introduce myself, and then retiring immediately with him and beginning upon business: these sort of things when they are over are entertaining to relate, tho' when they happen one does not feel quite so pleasant under. The Marechal made excuses about my being blinded, and the officer was not a little abused by the whole court. We are now waiting with great impatience for the ratification of the preliminarys from Paris. I should imagine Mr. St. Severin is not a man to sign what his instructions will not justify, so that I should hope that M. de Saxe, great as he is, will not have influence enough to get him disavow'd."

X.—CHERBOURG AND ST. MALO, 1758.

The First Expedition to Cherbourg.

1758, May 21.—"A plan of the order of Battle." Duke of Marlborough, General, Lord G. Sackville, Lieut.-General. Evidently drawn up in view of the expedition of June, 1758.

Instructions for the Attack on Cherbourg.

[1758, May 31?]—"The first Battallion of Guards and the Grenadiers of the Brigade to be embarked by eleven o'clock at night in the flatt bottom boats. They are to land in the center of the Bay between the Forts Homette and Querqueville. As soon as they can be formed, the companys in the four center boats march directly forward, possess themselves of the battery in their front, nail up the cannon and then return and take post for protecting the boats. The companys of the eight boats upon the right are to attack Querqueville Fort, and when they have nailed up the cannon, they are to join the center companys at the boats. The companys in the eight boats upon the left, among which the Grenadiers are to be, are to attack the

little fort at Homet[te] and another near a church: these Forts are at about a musquet shot and a half from each other. As soon as the cannon of the Forts are nailed, they are likewise to join the center companys. When these attacks have succeeded, the commanding officer, if he finds he can maintain his ground without risking the loss of the troops under his command, is to give an order in writing to the boats to return to the ships that the remainder of the Brigade of Guards may disembark and join him as soon as possible. If he finds it more expedient, he is to re-imbark and return to the transports. Proper persons from the Artillery will be ordered with the three divisions that attack for nailing the cannons. The officers who command the three divisions to attend the Duke of Marlborough this evening for more particular orders." *Draft by Lord G. Sackville.*

Alexander MacDowall to Lord G. Sackville, Lieut.-General of H.M. Forces with Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

1758, Aug. 16. Cherbourgh Bay.—I send your Lordship enclosed an account of our doings, which, however, "have been so inconsiderable that the account is not worthy of your perusal in any other shape but meerly to satisfy your curiosity."

If our motions do not draw some French troops from the side of Germany the nation's money is ill-expended.

Enclosing:—

Narrative of the Second Attack on Cherbourg.

[1758, August.]—"On Sunday the 23rd of July embark'd. Tuesday 25th, Prince Edward came on board in the uniform of a midshipman, and when Admiral Holbourne came to wait on him, he stood in the rank among the midshipmen to receive him.

"The fleet remain'd a week at Spithead and St. Helens. On Sunday the 30th of July sail'd, but not being able to gett the whole clear of the Island, put back to the Mother Bank, intending to sail through the Needles; Monday morning the wind changing, sail'd again to St. Helen's; and on Monday afternoon sail'd and stood over for the coast of France.

"On Tuesday morning came in sight of French land, sail'd back untill we were in sight of the Isle of Wight, at night sail'd back towards the coast of France; we cou'd no otherwise account for the Commodore's conduct, but that he wanted to go westward.

"Wednesday, August 2nd. All the day in sight of the land about Cape de La Hague, saw the beacons lighted, and heard alarm guns; on Thursday the wind being fair to go westward the Commodore [Howe] made no use of it; we now plainly saw that we were for some place in the Channel, and we guess'd at Cherbourgh. Fryday, stood over for the coast of France once more, early on Saturday morning anchor'd off Cape la Hague, on Saturday evening weighed and stood in for Cherbourgh, plyed about all night without getting much nearer the land, on Sunday forenoon, the wind coming several points fairer, the whole Fleet stood in for Cherbourgh; we landsmen cou'd not account for the

Commodore's conduct, in doing now what he might (as we believed and what the masters of transports told us) have done on the Wednesday before; it was giving the enemy four days' warning. At 7 o'clock on Sunday evening the Fleet anchored in the Sandy Bay above Querqueville, at a considerable distance from the shore; (the Grenadiers had been put on board ships by themselves, and order'd to be ready to land first, C[ol.] Ceesar, Lt.-Cols. Gansel and M[ajor] Preston for the Grenadiers, the Guards also in orders to land, the whole to be commanded by M[ajor] G[eneral] Dury).

"At break of day on Monday morning order'd to weigh and stand in towards the shore of the said Sandy Bay of *Ureville*, no fireing from the shore, a very fine calm night, some shells were thrown into Cherbourgh and La Gallette this night. Monday morning the Fleet stood in for the Bay, the frigates took their stations, not very regularly, for some of them fired through the rigging of others, and some of them had well nigh sunk the flat bottom boats as they were landing. The Commodore, with the Prince, went on board the *Pallas*. The *Richmond* run aground and was almost lost.

"The Commodore shou'd have stood into the Bay earlier, for before the disposition was made, the tide came against us, and we remain'd for six hours before any men cou'd be landed, plainly indicating all that time the place of landing; luckily the enemy had very few troops, and made not good use of those they had. They wanted to make us believe they were there in great numbers, but their ruse was but shallow and easily seen thro'; they came out of a hollow way, paraded along the shore for some time in our sight, then turn'd into another hollow way as if they were taking post to oppose our landing; but they gallop'd back unseen and came again out of the first hollow way. The ships fired on these troops, or rather on the place where they suppos'd they were, and the landing was made about half an hour after one o'clock on Monday, without any opposition, not a cannon fired at us.

"The Grenadiers in moving forwards found a few stragglers skulking about the hedges; they were easily driven away with the loss of a few wounded on our side.—The Count de Raimond, M. General, commanded in Cherbourgh at the time of our landing. The Army encamp'd in a very irregular manner on the small space of ground between the riseing hill and the shore, instead of occupying that riseing ground as it is presum'd they ought to have done. The Duke of Richmond had got on shore early with part of his regiment, and had ask'd leave to advance with it and scower some part of the fields behind Ureville. He got several of his men wounded by popping shots from the hedges; he was order'd to remain all night in that place; he had got his brother to make interest also to advance, and these requests were granted contrary to the rules of good soldiership; Lord Chas. Haye's were order'd to take post near Neckerville. In Cherbourgh the battallion of Clare, a new rais'd regiment of Liegois compos'd of deserters, neither of them to be depended upon, and a regiment

of Dragoons that had been disabled in Hanover last winter, and this with some Militia was all their force.

"The Army march'd in two columns on Tuesday forenoon towards Cherbourgh. Ten six pounders were landed. The enemy had abandon'd Querqueville the night of our landing, and on Tuesday forenoon they quitted Hommette, Quadreville, Gallette, and Cherbourgh; we march'd in a very careless and confus'd manner, and our success may be truely said to be owing more to good fortune than good conduct. They nail'd up all their cannon and took the road to Valogne.

"The Army encamp'd near Cherbourgh, part of the Grenadiers in the town. On Wednesday M[ajor] G[eneral] Elliot, finding the troops encamp'd in a most confused and unsoldierlike stile, mark'd out a new camp, and the troops went into it; and Bentink's were order'd to take post on the Hermitage (that hill on the other side of the water that hangs over the town); on Fryday they were reliev'd by the 1st Regiment of Guards.

"If the Commodore expected to raise his reputation by battering the forts, the dissappointment must have chagrin'd him; if the enemy had given him that oportunity he might have made a puff in the newspapers, and he might have rais'd the admiration of our ale drinking politicians, but in the eyes of the judicious he cou'd have got no additional credit, such poor paultry pieces are they, intended meerely as a bugbear to ships of war unacquainted with their weakness, and so small withall that a single bomb vessel properly us'd wou'd make it impossible for any body to live in them. I will not except even La Gallette, which is the strongest. In our march from Ureville we found a good entrenchment that extended from Querqueville along that tract of coast towards Hommette, and we were inform'd that when we appear'd off Cherbourgh under the Duke of Marlbrough, there were then encamped thereabout, besides the Regiment of Clare, Liegois, and a Regiment of Dragoons, 8,000 Militia—that a sloop of four guns from Cherbourgh saw us into St. Helens, and that on her return the Militia were dismiss'd, and had not been again collected in such numbers.

"The troops were employ'd in blowing up the forts and the pier, which ought rather to have been suffer'd to remain as an instance of French folly, in expending so much money upon a scheme that never cou'd have answer'd the intended purpose, and of which they themselves were so thorowly convinc'd that for these three years they have given it over, as a vain attempt, by the advice of the Duc de Belle Isle, who had been to review it.

"Some of the King's money was found in the town, which the receiver has been obliged to deliver up. The town of Cherbourgh itself is a poor little place, quite open on all sides excepting a battery towards the sea. There were about twenty small craft in the harbour, none of them above 100 tun burden.

"For the two last days that we remain'd at Cherbourgh, and not before, they thought fitt to send out to reconnoitre the enemy towards Valogne, but so awkwardly that these parties went commonly the same route; and tho' the country was pretty close,

the cavalry went on by itself miles before the infantry; the consequence was that poor Lyndsey, who was sent out on all occasions, fell in among a party of the enemies cavalry, who had foot conceal'd behind them, the captain was desperately wounded, two or three men were killed and several more wounded.

"On Wednesday, August 15th, the troops embark'd without losing a man, or even seeing the enemy."

Sir John Irwine to Lord G. Sackville.

1758, Sept. 21. Isle of Wight.—"I have never attempted to thank your Lordship for the honour of your letter, which I received just before I embarked from hence. I did not care to interupt you on your first joining the grand army, and of late, if I had wrote, my letter never would have reached you. We have for some time past been treated like people guilty of high treason, we have not only been confined, but in effect debared the use of pen, ink, and paper; for the two last expresses that left the fleet carried only the General's* and Commodore's letters, notwithstanding people gave assurances that their letters contained no news, only accounts of their health, yet these assurances had no weight. I do not say this caution of our leaders was wrong. Perhaps if people had wrote news, their account of our unecessary misfortune at St. Cast Bay would neither have been treated so slightly, nor exactly the same relation made of it; no more than the previous steps taken before that black Monday (the weakness and inefficiency of which were shocking) from the time of our landing to the hour of our misfortune, would escape remark and censure. I am not the only one that includes in this series of blunders the plan of our landing, and the design for which we landed. Indeed I have this comfort, that though I may omitt a great deal that I would wish to say to your Lordship, I shall say nothing that will not be attested as to facts and supported by way of opinion by every man of twelve battallions, by the train, the dragoons, and in a word by the whole army (I had almost said by the general officers) except only the Quarter Master and Adjutant General. These two gentlemen have been so unlucky to draw the universal contempt, hatred, and disapprobation of the whole army upon them.

"I am unwilling to trouble you with saying anything you may already know. I shall say very little of our Cherburgh expedition, only this, our landing may safely be called a bold thing, as we landed in the face of a large body of troops. The disposition made of the ships was allowed to be very good, and their guns did some execution. The enemy behaved shamefully. On our landing they abandoned the countrey, and on our approach to Cherburgh abandoned the town. We encamped on ground near the town that the Quarter-Master General never saw till next day, without straw, and if the enemy had any spirit might have been cut to pieces there from our situation. [Major] Gen. Elliott, whom all men look up to, represented our situation and prevailed

* General Bligh.

on making another camp of his directing, where we were safe and satisfied. Our re-embarkation was also applauded, the lines thrown up for that purpose approved of, and the disposition of the ships such as would have done great mischief to the enemy had they attempted to disturb us without the least risk to our own troops.

"From Cherburgh we sailed to Portland Road. I was then told we were to go and make another attempt on St. Malo's, that the Commodore proposed going to Cape de Frehel, then sailing on towards St. Malo's, anchoring as near it as he could, and landing us where he could. Then he was to introduce (if he could) one or more frigates up the river that goes to Dinant, and having by them secured the passage, some boats were to be sent in to carry the troops across to the St. Servans side, from whence batteries were to play on the town whilst the great ships were to batter (if they could get near enough) on the other side. I need not observe to your Lordship that this plan surprised me greatly. I looked upon it as a thing [which] never could be executed, and I hoped never would be attempted, as it consisted of nothing sure, all under such and such suppositions and chances, and if this thing could be and another thing did happen ; for winds, tides, and a million of other contingencies were all to correspond to produce success, and, as I was told in the conclusion, to procure for us a more flattering and favourable paragraph than our friends at Cape Breton had got in the Gazzette. The person (before whom this plan was laide) made some objections modestly to the ships lying at great hazzard, the doubt of their anchoring, the certainty of dangerous rocks, the almost certainty of strong gales at this time of the year, the improbability of the carrying the troops across the river, &c., &c.; but was told for answer that perhaps there might be some difficulties, yet something was to be risked, and if this great plan failed, yet still something might be done, as a great number of merchant ships, by the latest intelligence two hundred, were at St. Briac, which might be easily burnt.

"After receiving this intelligence I saw all the general officers, some of whom had frequently done me the honour to talk freely to me, and I indeavoured to sound them as to our future operations, but they all told me we should not, they believed, land any more, only cruise about. I was not at liberty to tell them what I knew, and fancied they were discreet to me. I was deceived ; they told me what they thought truth, for they were not trusted, nor till they landed did they know the smallest circumstance of the matter. On Monday, the 4th, the flatt bottomed boats and all the long boats were used in landing the troops in a kind of cove, I cannot call it a bay, near Cape Frehel, between it and St. Malo, in doing which there was great danger, as we got into the boats a vast way from the land, the day was blustering and bad, the rocks without number, the people ignorant of the coast, and the surf prodigious. The consequence was we had several boats overset, amongst others a boat with a company of the 5th regiment, by which means we lost several men and the entire arms and most of the accoutrements of a company. Providentially we saw no enemy, nor indeed no creature, human

or animal, except one poor priest. The enemy had driven off all the cattle, and we were like to be all starved, as in truth we were always in danger and afraid of during our last residence in the dominions of the most Christian King. We immediately marched to a village called St. Lunaire, near which we encamped. After two days' reconnoitring, the attempt to be made by the frigates of going up the river was judged by the Commodore impracticable from the rocks, even if no batteries were in the way, and even could they effect it, the possibility of carrying the troops across was doubted, and if they could, the time it would take was too long. The Commodore then proposed our marching to Dinant, crossing there, and then marching to St. Servans, from thence we were to attack St. Malo. You will ask how? I answer, by scaling the walls, for by this time it was well known the roads we were to march were not practicable for any cannon. The two advisers could not carry this point, the General was positive in saying he would not stir without his cannon, so that attempt for the destruction of a parcell of naked, starved, sick soldiers failed.

"During this time a party was sent to St. Briac to burn the two hundred ships. When they got thither they found fifteen fishing boats which they burnt; although Thierry, the pilot, told me *qu'il se trompoit diablement s'il n'y avoit cent cinquante vaisseaux marchands pour le moins.* The third day after we were on shore a violent storm arose which drove all the ships to sea, and there we were left without provisions and in all sorts of distress, our men and officers falling sick, no means of taking care of them, nor no convenience of carrying them with us, should we be obliged to march. Next day the ships got safe to anchor under Cape Frehel. Every body seemed greatly alaurmed at this time, and we all expected to embark as soon as the weather would permit.

"As soon as the ships were safe the Commodore wrote to the General to let him know that he could not answer for the safety of the ships in such doubtfull weather, and therefore if he did not choose to proceed towards St. Malo by land, or had no other object in view, he desired to know when he would embark the troops. The General returned for answer he was ready to embark imediately. The Commodore proposed our marching to an island near us, which we could get to at low water, where we could be safe from the whole force of France, and from whence we could embark with the greatest safety to the ships and the troops. This we all understood was to be executed, but to our great astonishment when we began to march we found ourselves going from the coast into the countrey. The [Subaltern] Generals began to enquire into this and were told that the best place to embark at was a bay about four leagues off, which this was the best road to. They represented against the length of the march, the wretched state of the troops, their nakedness, no shoes, litterally none even in the Guards, that is several men had none, no provisions, the men that might be called fighting men worn out, and several of them must be employed to carry the sick, the number of which on shore was now considerably encreased, in so much that one battallion had but fifty-six files under arms,

exclusive of grenadiers. I had but five hundred men, and the regiments in general run to about that number. The General hearkened to these reasons, approved of them, but after consulting with others prosecuted his intention. We marched in one collumn, which consisted of fifty light dragoons, being all that was (or indeed could be) landed, two light six pounders, which was all our artillery, and they were like to be lost coming on shore, and the twelve poor weakened battallions. The Quarter Master General advanced with 300 grenadiers and the Camp Colour men, came to a river close to a village called Gildo. As soon as he approached about sixty Gardes des Côtes fired on him. The Quarter-Masters and Camp Colour men offered to pass and drive them away; the Grenadiers pressed extreamly to cross the river. He refused them, and marked out a camp on our side of the river. As soon as we came on our ground we were fired on by those on the other side, and Head Quarters being within muskett shot was fired on the whole evening and all next day. We gave them twenty-four hours to get more people and to avail themselves of their hedges and some trenches they made for themselves, and under pretence that we could not pass till low water waited till next evening to go over. It is true we could not pass but at low water, but it was low water in the morning after day light.

"Lord Fred. Cavendish passed first, he received a contusion, his lieutenant, Jones, was wounded, some of his and other grenadiers wounded and killed, and we all passed over assisted and covered by our two field pieces, which did the enemy some mischief. We encamped about a mile on the Morlaix side of the river, at or near a small village called St. Jagüe. Next day we marched to a town called Matignon, in going to which our front and flanks were attacked by small parties of the enemy with some loss on their side and some wounded on ours. We encamped near Matignon, all men wondering whither we were going and dragging our sick people to, and what we were going for. There we received, from deserters and prisoners, intelligence that eleven battallions of Regulars with as many field pieces and a large body of millitia were within five miles of us at Lomballe, and would probably attack us that night, that the Duc d'Aiguillon had marched from Brest and gathered what troops he could by the way in order to out number us at present, and either attack us at night or get between us and the coast. All the Subaltern Generals thought this matter very serious; by reconnoitring it was judged to be true. I have already said we had no provisions, yet the Quarter Master and Adjutant General proposed attacking the enemy and marching to Lomballe for that purpose. You know what an enclosed country that is; I forgot to remind you of that ever since I began to march. The Subaltern Generals were called upon, and after shewing the bad conduct of the Quarter Master General from first to last, in particular the camp we were that moment in, where we were from situation not only liable to a surprise but to be cut to pieces, whereas a little more riding would have shown him (the Quarter Master General) a

spot that could not easily be attacked, they then refered themselves to the youngest to speak, who represented with great freedom and knowledge our present state to the General, showed that the enemy would not suffer us to attack them, but would stir heaven and earth to get troops to cut off our retreat; that it was now plain troops sufficient might be got, and from our uncertainty of a fit place to embark at, their scheme might be effected.

"These reasons prevailed; a despatch was sent to the Commodore, and the General declared that 'Young people had a mind 'for an action, that he should be as ready as any of them if he 'could foresee any good from a victory, or any chance of bringing 'the army off if we should be defeated.' So it was resolved to march to our place of embarkation. At night our advanced posts were frequently attacked, we heard the enemy's drums, yet we beat ours (I mean the general and assemblée) though it was dark night before we marched. On our march our rear was attacked, and some few people wounded. By nine o'clock we got to the only place we could then embark at. The Commodore had got the ships as near as he could, and the boats ready. I must observe that the whole army (some of the guards and the rear guard excepted) had seen the road to and place of embarkation before the Quarter Master General, and when we came there we found lines thrown up by the enemy to prevent our landing. Had these been thrown down we might have used them for our defence instead of leaving them to be made use of against us, which they were. Behind the lines were sand hills and hollows, which formed so many breast works for the enemy. We were hardly got on the beach when their advanced guard appeared, and before the last regiment of the youngest brigade began to embark, they opened a battery upon us, soon after another, and advanced upon us in three collumns. Our frigates fired upon them and we threw abundance of shells with little or no effect; it only stopped them for a little while, and then they formed behind the hollows. Before the Guards were half embarked they began the attack, and many of them (as there had been before of other regiments) were killed in the boats. No disposition having been made they were soon thrown into confusion, and the eyes of every soldier was turned to the sea, and his thoughts to the hopes of saving himself by swiming to the boats. All the officers behaved remarkably well, and did all that brave men could do to keep the men together till boats arrived, but nothing could restore order when once it was broke. The sea officers did everything in their power to expedite the embarkation, and exposed themselves very bravely. The Commodore himself went in his boat to pick up all the men he could, and had all his boatmen killed or wounded, and notwithstanding the account in the Gazzette, the slaughter amongst the seamen was very great, as you may judge when of one ship the killed and wounded amounted to twenty-nine, and of others in proportion. I find by the land account in the Gazzette the numbers greatly lessened, and no notice taken of the wounded that did escape. For instance, our Grenadiers have suffered greatly. We have the captain and one

lieutenant, two serjeants, and twenty-one prisoners, and twenty-nine killed or missing, but there is no notice taken of one lieutenant and twenty more wounded that have escaped. The first Regiment of Guards has 12 officers, 9 sergeants, and 225 men wounded and missing, and in a word every regiment has a number of wounded not taken notice of. Every company of grenadiers is about cut in two, and almost all the arms of those companies lost. Some officers have since died of their wounds. Such is the account of our last landing in France to the melancholy day of our re-embarkation in St. Cast Bay. When I landed I was told by those about the General that this landing would throw disgrace *on our former commander*. I was lucky enough to keep my temper, and unfortunate enough to foretell exactly what did happen.

"Since our return I am told that in London they blame us for not marching to the enemy and attacking them. I have all the reason in the world to believe we might have marched, but we should not have attacked them. A French officer who came with a message from M. d'Aiguillon told me as much. The intention of the enemy was to cut off our retreat to our ships. Provisions we had none, cloaths we had none, the men worn out and dispirited, and our numbers lessening every day; whereas the enemy had plenty of everything, and were encreasing in numbers every day.

"I must not omit to add that the General picked up about three thousand pounds contribution money at Cherburgh. In this he shewed himself a more capable general than our former commander.

"I hope you will excuse the hurry this is wrote in, and whatsoever inconsistencies there may be in the wording of it, owing to that hurry and to my not being well. I have got the scurvy and, what is worse to me, a return of that disorder in my stomach I had last year. May I beg of your lordship to let my friend Hotham see this letter as I have not time to write to him."

Postscript.—"I must not forget to tell you that we were all short of ammunition, and on applying for some was told there was none on shore nor none could be brought, and yet we were to go further into the country to attack the enemy.

"The French officer told me the force of the enemy was fourteen battallions of the King's forces, near three thousand militia, four squadrons of dragoons, two of dismounted dragoons, two hundred *voluntaires etrangeres*, fourteen pieces of cannon and eight mortars."

XI.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Bundle of letters written in 1758 and 1759 relating to the war on the Lower Rhine, and to the battle of Minden. The collection includes letters from Prince Ferdinand to Lord G. Sackville, from Lord G. Sackville to the Prince and to Lord Holdernesse, and from the Ministers to Lord G. Sackville, of which all of any

importance are calendared below. Among the miscellaneous papers are the following :—

1758, September 23. Merveldt.—Plan of the country from Coesfeldt to Halteren, with the successive camps of the English and Hanoverians at or near Coesfelt, Lette, Merveldt and Dulmen, from August 14 to the present date.

1758, October 31.—Instructions for Lord George Sackville, Lieutenant General of the British Forces on the Lower Rhine. *Signed by the King.*

1759, April 13.—Plan of the battle of Bergen, near Frankfurt, fought on this date, between the French under the Duc de Broglie and the Allies under Prince Ferdinand.

Lord George Sackville to Lord [Holderness ?]

1758, November 21. Munster.—A courier from Berlin brings the news that the Austrians have retreated towards Peterswald in Bohemia. Marshal Daun has rather blockaded than besieged Dresden. The Austrians continued near the town till the 16th and then decamped, the King of Prussia having that day reached Gorlik. The troops about Leipsic have retired and Count Dohna attacked with success the detachment of General Haddick, who was obliged to retreat precipitately. The French are still on their march to re-pass the Rhine. The Prince of Soubise's movements are so contradictory that his true intentions are not known, but it said that his left is to be placed to the Rhine and his right along the Lahn, to keep in communication with M. de Contades' army, cantooning from Cleves to Coblentz. "The country hereabouts is so eat up that I fear we shall be much distressed for forrage and provisions." *Copy.*

Prince Ferdinand to "Lord Sackville."

1758, December 31. Munster.—Is glad to hear of his safe arrival in London. As regards the augmentation of the army, has no doubt but that the necessity for it will turn the balance in the end, but fears that the time which should be given to preparations will be spent in deliberations. Urges in particular the increase of the light horse, which is so important that if it can be done in no other way, he would even decrease the infantry to augment the cavalry. Talent and zeal will do much, and he knows no one so capable as his Lordship of vanquishing even greater difficulties. *French. Signed.*

Lord George Sackville to Prince Ferdinand.

1759, January 19.—Is overcome by the kindness of his serene Highness's letter, and has the pleasure of announcing to him that the augmentation of the light troops, both Hessian and Hanoverian, is resolved upon, in spite of great difficulty in regard to the increased expense. The King, moreover, has held out hopes of 300 Irish troops as an additional recruit for the infantry, but it is to be feared that the Viceroy may upset this project. Is pleased to be able to steal a march on the Duke of Newcastle in

announcing that the treaty with Hesse is signed, and in congratulating his Highness thereupon. The letter to Mr. Pitt has produced the best effect, and (if he may venture to advise) it will be well for his Highness to continue this course of action, for a man of Mr. Pitt's merit and importance will always be very sensible of such proofs of confidence. *French. Copy.*

PRINCE FERDINAND to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, January 21. Munster.—Is glad to hear from Mr. Hunter that the cavalry is to be made complete, and hopes that the infantry will be so also. Has written to Mr. Pitt concerning the augmentation of the light German troops. Does not know whether England proposes to take any more German troops into pay and fears it may be difficult to find good ones, but what seems to him quite as important is to take advantage of the *brouilleries* of the Courts of Manheim, Bonn and Stutgard, with that of Versailles. Assures Lord George of his friendship and thanks him for the kind expressions in his letter. *French. Signed.*

PRINCE FERDINAND to KING GEORGE II.

1759, January 27. Munster.—Explaining the need for an augmentation of the artillery. *French, but said to be a translation.*

PRINCE FERDINAND to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, February 5.—Acknowledges his letter of January 19, and thanks him for his exertions in gaining the augmentation of the light troops. Believes that if the French do not succeed to their liking in Holland, their threats of carrying the war into his Majesty's dominions need not cause much alarm. The new treaty with Hesse is an event as happy as it is necessary for the strengthening of the good cause in Germany. Has a very true esteem for Mr. Pitt, and will be delighted to cultivate his friendship; and will therefore not fail to follow advice which is as just as it is pleasing. *French. Signed.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to PRINCE FERDINAND.

1759, February 23. London.—Our recruits for the cavalry are partly embarked, and also some for the infantry. I wish I could tell you that some battalions will follow them, but I see less chance of this than ever, for the alarms for the safety of this kingdom are increasing. The King has just named Lord Granby Lieutenant General. I am delighted to hear from his Lordship of your good health, and at the same time he has reminded me of your desires about the Artillery, in consequence of which I have had a conversation with Mr. Pitt, which, in confidence, I will communicate to your Highness.

I repeated to him the need of augmenting the army in Germany. He replied that if it could be done, he would be the first to put a hand to it, but that it would be dangerous in a country such

as this to stretch the cord too much; the public must be humoured, and before all else sufficient forces must be kept here to put us beyond all reach of danger; that we did not yet know what part Denmark and Holland would take; and that in short, we must not think of any re-inforcements from here whatever; but that if your Highness should suggest adding some troops from Brunswick (Hesse and Hanover having already done their utmost) he would willingly be the first to urge their payment (although he would be going outside his own department, as he had nothing to do with that of finance), even if the number should amount to two thousand. Then I spoke to him concerning the Artillery. He answered without hesitation, 'you know the state of it better than I do. If we can spare some without risking too much, I see no difficulty about it.' [The end of the letter states what ordnance Lord George believes might be sent.] *Copy. French.*

Prince Ferdinand to Lord George Sackville.

1759, March 7. Munster.—Thanking him for his letter of February 23 and for the prompt measures which he has taken in regard to the re-inforcements, and expressing his satisfaction that Lord George has commended the interests of the army to the care of Mr. Pitt, as he knows they could not be put into better hands. *French. Signed.*

The Same to the Same.

1759, April 1. Fulda.—Acknowledging his letter written at Deventer, and stating that he has outflanked the Austrians by his march to Fulda. "Les Huzards Prussiens ont renversé hier au dessus de Mölrichstad en Franconie le Regiment de Curassiers de Hohenzollern, et sabré en suite un Regiment de Milice de Wurtzbourg, après que la Cavallerie l'eut abandonné à son propre sort." *French. Signed.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord [Holdernesse?].

[1759, April, about the 3rd.]—Quotes the paragraph printed above, from the letter received from Prince Ferdinand this morning "on the success gained by the Allies. Baron Munchausen has sent an account from Cassel of an advantage gained by Prince Henry near Salfield, but it needs confirmation. The transports have sailed from the Elbe. Hopes Lord Granby and Major General Mostyn will have joined the English Brigade of cavalry now with Prince Ferdinand." *Draft.*

Prince Ferdinand to Lord George Sackville.

1759, April 7. Fulda.—Concerning the providing of new artillery. His aide-de-camp De Bulow has just taken the Castle of Ulrichstein, on which occasion the regiment of Hessian Grenadiers performed prodigies of valour. *French. Signed.*

PRINCE FERDINAND to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, April 9. Fulda.—Stating that on the previous day the Miltitz cavalry regiment was attacked near Treysa by the Turpin Hussars, when the latter were repulsed. *French. Signed.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to PRINCE FERDINAND.

1759, April 12. Munster.—Thanking him for his letters of the 7th and 9th and congratulating him on his happy progress. On the arrival and march of the artillery and cavalry recruits. *Draft. French.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD HOLDERNESSE.

1759, April 14. Munster.—Private. We hourly expect news from Prince Ferdinand. Meanwhile there can be nothing but conjecture, as "he is too wise to trust his secret intentions to anybody further than is absolutely necessary for the carrying them into execution. Your Lordship desires I would inform you of the situation of the enemy upon the Lower Rhine . . . but I can only do it in a private letter, because I have not the means of any authentick intelligence, General Sporcken having the command of all the troops in this part of the country, and consequently receives all possible information from letters, as well as constant reports from our out posts." We can only account for the inactivity of the enemy from their distress for want of clothing and other necessaries. These wants no longer exist, but to our great astonishment Mr. de Contades has not yet joined the army, nor are the generals commanding separate bodies so alert in sending re-inforcements to the Duc de Broglie at Hanau as they might have been if the power had been less divided, each general, as is natural, confining his attention to his own particular object.

The Duc de Broglie commands what has been called Soubize's army [on the Main], Mr. St. Germain commands at Cologne, and Mr. d'Armentieres at Dusseldorp.

At a Council of War at Cologne it was at last decided that Mr. St. Germain, with 14,000 men, was to pass the Rhine to Siegen, and General Imhoff was sent to watch his motions and obstruct his march, in consequence of which we to-day hear that the French troops have been stopped opposite to Bonn. Exclusive of Mr. St. Germain's corps, I believe the French cannot assemble 20,000 men on the Lower Rhine to march towards us, and though I cannot say what they can bring from Liege or the Low Countries, I am sure that Prince Ferdinand will have time to pursue, and I hope finish his operations, before we can be disturbed. *Copy.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD BARRINGTON.

1759, April 15. Munster.—Capt. Hicks and Capt. Burton, Majors of Brigade, being appointed aides-de-camp to himself and Lord Granby, he recommends Peter Chabert of Napier's and

Capt. Richard Callis of the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards in their place as Brigade Majors respectively of the Infantry and Cavalry. Also, as Ensign Thomas Clements of Napier's is too young to serve, he recommends Arthur Ward, volunteer, in his place ; and — Mulcaster to the ensigncy in Home's, vacant by the promotion of Ensign Gunning to be Lieutenant in Hodgson's. Everyone is pleased with Colonel Whitley's promotion, but regrets that Major Hepburne of Cholmondeley's and some others serving with them have not been thought worthy of his Majesty's favour.

Prince Ferdinand has marched from Fulda towards the French quarters. "It is most astonishing that in their present situation the French army should be left without a commander in chief," but by the last accounts Marshal Contades was not returned from Paris. *Copy.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD [HOLDERNESSE].

1759, April 25.—Concerning the state of the English cavalry, and the need of reinforcements. Congratulates Lord Holdernesse on the success of Prince Henry's corps in Bohemia. *Draft.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to PRINCE FERDINAND.

1759, April 29. Munster.—The baggage has arrived, but he finds it impossible to get carriages for it. Prays that if possible, the whole of the British corps may be together. *Draft. French.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD [HOLDERNESSE].

1759, May 2. Munster.—The troops are in readiness to march upon the first notice. The French are forming three camps on the Rhine; the first at Burick, near Wesel, under the Duc de Chevreuse, the second at Dusseldorp, and the third at Duitz, opposite Cologne, where Mr. d'Armentieres has his quarters. Lieut.-General Hardenberg is near Lipstadt, and we are to take the ground near Lette, so as to be ready to march either towards Dulmen or Coesfeldt. "Your Lordship perceives by these dispositions Prince Ferdinand has a very extended cordon from Lette to Lingenhaim where his head-quarters still are, and probably may wait in these posts till he perceives where the principal effort of the enemy is likely to be made."

LORD HOLDERNESSE to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1759, May 8. Whitehall.—Has received his letter of 29th April and laid it before the King. Finds by a letter from his Serene Highness of the 27th, that steps have been taken to repair the loss sustained at the battle of Bergen. Letters of 6th March have been received from Guardaloupe. *Signed.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord Holdernesse.

1759, May 26. Ludinchausen.—Reports the disposition of the English troops in the villages round about. The Prince's head quarters are at Reke, and the Hereditary Prince is at Unna. There was an alarm two nights ago that the enemy was going to attack Dorsten and advance to Halteren, but nothing came of it. Hears that Marshal Contades is at Siegberg, opposite Bonn, where he appears to mean to act only on the defensive. *Copy.*

Lord Barrington to Lord George Sackville.

1759, June 8. War Office.—Stating that he has succeeded in his application to Parliament to exempt General Staff officers from the payment of the late tax, and asking his Lordship to insert Capt. Fowler in the next certificate of his Staff as Judge Advocate, in succession to Capt. Douglass, resigned.

Samuel Martin to the Same.

1759, June 12. Treasury Chambers.—Is commanded by the Commissioners of the Treasury to state that they have given orders concerning money for the hospitals and forage money, and also to request his Lordship to take the trouble of looking after the business of the prisoners of war, concerning which application has been made from the Chancellerie de Guerre of Hanover.

Lord G. Sackville to Lord [Holdernesse?].

1759, June 16. The Camp at Brenken.—"The night before last, we came into this camp, after a most fatiguing and distressing march. . . . We are now in sight of the enemy's camp; it seems to be posted not far from Wunnenberg. Prince Ferdinand's and Marshal Contades' reconnoitering partys met this morning between the two camps, and the Duke of Richmond and Col. Fitzroy saw at a distance some of their old acquaintances, who by degrees approached and entered into conversation, till Marshal Contades sent to the French officers to return to him. Our position is extremely strong; . . . indeed this whole country is so cut up by ravines, and the hills rise so quick upon each other, that whoever is to act offensively must take his measures with the greatest ability to secure success." I believe the Marshal means to post himself as advantageously as possible and tempt the Prince to attack him in order to prevent him from detaching parties into Hanover. Some of the Marshal's irregulars have been seen in Paderborn. The army now assembled is in excellent condition. It consists of 45 battalions and 68 squadrons besides the light troops. *Draft.*

Lord Holdernesse to Lord G. Sackville.

1759, June 19. Whitehall.—Has received his letter of the 8th instant. By the last post were sent the particulars of the entire reduction of the Island of Guadaloupe. Congratulates him on this great and glorious success of his Majesty's arms.

Lord G. Sackville to [Mr. Martin].

1759, June 22. The Camp at Ritberg.—Has received his letter of the 12th, is always ready to obey the commands of the Lords of the Treasury, and will endeavour to undertake the service relating to the prisoners of war. Baron Munchausen, the only person who understands the affairs of the Chancellerie de Guerre, is away. Suggests methods for managing the business. *Copy.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord [Holdernesse ?].

1759, June 23. Camp at Ritberg.—The troops have come from Brencken to this place by way of Lipstadt. The Duc de Broglie had joined Marshal Contades, but they made no attempt to obstruct the march. The French are now at Brencken, and may begin operations by besieging Lipstadt. "The Prince seems by his dispositions to intend gaining time, and not put the fate of these countries to the decision of a battle without an absolute necessity. . . . The French are either not prepared for advancing or are waiting fresh orders from Court." *Copy.*

Baron Münchhausen.

1759, July 5. London.—Memorial from Baron Münchhausen, complaining of Mr. Intendant General Hunter's refusal to indemnify the Chancellerie de Guerre of Hanover for the advances made the French prisoners of war, and demanding, by order of the King, that Mr. Hunter be authorized to re-imburse the advances made and to provide money for the future. *Copy.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord Holdernesse.

1759, July 6 and 7. Camp at Dissen.—The French are said to be at Belefeld, and the outposts of the two armies are so near that they are continually skirmishing. Our Hussars have been dislodged from Halle and driven in upon Ravensberg Castle. The French, about a thousand strong, came up with great spirit to the Castle, but were soon obliged to retire with the loss of about twenty men. The Prince at once re-inforced this post, upon which the French abandoned Halle. General Wangenheim is on his march from Munster, and we hope shortly, with this re-inforcement, to be in a condition more openly to obstruct the designs of the enemy. *Draft.*

Prince Ferdinand to Lord George "Sackvil."

1759, July 11. Bomte.—"L'ennemi est maitre de Minden. Je crains qu'il ne me prenne aussi Niembourg sans que je le puisse empêcher. Mes magazins sur le Weser sont donc par la en danger. J'ai voulu voler au secours de Minden. Cela m'a manqué. Dois je continuer au hazard si Niembourg est pris, ou non voler pour secourir le dit endroit, et tacher d'y prevenir l'ennemi; ou, voiant l'impossibilité de ne plus reuissir avec

probabilité, dois je abandonner entierement le Weser, pour me raprocher de mes magazins d'Osnabruck, de Münster et le long de l'Embs, en marchant au secours de Münster, qui se trouve pareillement investi. Je m'attends, du zele que vous portés au bien de la cause commune et aux interets du roi, que vous me dirés votre sentiment sur une affaire aussi importente. Il se pourait même qu'au moment que j'ecris celle-ci, que Münster ne fut plus a notre pouvoir. Cela est probabel. Aiant representé en gros le tableau de ma situation presente, j'ose vous prier de me donner votre avis en consequence. Il faut que cela soit decidé tout de suite, puis que demain il faut que je me porte ou par ma gauche ou par ma droite, en consequence de l'un ou l'autre cas." *Holograph.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to PRINCE FERDINAND.

[1759, July 11.]—If it was absolutely in your Serene Highness's power to secure Munster, I should strongly advise your abandoning the Weser, and confining yourself to keeping those countries which would best enable us to carry on the war, as I do not conceive that the enemy would venture to establish their winter quarters in Hanover, whereas if they were once in possession of Munster, &c., it would be most difficult to dispossess them. But as your Highness doubts whether Munster is yet in your power to save, I do not hesitate to declare it as my opinion "that it is most for the King's service and the good of the common cause first to attempt the saving our magazines at Nienburgh, &c., as by that means a battle may ensue, and, if *le bon Dieu nous aide*, . . . I should hope your Serene Highness, in consequence of a victory, would remain master of Westphalia likewise. But if, from further intelligence, your Serene Highness sees it impracticable with any degree of probability to succeed in securing the Weser, and in bringing the enemy to a decisive engagement, what I have said in regard to Munster must weigh down all other considerations, especially as we shall by that means preserve our communication with England and Holland." *Draft.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD [HOLDERNESSE].

1759, July 18. Camp at Oberstadt.—"I have not had an opportunity of writing to your lordship since the 7th of this month from the camp at Dissen. I did then imagine . . . that a general engagement was unavoidable, and I believe the Prince marched with that intention from Dissen to Osnabrugh, in his way to Minden, near which place we expected to have found the enemy, but when we were at Bomte, we received the account of the French having attacked and possessed themselves of Minden, a blow so unexpected and so fatal to the Prince's plan of operations that it immediately reduced him to the necessity of giving up Munster, Osnabrugh and Westphalia and the whole course of the Emms, and by forced marches attempting to save Nienburgh

and keep the Lower Weser as the chief source of his subsistence, or else to return to the Bishoprick of Munster, and by preserving those countrys and the great magazines there, abandon, at least for the summer, the Weser and all his Majesty's Electoral dominions. The Prince, I dare say for the best reasons, preferred the plan of protecting the Lower Weser, and by the quickness of his march and his able dispositions, saved Nienburgh and possessed himself of Bremen." He then marched to the enemy, but found them in a position too strong to be forced, especially as the corps under the Duc de Broglie, which had been detached for the siege of Hamelin, had, by a forced night march, rejoined Marshal Contades. The army has undergone great fatigue lately, yet "we hear no grumbling or complaint, but the truest spirit and cheerfulness appear upon every occasion." *Draft.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD [BUTE?].

[1759, July 18.]—I cannot recollect whence I last wrote to your Lordship, but since then our situation is so changed for the worse that I did not imagine it could have happened to us without loss of a battle. Prince Ferdinand's plan seemed to be the preserving Munster, Osnabrugh, Westphalia, &c., as long as possible without risking a decisive engagement, until we reached Bomte, a march this side Osnabrugh, where our whole force was collected, and we were on the point of marching to the enemy, when the French unexpectedly attacked and carried Minden by assault. "This news found us at Bomte in the most disagreeable and critical position possible. It was necessary however to come to an immediate decision; the Prince, who seldom asks opinions, was pleased upon that occasion to call upon General Sporcken, General Imhoff and myself to give our thoughts upon the party he was to take. It is not very easy to form opinions without hearing all that the person knows who puts the questions to you . . . however, I never will make difficultys, and I instantly returned my answer. I enclose to you copys of the paper the Prince gave me and what I wrote in answer after putting it into French. . . .

"I need not beg your Lordship to keep this entirely to yourself, as it is an affair I think it improper for me to write to the Ministry upon, as it is a sort of private transaction. General Sporcken was absolutely for coming hither, Imhoff for returning to Munster, upon a supposition that the enemy must have taken Nienburgh, as we had three marches and they only one forced march to get thither. We were afterwards called upon to talk the affair over . . . and I joined entirely with General Imhoff and was for returning instantly to secure Munster, but however, the other part was taken, and by it we have given up immense magazines, lost winter quarters in a country that would have supply'd us with forrage &c. without expense to the publick, and our nearest communications with England and Holland cut off. The Prince however so far has succeeded as by forced marches to have saved Nienburgh; he has likewise seized

Bremen, and yesterday marched up to the enemy at Minden, . . . found them so strongly posted as made an attack impossible," and has therefore returned to this camp. I fancy the chief reason which led Prince Ferdinand to prefer keeping the Weser to all other considerations was preserving his communications with the King of Prussia. "I only wish we may ever see assistance come from that quarter. We certainly must not expect it without some great previous success on that side."

"As for the Electoral dominions, I sincerely pity the subjects of them, for I am sure the distress that will be brought upon them by having their country the seat of war will be infinitely greater than what they would have suffer'd by the contributions that would have been regularly and equally levell'd upon them by the enemy.

"I see little hopes of mending our situation. The enemy will not fight as long as they can carry all their points without risking a battle, and I confess, in my poor opinion, Marshal Contades has fairly outwitted us. It would be presumption in me to think we could have done better, but I own, when we were at the camp of Dissen, the enemy did seem to have given us an opening which I then wish'd and expected would have been taken by possessing ourselves of a camp between them and Paderborn. . . . Prince Ferdinand, in his conversation with us at Bomte, said that he did not know but he should have done wiser had he risk'd the taking the camp at [*blank*], and added the Hereditary Prince was strongly of that opinion; but then, said he, I should have exposed my magazines at Osnabrugh." *Draft.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD [HOLDERNESSE].

1759, July 27. Camp at Petershagen.—About six thousand Imperial troops are in Brunswick, raising contributions, and it is feared there are no troops there to oppose their progress. The Prince keeps his army very alert. Every morning the cavalry saddle, the infantry dress, and the pickets are advanced, so there is no danger of a surprise, and if the enemy gives the least opening for an attack, the Prince will be ready to take advantage of it. *Copy.*

LORD HOLDERNESSE to LORD G. SACKVILLE.

1759, July 31. Whitehall.—Has received his letter of the 17th (? 18) inst. and laid it before the King, who laments the untimely loss of Minden. The enemy still continue to threaten an invasion of England. *Signed.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1759, August 10. Whitehall.—Congratulates him on the glorious success of his Majesty's arms on the 1st inst., and rejoices that their losses were not considerable. On Capt. Ligonier's arrival the earliest notice possible was given to those who had relations at the army. The arrival of Colonel Fitzroy is awaited with the utmost impatience. *Signed.*

XIII.—MINDEN PAPERS.

Papers Relating to the Battle of Minden and the Trial of Lord George Sackville.

These papers include the King's warrant for the trial, dated 27th January, 1760; the Attorney General's and the Solicitor General's report to the Earl of Holderness, dated 12th January, 1760, and observations thereon; opinions, questions to various officers present at the Battle of Minden and their answers, and questions put to witnesses in cross-examination by Lord George Sackville: declarations of witnesses: list of officers to be summoned from Germany and in England: Lord George Sackville's reply to the Judge Advocate: his defence and notes on the evidence, &c., in his handwriting: memorandum in French of the orders given by Prince Ferdinand, and other correspondence, observations and papers.

Lord George Sackville to Prince Ferdinand.

1759, August 2. Camp at Minden.—"Pardonnes que j'avoue a V. A. S. que j'ai recu comme un coup de foudre les ordres qu'il lui a plût à donner aujourdjui; j'y suis si sensible et je m'y vois si fortement interressé qu'il faut pour mon repos que je prens la liberté de lui conter le fait simplement comme il est arrivé.

"J'ai reçu ordre par M. Malhorti de former et d'avancer toute la Cavalerie; peu de tems apres, un autre ordre me vint de faire avancer la Cavalerie Brittanique seulement; ces deux ordres suivirent de si près qu'ils m'embarrassèrent un peu, j'envoiois cependant la faire faire le detour du Bois, et apprennant que V. A. n'etait pas eloigné, je pris le parti d'aller moi même lui faire rapport de ce qui se passoit, et demander ses instructions ulterieures, ce qui ne tarda nullement l'execution des premiers.

"L'ordre que je donnois à mylord Granby de faire halte c'était tousjours dans le dessein d'obeir aux votres en gardant l'alignement, qui ne dura surement que très peu de tems, autant seulement qui etoit necessaire a cet effet. Je lui donnai après pour la même raison le même ordre, il me fit dire qu'il avoit reçu ceux de V. A. de s'avancer et il le fit effectivement, et je me pressai avec la droite pour m'aligner avec lui, jusqu'à ce que nous arrivâmes où nous étions ordonné derrière l'Infanterie, et il le me parût même dans ce moment qu'il ne me devança point; mylord Granby me rendra sur ces articles justice, et m'autorise de lui dire qu'il est prèt a rendre son temoignage làdessus à V. A. en ma presence. V. A. aura la bonté de faire de même, et comme je ne sçaurai me persuader qu'elle voudroit me nuire a un tel point dans l'armée et dans le monde, elle voudra dans les ordres de demain me rétablir dans l'opinion de tous les deux. C'est une grace que je vous demande puisque ceux d'aujourdjui semblent me condamner sans me nommer, et je l'espère d'autant plus, puisque si V. A. avoit vu *elle-même* ma situation, et tout ce que j'y fis, elle ne m'auroit pas cru coupable. Si je l'ai été, c'étoit surement mon malheur et non mon intention." *Endorsed by Lord George.* "Copy of letter to P. Ferdinand."

PRINCE FERDINAND to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, August 3. Minden.—"Je suis mortifié, mylord, d'entrer avec vous en explication sur une mattière aussi dèsagreable que celle qui fait le sujet de la lettre que vous m'aves fait parvenir hier au soir par votre aide de camp Kieth, après une conversation dèjà très dèsagreable qui avait precédée avec l'aide de camp general Haddam,* l'après midi, où il m'a parlé de votre part sur le même sujet. J'ai cru dans cette conversation d'avoir épuisé tout ce qu'il y avoit à répondre sur une matière pareille, sans me voir obligé à en venir à de nouvelles explications.

"Je vous dirés donc tout simplement que je n'ai pu voir avec indifference ce qui s'est fait avec la Cavallerie de la droite. Vous commandés tout le Corps Brittannique, ainsi votre poste fixe ne devoit pas être seul la Cavallerie, mais vous devies egalement conduire les uns et les autres suivant que vous en trouviés l'occasion pour coöperer à la reussité d'une journée si glorieuse pour l'armée.

"Je vous ai fourni la plus belle occasion pour profiter et pour faire decider le sort de cette journée, si mes ordres avoient été rempli au pied de la lettre. Le temoignage que j'ai rendu à my lord Granby je le lui dois par ce qu'il le mérite a tous egards et qu'il me l'a marqué dans tant d'occasions. Ce n'est pas une règle que puisque je loue l'un que je blame l'autre. Mais il ne me peut pas être indifférent si mes ordres ne s'executent point, et qu'on ne veut ajouter foi aux porteurs de cet ordre. Je vous prie, my lord, de me despenser d'entrer dans un plus long detaille, ni de revocquer à l'ordre des choses de la verité de la quelle je suis persuadé, et du sens que j'y attache. Je crois, mylord, que je vous ai toujours donné des preuves distingués de ma façon de penser sur votre sujet, et avec le même droit j'a lieu d'être très peu satisfait de l'inexecution de mes ordres. A quoi je dois l'attribuer je l'ignore, et j'en suspens mon jugement. Du reste j'ai l'honneur d'être," &c. *Holograph.*

LORD HOLDERNESSE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, August 14. Whitehall.—Acknowledging his letter of the 2nd, containing an account of the glorious victory on the 1st, and stating that the King is pleased to comply with his Lordship's desire to quit his command, which is to be taken by Lord Granby. *Signed.*

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to PRINCE FERDINAND.

1759, August 22. Camp at Frankenberg.—"Le courier vient de m'apporter l'ordre du Roi de laisser a mylord Granby le commandement des Troupes Brittaniques en Allemagne, et sa permission de retourner en Angleterre; j'y suis representé comme un homme des plus coupables; il est surement impossible que V. A. l'a voulu pousser a ce point là, il a cependant pris ce pli, et innocent où coupable je me vois le plus malheureux des

* ? Adjutant-General Hotham.

hommes. Je me crois le premier, si Votre Altesse juge le contraire ma conscience est ma ressource, cependant je ne doute pas que sa justice ne lui porte a me declarer sur quel point j'ai pu manquer si essentiellement pour m'attirer une punition mille fois pire que la mort.

"N'ayant plus de commandement ici il n'est guerres necessaire a dire à V. A. que je dois partir au plûtot." *Copy.*

Prince Ferdinand to Lord George Sackville.

1759, August 22. Franckenberg.—"Je n'ai fait aucune mention de V. E. dans mes lettres que j'ai écrites en Angleterre, ni immediatement après la battaille ni les premiers quinze jours suivants. Vous voyés par là mylord que ce n'est pas moi qui ait donné ce pli a vos affaires dont vous vous plaignés.

"Je n'ai écrit a Sa Majesté sur votre sujet que de Stadtbergen, après que je me fusse aperçu que les propos que vous teniés à l'armée pouvoient y alterer cette harmonie qui y doit regner. Cette lettre étant à peine arrivée à Londres n'y est venu qu'apres coup.

"Rendés enfin justice, mylord, à ma façon de penser, Je ne trouve aucun plaisir ni interêt à vous nuire, mais je ne saurois me dispenser de dire les choses commes elles sont dès que le service l'exige." *Holograph.*

Lord Bute to Lord George Sackville.

1759 [before Sept. 7].—"Lord Bute's compliments attend Lord George Sackville. He cannot help thinking the letter he proposes to send extrem'ly proper, and the latter part penn'd with a spirit and dignity becoming his Lordship's rank and situation; business prevents his enlarging at present on the subject, he shall take care to convey the papers back again to Lord George." *Holograph.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord Holdernesse.

1759, September 7. Pall Mall.—"I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship with my arrival in England in pursuance of his Majesty's permission sent to me at my request by your Lordship.

"I thought myself much injured abroad by an imply'd censure upon my conduct, I find I am still more unfortunate at home, by being publicly represented as having neglected my duty in the strongest manner by disobeying the positive orders of H.S.H. Prince Ferdinand. As I am concious of neither neglect nor disobedience of orders, as I am certain I did my duty to the utmost of my abilitys, and as I am persuaded that the Prince himself, had he condescended to have enquired into my conduct before he had express'd his disapprobation of it from the partial representation of others, would have found that he had no just cause of complaint against me, I therefore most humbly request that I may at last have a public opportunity given me of attempting to justify myself to his Majesty and to my country, by a Court Martial being appointed, that if I am guilty I may suffer such

punishment as I may have deserved, and if innocent that I may stand acquitted in the opinion of the world, but it is really too severe to have been censured unheard, to have been condemned before I was try'd, and to be informed neither of my crime nor of my accusers." *Draft.*

Lord Holdernesse to Lord George Sackville.

1759, September 8. Sion Hill.—"I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 7th inst., and shall not fail to lay it before the King, and to acquaint your Lordship with his Majesty's farther pleasure as soon as I can receive his commands." *Holograph.*

William Pitt to Lord George Sackville.

1759, September 9.—"I have the honour of a letter from your Lordship, with a copy of one from you to Lord Holdernesse, requesting that a publick opportunity may be given you of justifying your conduct by a Court Martial, wherein I wish your Lordship all success. You are pleased to make very undeserved acknowledgements for such offices only of common candour and humanity as I was able, consistently with my duty to the King and zeal for the service, to employ; but these offices went no farther than using endeavours that your Lordship might return from your command, by his Majesty's *permission*, not by *order*. I hope you will think it is the same temper of mind which at present compells me to deal frankly on this very unhappy and delicate occasion, where delusion might prove dangerous.

"Give me leave then to say that I find myself (from the turn of your Lordship's letter) under the painfull necessity of declaring my infinite concern, at not having been able to find, either from Captain Smith's conversation or from your own state (*sic*) of facts, any room (as I wish't) for me to offer support, with regard to a conduct, which my incompetence perhaps to judge of military questions leaves me at a loss to account for. I cannot enough lament the subject of a correspondence, so unlike everything I had wish't, to a person for whose advantageous situation my poor endeavours had not been wanting." *Holograph.* [*Printed in the* Chatham Correspondence, *from Pitt's draft.*]

Lord George Sackville to Lord Bute.

1759, September 9, Pall Mall.—"You may easily conceive the distress I must be under in my unhappy situation in having no opportunity of advising with your Lordship, who has shewn yourself so much my friend upon this occasion. The melancholy scene you are engaged in* makes many apologys necessary for my attempting to draw a moment of your attention to my business, but I think it very material that your Lordship should be acquainted with what has passed since I last wrote to you. I sent without delay (after I receiv'd your answer) my letter to

* Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of Frederick, (late) Prince of Wales, died on Sept. 4, 1759.

Lord Holdernesse requesting a Court Martial. I did it upon hearing that in the temper his Majesty was in he might probably as soon as he heard of my arrival in town dismiss me from his service, especially as I might expect no assistance from any of the Ministers, because whatever tended to my justification must in a degree reflect upon the character of Prince Ferdinand, and that it was necessary at all events to support him in the fullest glory both in regard to the closet and the carrying on with good humour that expensive part of the war.

" This appeared so natural and so ministerial that I saw, notwithstanding the justice of my cause, the infinite difficultys truth would have to struggle with, and I imagined nothing tended more towards its meeting with a favourable hearing than my immediate offer and request of bringing my cause to a legal decision.

" I thought it proper to acquaint Mr. Pitt with the step I had taken, and sent him a copy of my letter to Lord Holdernesse and an apology for not waiting upon him and thanking him for the attention he had shown to what my aid-de-camp had said to him, and the support I had receiv'd from him. This I said, as I understood he had at first taken my part in some degree in the closet. I have just now had his answer, and I find my intelligence about ministerial support too well founded.

" I take the liberty of sending you a copy of his letter to me. If any thing coud make me doubt of my own innocence it is his strong declaration against me; it would have been more kind had he first permitted me to have explained my own story to him or even admitted Capt. Smith to have spoke more fully upon the subject, but I thank God I do not yet feel myself sink under my misfortunes, and I still trust that truth will prevail and that your Lordship will see me deserving of your friendship and support." *Copy.*

Lord Holdernesse to Lord George Sackville.

1759, Sept. 10.—Whitehall.—The King desires me to inform you that as you did not demand a Court Martial while in Germany, it must now be deferred until the officers capable of giving evidence can leave their posts, when, if you still wish it, his Majesty will certainly comply with your request. *Signed.*

Lord Barrington to Lord George Sackville.

1759, Sept. 10. War Office.—" I have received his Majesty's commands to let you know that he has no further occasion for your service as Lieut.-General and Colonel of Dragoon Guards. I am concerned that I have no better occasion to assure your Lordship, &c." *Signed.*

Lord George Sackville to Lord Holdernesse.

1759, Dec. 1. Pall Mall.—Renewing his request for a Court Martial, as the allied army is about to go into winter quarters, and he hopes he may then be indulged in his request without inconvenience to his Majesty's service. *Copy.*

LORD HOLDERNESSE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, Dec. 3. Whitehall.—As it is a question of law whether his Lordship is amenable to a Court Martial or no, the King has directed a proper reference to be made, and if it can be done, will grant his request. *Signed.*

THE SAME to the SAME.

1760, January 15. Whitehall.—Sends a copy of the Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General, by which he will see upon what points, under the Mutiny Act, an officer may be tried in Great Britain for a military offence committed abroad. As there is no specific charge exhibited against his Lordship, and he has requested the Court Martial to justify his conduct, he is desired to state in what manner he proposes to take the benefit of the same. *Signed.*

Enclosing,

Copy of Report above-mentioned, signed by Sir C. Pratt and Hon. C. Yorke, and giving their opinion that an officer may be tried by Court Martial, although he has been dismissed from the army, but that he can only be tried in Great Britain for certain offences committed abroad, viz: unlicensed correspondence with the enemy, using violence to a superior officer or disobeying his commands, and desertion.

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE to LORD HOLDERNESSE.

1760, January 17. Pall Mall.—Expressing his astonishment that Prince Ferdinand should have reflected upon his conduct so strongly as to induce the King to show him the heaviest marks of his displeasure, and yet should have exhibited no specific charge against him; and requesting that his Majesty will be pleased to direct him to be prosecuted for whatever crime he is supposed to be guilty of. As he is conscious of no crime, he must wait to hear the accusation and know his accusers before he can offer his defence. *Copy.*

LORD HOLDERNESSE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1760, January 22. Whitehall.—Stating that his Majesty has given directions for the appointment of a Court Martial. *Signed.*

CHARLES GOULD, JUDGE ADVOCATE, to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1760, January 27. Privy Garden.—Informing him that the charge against him is that of disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand, which, by his Majesty's commission and instructions, he was bound to obey and execute; and requesting the names of any material witnesses whom he desires should be summoned from the office. *Signed.*

Lord George Sackville to Charles Gould.

1760, January 27.—Enclosing a list of witnesses material for the defence. Would have desired others of greater rank, but feared their absence from the army might be prejudicial to his Majesty's service. If however any of the general officers should be in England at the time of his trial, he hopes he may be allowed to call upon them if needful. *Copy.*

Enclosing,

A list of officers to be summoned from Germany, viz. :—
Lieut.-Col. Hotham, Adjutant-general.
Major Kieth, commanding the Highlanders, formerly aide-de-camp to Lord G. Sackville.
Capt. Hugo, in the Hanoverian service. Formerly aide-de-camp to Lord George, now to Lord Granby.
Capt. Joseph Broome. Formerly aide-de-camp to Lord George, (as Lieut-General of the Ordnance), now to Lord Granby.
Capt. McBean, Royal Regiment of Artillery.
Major Hepburn. In command of the Inniskillings the day of the action.
Capt. Wilson, aide-de-camp to General Waldegrave.
Lieut. Sutherland, of the Welsh Fusiliers.
Lieut. Bisset, assistant Quarter-master general.
Capt. Faucit, aide-de-camp to the late Gen. Elliott.
Lieut.-Col. Preston, of the Scots Greys.
Lieut.-Col. Mocher, of Gen. Howard's Dragoons.
Capt. Callis, of Blands, acting as Major of Brigade on August 1st.
Lieuts. Hartnell and Whitefoorde, Inniskilling Regiment.
Capt. Shafto, Col. Boscawen's regiment.
Capts. John Smith and Richard Lloyd, late aides-de-camp to Lord George.
Capts. Philips and Williams, Royal Regiment of Artillery.
Colonel Oughton.

Questions offered to the above-named officers, with notes of their replies, mostly in Lord George Sackville's handwriting.

Charles Gould to Lord George Sackville.

1760, February 24. Privy Garden.—Fixing the Court Martial for Friday next, at 10 a.m., at the Judge Advocate's Office in the New Buildings at the Horse Guards. Believes that by that time the witnesses from Germany will have arrived, and will readily summon any others in England whom his Lordship may desire.

Papers in defence of Lord George Sackville.

(1.) A MS. in the form of a letter (of 44 pages and incomplete) without date, entitled as follows :—

"A letter to the right honorable Lord George Sackville, which detects and lays open the infamy of the proceedings against his Lordship." Headed by the following lines :—

"Shall men, like *figures*, pass for high or base,
Slight, or important, only by their place?
Titles are marks of *honest* men, and *wise*;
The fool, or knave, that wears a title, *lyes*.
They that on glorious ancestors enlarge,
Produce their *debt*, instead of their *discharge*,
Sackville, let those who proudly boast their line
Like thee, in worth hereditary, shine."

YOUNG."

(2.) Another MS. without title or writer's name. On the same subject as the above. 30 *pp.* *Draft, much corrected.*

Begins. "Swift somewhere says that he 'never knew a man who could not bear the misfortunes of another perfectly like a Christian.'

Ends. 'Actuated without prejudice and without favour, a stranger to Lord George Sackville and ever like so to be, these are my sentiments, . . . and if what is here advanced should induce one honest man only to think as favourably of his lordship as I do, I shall think myself happy in this instance of having done as I would be done unto.'"

(3.) A MS. entitled "Lord George Sackville's conduct considered and humbly recommended to the Public by a Desirer of Truth." 29 pages, signed T.E.

Begins. "Though it is an observation of Foreign Authors that England (so much taken up with caballing) never knows to do honour to her greatest men . . . Yet I could not have supposed there was a reasonable being but what had long been convinced . . . that Lord George Sackville had been most injuriously treated in the affair of Minden."

Ends. "No man ever behaved so great and so amiable under such circumstances as Lord G. S., no recompense can compensate for his suffering or equal his virtues, no retalliation too publick or too great for his honour. His uprightness, faithfullness and abilities have been distinguished with the confidence of his Sovereign; the public affairs want his counsels; his honesty and firmness deserve the esteem and affection of his country."

(4.) An account of Lord George Sackville written for insertion in the Peerage, apparently in 1765, and copy correspondence on the subject.

LIEUT. WILLIAM HYDE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1775, December 26. Calcutta.—Having lately purchased at a sale a History of the late war with marginal notes in General Kingsley's own hand, throwing a very different light on many transactions, and especially on the battle of Minden, he has taken

the liberty of sending them by the *Hillsborough*, and hopes the book will reach his Lordship safely.

Annexed,

"Extract from the Compleat History of the late War, in 2 vols., printed in 1763, the author not mentioned.*"

"On the 31st [of July] in the evening, the Prince [Ferdinand] "further ordered that at one o'clock the next morning the army "should be ready to march."

Margin. "*This had been ordered for several nights before, so that P. Ferdinand had not more reason to think of an action the next day than for several others before.*

"On the 31st, at 6 in the evening, a grand Council of War was "held at Marshal de Contades' quarters. . . . The Marshal "gave the Generals the order of the march."

Margin. "*The best digested I ever saw. We received none from P. Ferdinand, nor did he seem to put that confidence in Generals to be so explicit, as he seldom or never intrusted any with the order of battle. Let those reconcile this conduct who can.*

"Marshal Contades formed the whole plan of the action upon a "supposition that D. Ferdinand, having removed the greatest "part of his army so far to the right of Hill [Hille], was at too "great a distance from Wangenheim to succour him."

Margin. "*There was no part of the army to the right of Hill, nor no other regiments* (*which were* (sic) *Napier's and Kingsley's*) *near it, and which covered the Duke's quarters.*

"The whole French army was marching into the plain of "Minden by five o'clock in the morning."

Margin. "*The enemy were well formed by three in the morning. Had they instantly marched forward, our whole army had been surprized and must have been totally destroyed. The Prince of Anhalt, General* [*officer*] *of that day, lost two hours by not sending the deserters who gave him intimation of the enemy's being in motion to Prince Ferdinand sooner, not putting confidence in them.*

"I before mentioned that the Duke gave orders in the evening "of the 31st of July, for the army to be ready to march at one "o'clock the next morning. . . . By some mistake the order "was not brought to Lord George Sackville,† so that instead of "the horses being saddled at one o'clock . . . they were not "saddled before four."

Margin.† "*Nor, I believe, to any other general officer.*

"The order [to march] speedily was put in execution, although "it was not brought to Lord George Sackville by another mistake, "so that the army was drawn up in lines before he knew anything

* In the MS., Col. Kingsley's marginal notes are given in red ink. Only so much of the "Extracts" is here printed as is needful to explain Kingsley's remarks.

† These notes relate to passages not quoted.

"of the matter; but the French having raised a battery at "Eichhorst, which played early in the morning on some out "posts* on the right of the Hanoverian army . . . the firing "waked his Lordship,† and being informed that the army was "formed, he immediately repaired to the head of the line."

Margin. **Hill, Prince Ferdinand's quarters, covered with Kingsley's and Napier's regiments, three miles from camp.*

† *The firing did not wake his Lordship. The moment I heard it, I sent to know whether his Lordship heard, or what orders he had received. The messenger brought me back word that no orders were come, as the Serjeant of his Lordship's guard told him that everything was quiet, and his Lordship in bed. But it is certain he was in time at his post.*

"Between six and seven, the whole allied army drew up in "order of battle, having its right, consisting of cavalry under "Lord George Sackville, extended toward the village of Hartum; "its centre was composed of infantry, and its left of General "Wangenheim's corps and some German cavalry."

Margin. This order of battle was never form'd. It was indeed intended, but wether by the tardiness of, or obstacle to, the columns of the left in their marching, they never join'd the column of Brittish and Hanoverian troops on the right till they alone had drove the enemy out of the field.

"About seven o'clock, the French began to fire upon a battery "in the front of the right wing of the allied army, from one in "front of their left wing, but as soon as the English artillery "was prepared, it returned their fire, and in less than ten "minutes silenced those guns of the enemy's."

Margin. The English artillery did not silence those guns till toward the end of the action.

"In the mean time, D. Ferdinand . . . ordered the infantry "of his centre to advance against the centre of the French, which "consisted of the flower of their cavalry, and who anticipated the "shock of the Allies by attacking their infantry."

Margin. The Infantry of the center never came up. The attack was made by the Brittish only; the Hanoverian guards sustained [them]; the battle was over and the enemy beat before the center of the Infantry arrived.

"Such was the unshaken firmness of these troops [the "English and Hanoverian foot] . . . that nothing could stop "them; they cut to pieces several bodies of the enemy's cavalry, "and entirely routed the whole of it. The Saxon foot, which "were on the left of the French horse, made a show of coming "down on those conquering regiments . . . but they vanished "before the English infantry."

Margin. They did actually come down, and very gallantly attack'd Kingsley's regiment, and which at first retreated, after losing a great number of men; but on the regiment's rallying again, and being supported by a fresh battalion of Hanoverian Guards, they were in their turn repulsed. The enemy's cavalry were at this time beat out of the field.

"The English regiments, Kingsley's, Napier's, Stuart's, "Huske's and Brudenel's [and Home's, *inserted by Kingsley*], but "especially the three former, the Hanoverian Guards and "Hardenberg's regiment, all behaved to admiration."

Margin. I never saw Hardenberg's in the action, nor were the Hanoverians in the heat of it; as they march'd in the rear of the right column they could not be up time enough to assist but in supporting. Their loss will shew this.

"Kingsley was wounded at the head of his brave regiment and "fell off his horse; a squadron of French cavalry rode over him "without his receiving any hurt; as he was lying on the ground, "a French soldier was going to run him through with his "bayonet, but he discovered himself, was taken prisoner, and "afterward retaken by his own men."

Margin. Kingsley did not fall from his horse. His horse was shot in four places, fell with and died upon him. Neither was he taken prisoner, tho' the Saxon troops marched twice over him. They were twice going to shoot him, he did not discover himself, but at length disentangled himself from his horse and rejoined his regiment and brigade.

"Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, of the Inniskilling dragoons, meeting "with Fischer (the famous partizan), struck his head off at one "blow with his broad sword, &c., &c., &c."

Margin. This is false. Fischer was not in the action, and is now alive (1763). *Neither did the attack answer our expectation. The Hereditary Prince was not concerned in the action; there was but one regiment which was Fischer's, so that it was impossible there could be a loss equal to what the author says.**

"The 18th of September a detachment from the Allied army "made themselves masters of Witzlar, but were soon after "dislodged by the Duke of Broglio."

Margin. The enemy were not dislodged by us from Witzler. It is an imperial city, and a strict neutrality was observed; and had Prince Ferdinand accepted a neutrality for Grizzen, which was offered by the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, it would have been better policy, and have saved more lives than we lost at Minden, and were obliged, after an ill-timed blockade, to quit it.

"In the meantime the Duke of Broglio, who, having obtained "the Marshal's staff now commanded the French army, &c., &c."

*Margin. The Duke of Broglio did not return from his cantonment in order to attack us at Coosdorpe, but to fling in a fresh garrison to Grizzen, which he actually did, by which the useless and indeed silly blockade we had made was rendered abortive.**

N.B. Under the plan of the battle of Minden is wrote: *A very accurate plan. William Kingsley.*

Certified by Lieut. Hyde as a very accurate copy.

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* These notes partly relate to passages not quoted by Hyde.

XIII.—LETTERS OF RICHARD CUMBERLAND AND OTHERS TO LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

Letters from Mr. Richard Cumberland and Mr. Hussey, employed on behalf of the English Government on a mission to the Spanish Court, to Lord George Germain, with others.

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1778, January 22.—On the hearing of the cause against Macnamara, and other matters. There seems to be "a pro and con" between Lords Warwick and Hertford, in which the King is a party.

William Wardlaw to [Lord George Germain].

1779, June 8.—"I take the liberty of acquainting your Lordship that I have received the following information partly from the Spanish Ambassador's private secretary and partly from Mr. Hussey, who has been chaplain successively to Prince Masserano and the Marquis d'Almodavar, and who is much in the esteem and confidence of the Court of Madrid, as I have been told by the Ambassador, and as appears by several letters from thence to him, particularly by those of Count Florida Blanca, one of whose mentions that the King of Spain had ordered Mr. Hussey a pension of five hundred and sixty ducats annually, which, however, he says he has not accepted.

"A treaty offensive and defensive was concluded about a year and a half since between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, in consequence of which they are assured that the Portuguese Envoy will be recalled in a few weeks from London.

"They say they have undoubted information that orders have been despatch'd to Sir Edward Hughes to proceed with his fleet to the Phillippine Islands, and that a plan is laid down for his operations there, particularly that he is not to invest the city of Manilla till he shall have made himself master of the harbour.

"Several paragraphs have been inserted by their desire in the 'Morning Post,' a paper which has for some time been under Spanish influence.

"I have prevailed on them to lay aside a design they had form'd of publishing an account of the second answer which was given to the Spanish ultimatum, as well as of the reception which that answer met with at Madrid. I have reason to suspect that this design originated at Lord Traquair's table, and that its author was Mr. Edmund Burke, whose motion for the papers relative to the Spanish negociation was suggested by Mr. Hussey, who is one of his most intimate friends, and who gave him constant information of all the transactions between his Majesty's ministers and the ambassador.

"They are exceedingly dispirited at the news from Ireland, as all their accounts from the trading parts of that kingdom

represent it to be in a state of tranquillity. This much is certain, that all the ships from England in the port of Dublin have landed their cargoes without the slightest molestation from the mob, and that at least fifteen vessels are now loading there for different ports of this country, most of them for London.

"They are in great anxiety about the Ambassador's private secretary, not knowing to what cause they are to impute the order he has receiv'd from Sir Stanier Porten.* They are apprehensive that his person is to be detain'd and his papers seized, and have desired me to endeavour by every possible means to discover what the intentions of Government are, but I have told them my inabillity even to make such an attempt.

"Should your Lordship please to honor me with any commands during Mr. Cumberland's absence, I live in Pall Mall, next house to the Royal Hotel."

William Wardlaw to [Richard Cumberland?].

1779, Aug. 9. 18, Portland Street, Soho.—"Sir, not having obtained your permission to write to you, I should not have presumed to give you this trouble if I did not think that the subject was a powerful excuse for my boldness. During your absence I have constantly informed Lord George Germain of everything in which the State was concerned in the conversations I have had with Mr. Hussey, and I should have done so upon this occasion if I did not find myself in a dilemma from which I can be extricated only by the directions which I am to receive, and which perhaps, his Lordship might not chuse to send me.

"Mr. H. informs me that he has received advice that an immediate descent is intended on the coast of Ireland, where the protection of Spain is to be offered to such of the inhabitants as shall declare for independency. This resolution he says is sudden, and has been formed in consequence of some assurances of meditated revolt given to the Court of Madrid by the agent, who (as I had the honor of acquainting you some time since), was sent thither by the people who had been gained by Dr. Franklin's emissaries in the north of Ireland. Mr. H. still declares that no person of consequence has engaged in this association, but that the most flattering temptations are to be held out to Lord Bellamont, as they have conceived great hopes from his necessitous circumstances and his disgust, though he acknowledges that this nobleman has given no personal encouragement, but I have good reason to suspect that he has been sounded.

"Count Pignatelli has received orders from his Court to send couriers to the continent as often as Mr. H. shall have any intelligence worth communicating, but he tells Mr. H. that he cannot depend upon the man he employs in that business, nor will Mr. H. place any confidence in the Count, whom he suspects (as the late ambassador did) of being an interested friend to his Majesty's ministers. Mr. H., therefore, had formed a design of

* Under Secretary of State for the Southern department.

going to Paris to confer with Dr. Franklin, Count d'Aranda, and the Marquis d'Almodavar, who is still in France; but finding his residence necessary here he has quitted that intention and wishes that I would go in his stead. Under pretence of consulting the surgeon who has the care of my sore leg, I have defer'd my determination for a few days, hoping that you will be so very condescending as to direct me. I need not point out to your descernment the advantages that may be derived from such an opportunity of obtaining intelligence of the utmost moment, especially at this juncture, when I am sure of possessing a credit which perhaps may not remain long in its present state. Mr. H. wishes me to carry over a compleat state of the navy, a plan of the new battery at Gibraltar with its subterraneans, the state of the stores in the different naval magazines, and a list of the stores on board the Ordnance ships going to the Mediterranean. These I either am possessed of or can easily obtain; but he would also have me get a list of the effective land forces at home and abroad, and the militia, together with the provincial troops in his Majesty's service in America; and, if possible by any means, and at any expence, to procure authentic information of the agreement between us and Holland. The former I believe I could get, but the latter I have no possible means of acquiring, though I confess that if it was not against the interest of Government to have it known I would be very glad to be master of a secret which might put me in possession of a sum sufficient to relieve me from all my difficulties, and which, by the addition which it must necessarily make to my credit, would enable me to serve the State essentially without encreasing the public expences. But I am very far from flattering myself with hopes of being favoured with an unmerited confidence. I can only assure you that finding myself deceived and even betrayed by the two men in whom I most trusted I have ever since observed the most religious secrecy, from which I am determined never to swerve in any future transaction of my life.

"As in lodgings I was too liable to be watched, Mr. H. has engaged me to take a house, and assisted me with money to buy furniture. It is in Portland Street, Soho, No. 18, where I humbly request that you will be so good as to direct to me, and as Mr. H. wishes to know my resolution either Wednesday evening or early on Thursday, it would expedite the business if you would be so good as to send your orders by the diligence or stage, for if I am to go it must be by Saturday's Ostend packet."

J. Gall to Lord George Germain.

1779, September 6. No. 7, Spring Gardens.—Observations on the war with Spain.

Richard Cumberland to the Same.

1779, November 19.—"I waited on Mr. H[ussey] this morning after I had seen your Lordship, and began my conversation by telling him that perfect credit was given him for the purity of his

motives in the proposal he had made thro' my means. I premised to him that what I was about to say to him must be received not as the concurrent sense of the King's ministers but rather as *your Lordship's* observations upon his ideas expressed in the proposal. That it must be known to him that G[reat] B[ritain] had not sought a rupture with Spain, but that the Court of Madrid was altogether responsible, as the undeniable aggressor, for the interruption of that harmony which subsisted till the departure of the Spanish Ambassador. Mr. H. gave full assent to this. I proceeded to observe to him, that upon this position it could not be doubted but that if the Court of Spain was to signify a disposition for accommodation, she would be met with like sincerity in that disposition, and if he (Mr. H.) would undertake a journey to Madrid for the voluntary purpose of bringing to this Court testimonials of the pacific disposition of Spain, I did presume it coud not but be acceptable to H. M.'s Ministers. Mr. H. replied that he clearly conceived the idea, and was ready and willing to undertake the errand, being so empower'd. That as to the mode of empowering him he should not presume to dictate, so that it was done with sufficient care to distinguish him for what he really was, a disinterested mediator and not a spy. That this might be done by a letter from your Lordship or Lord N[orth]. He added that he should wish the letter might be so couched, as not to ground his going upon previous conversation with him, or ouverture from him, as it might raise some suspicion or offence against him on the other side of the water, as being too forward and intrusive, and he instanced a case in point. To this I observed that if the letter had not some foundation of that sort it woud carry evident appearance that G[reat] B[ritain] was making suit to Spain for a negociation, which I presumed coud never be expected from her after suffering an attack so unprovoked on her part. There was no evidence wanting of her good faith, let Spain offer the like, and the business would at once be put in train. To this reasoning he absolutely yielded, and submitted the wording the letter entirely to the Minister, wishing however that I might apprise him of the purport before it came to his hands. This I promis'd shoud be done, if the transaction reach'd that point.

"In conclusion he referr'd himself to your Lordship and the Ministry without reserve. He had wrote a note to me and left it at my house this morning, saying that particular reasons made the time very pressing. He explained those reasons to be; first, the chance of some reciprocal article or treaty with France upon the separation of the fleets, by which Spain might bind herself not to make peace without France. Secondly. *That he had secret intelligence that it was now in agitation to send a man from Spain to the Congress, and that the late Secretary of the Embassy was talk'd of to go.*

"I observ'd to him that if he was now possesst of any authentic intelligence, which led him to ascribe to Spain pacific disposition at the present moment, it woud advance the business to exhibit that authority, and so get rid of a preliminary enquiry.

He declared solemnly that if he had those proofs he woud exhibit them, but that he spoke from opinion only, strong indeed, but not commission'd. Our conversation led us to speak at a distance of terms, as far as related to his former assertion of Gibraltar being the *sine quâ non* of Spain; he repeated that assertion, as to his opinion, but added that he woud not expose himself to the egregious folly of bringing to Great Britain a requisition of the cession of that important fortress, unless he brought ponderous equivalents in the opposite scale. I told him that it was ridiculous in the extreme for me to say a word on such a subject, but if he had heard anything agitated upon that idea by the Spanish Ministers of any description, I shou'd not be sorry to hear what they conceiv'd would invite Great Britain to gratify the uncontrollable propensity of His Catholic Majesty on that article. He answer'd readily enough that he had heard it agitated more than once (and if I did not mistake him, by Flor[ida] Blanc[a]), and he said that Spain would give us strong footing on the Mosquito shore and upon the coast of Barbary Oran, but he added she would not part with Ceuta. He added that she would give money and he believed almost without limitation. Your Lordship will readily believe I made no reply."

R. Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1779, Nov. 20, Saturday 4 o'clock. Queen Ann Street.—"I send your Lordship inclos'd the heads of my conversation with Mr. H[ussey].

"It was a long one, but it was principally so made on his part. He express'd an ardour for being employed in any overtures towards pacification, that was little short of enthusiasm, to which, tho' he gave a religious cast, I could not but ascribe a proportion of policy, which I think arises from the instructions of the Spanish Minister, who cordially detests the French Alliance.

"The anecdote of what dropt from the King to Count Florida Blanca is recorded in my minutes and is worth attending to; he did not mention it to you it seems, and I thought he was rather vex'd that he had open'd himself so far to me.

"Spain seems to dread offensive operations next year upon her colonies, and thinks we shall withdraw from America with the whole force of the well-affected on that continent to descend upon the settlements of Spain in South America; she apprehends likewise for Russia and Holland, and Mr. H[ussey] says she despairs of Gibraltar, and he even insinuated that the King's obstinacy in persisting to reach at that unattainable object might throw His Majesty into a convent for life, or end in an assassination. Nay, he pointed at the parties, but this I don't commit to a letter. Is it not likely therefore that Mr. H. is instructed to make this effort of obtaining by negociation what they despair of enforcing by arms, and the attempt of which leads to such dangerous consequences? France has made a very high demand for naval support furnished to the Spanish fleet at Brest."

The Enclosure.

CONVERSATION WITH MR. H[USSEY].

Mr. H. will go to Madrid to sound the disposition of that Court towards peace without any character or specific commission. But as he thinks something will be needful to distinguish him from the imputation of being a spy of Great Britain, he will accept of any mode the Ministers shall judge sufficient, viz.: A letter from Lord N[orth] or Lord G. G[ermain] or the Southern Secretary [Lord Hillsborough]. He wishes the business of his errand to be strictly confined to Lord N., Lord G. G., and the said Secretary, with Lord Stormont, if judged proper.

"He desires no secretary or agent may be employ'd, or any handwriting, except the principals and Mr. C[umberland] from whom he is willing to receive messages, &c.

"He suspects that the cession of Gibraltar is the *sine qua non* on the part of Spain, but he is ready to sound that Court upon any other terms, that shall not be evidently inadmissible. He does not imply that a condition so very serious and humiliating to Great Britain as the cession of Gibraltar, can be or ought to be entrusted and committed to him, but as he verily believes great and superior advantages would be offer'd by Spain for that fortress (as being the King's favorite object) he thinks it might be useful to Great Britain to know the Spanish propositions on that idea.

"He says that Spain despairs of taking Gibraltar. Is already (as he apprehends) rebuffed at Gibraltar, and France will not engage for putting her in possession of it. France will engage for Jamaica and the Floridas.

"He believes that no secret treaty, or article of treaty, has passed between Spain and France, whereby the former is disqualified from making peace with Great Britain independent of France. He says that except D'Aranda, there is not a subject of Spain who does not condemn the war.

"He thinks D'Aranda will lose credit at his Court from the inactivity of the French in invading Great Britain, a matter which Mr. H. says was never in the serious contemplation of France, and which D'Aranda was duped to believe.

"The King of Spain, in the month of August last, said to Count Fl[orida] Bl[anca] these words, 'Florida Blanca, we must have a peace.' This, and some expressions, which in the course of a conversation (very long and full on Mr. H.'s part) fell from him inadvertently, lead me to believe that he is acting by instruction from Spain in the offer he now makes.

"He asserts, that he has no business or commission in Great Britain from the Court of Spain, except the trifling one of buying up astronomical instruments. In this I know he grossly prevaricates; and, as it is certain he is here in full confidence with Spain, how can he be so ready for the proposed expedition (whereby he wou'd abandon his trust) unless he knew it would be with the entire good liking of his employers? When I touch'd him upon that string, I perceived he was suspicious I

had discovered him, and having made my observations, I put him at his ease as quick as possible by giving him credit for doing voluntarily what I think he is doing by commission.

"As to Ireland he talked an unexpected language, and I suspected he was not speaking his real sentiments; he disavow'd any idea of invasion or insurrection, and spoke of the dangerous situation of that country throughout in much lighter terms than I expected he wou'd.

"He said the fleets of F[rance] and Sp[ain] were neither out nor would come out this year. That if the fleet of England had engaged, when they were chaced into the Channel, they would have had a cheap and certain victory; that the French Admiral had 600 sailors in their hammocks at that moment, and was in great dread of an engagement. He told me the mode of negotiation which he would take if he was to be employ'd on this occasion. He concluded by saying that if his proposal should be adopted, the time pressed for immediate resolution."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to MR. HUSSEY.

1779, November 29.—"Understanding that you are soon to set out for Madrid, where from your connections and acquaintance frequent opportunites will probably occurr of your conversing with persons in high trust and office, I perswade myself you will not be wanting to improve every opportunity of cultivating any disposition which you may discern in the Ministry there towards a renovation of that harmony between the two nations, which to their reciprocal prejudice has of late been interrupted. As there is every reason to conclude that the disposition of the Minister of Spain will be found to be such, as in wisdom and sound policy it ought to be, so I am sure the communications you have had with men of power in this country can give no colour to your reports, but what must tend to the encouragement of any motions on the part of Spain towards an accommodation with Great Britain; and as just credit is given to the purity of your motives, I can assure you, both for Lord North and myself, that your representations will be receiv'd with the most friendly attention; and if in pursuing the bent of your wishes you shall be warranted to convey to us any opening or overture on the part of Spain towards a pacification, so essential to the interests of both kingdoms, I can with equal truth assure you it will be entertain'd here with all posssible sincerity and good faith."

THOMAS HUSSEY to LORD G. GERMAIN.

1779, December 1. Richmond Buildings.—Has received his Lordship's letter and thanks him and Lord North for their opinion of him as being the instrument of beginning a desirable accommodation between the Court and that of Spain. Will avail himself of every opportunity to bring about the desired effect.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1780, January 8. Madrid.—"Immediately upon my arrival in this town, I waited upon the Prime Minister, and had the

honor of a long conference with him. I found him inflamed with resentment, and so warmly complaining of the insincere treatment and of the inconsistent conduct of the British Ministry, that if I had not the honor to be personally known to his Excellency, and that he does me the justice to believe me to be above coming from the British Ministry with any insidious views, he would not even have listened [to] me, but would have engaged his Catholick Majesty to order me to quit the kingdom without delay.

"But upon my assuring him with equal truth and zeal, that there is not the least appearance of duplicity against Spain in the purposes of the present British Ministry, and that they have nothing at heart but an honorable accommodation between both nations, his Excellency became mollified. He said that the King was resolved to strain every nerve, and to exhaust every resource of the monarchy, in prosecuting the present war with vigour and effect; and that he had engaged the King of France's promise to aid him to land an army in England next summer, under cover of eighty ships of the line. Indeed, my opinion is, that there is a formal treaty lately signed for this purpose by France to gratify Spain.

"In the following conferences to which he admitted me, and which was once every day, and sometimes twice, the most pacific symptoms began to buoy up: he spoke with great candor, openness, and firmness; said that no person can conceive the aversion of the King from the shedding of human blood, and that if the honor of his Royal word and the dignity of his Crown be saved, it is not yet too late to come to a desireable accommodation: that he has not yet come into any treaty or even promise to the British colonies, but that Mr. Jaye, late President of the Congress, is daily expected here, in order that a treaty may be signed, whereby Spain will acknowledge and support the independency of America. But that since I had so warmly assured him of the rectitude and sincerity of the British Ministry upon this occasion, he promised that nothing should be concluded with the American Envoy untill he heard more from the Court of London: that his Catholick Majesty will never drop his pretensions to Gibraltar. I plainly see that this last article is the favorite object in the present war. The whole nation has it constantly in sight. Priests, friars, and even nuns, have unanimously offered their revenues to the King, to support him in the war, chiefly with the view of removing the stain of a foreign possession within the kingdom. The equivalent considerations that will be given are very great. Not only any honorable capitulation for the garrison which can be wished, and ample payment for all the stores and every military thing of value in the town; but what I presume to be of much more consequence, the terms relative to the bringing America back to dependency, and to give hopes to bring France to put the independency which she acknowledged upon as vague, indefinite a footing as to make it acceptable to Great Britain, and at the same time may preserve the decency and honor to the King of France's engagements with America.

"In every particular relative to these last terms I am fully informed and instructed, in order to be able to acquaint the British Ministry thereof upon my arrival in London, which is better than entering more at large upon them in a letter ; but I am desired to tell your Lordship that if the greatest secrecy and fidelity be not observed relative to this negotiation, or if the British Cabinet should attempt to make any improper use of these overtures, that the King of Spain will never more listen to any proposals from the Court of London.

"The greatest secrecy imaginable has been observed in the affair since my arrival. I observed the most careful incog. and have authority to assure your Lordship that no other person in this kingdom is acquainted with it but the King, the Prince of Asturias, and the two Ministers of State in whose department it lies. I am desired to inform you also, that if this affair be not brought to issue before the end of February, or that the British Cabinet affect delay and ambiguity, his Catholick Majesty will be confirmed in his suspicions of their sinister intentions, will immediately proceed to a treaty of alliance &c. with America, and prosecute the war without hopes of accommodation.

" When I acquainted the Prime Minister with the papers which Admiral Arbuthnot sent by a frigate to your Lordship, and of which the British Ministry would avail themselves next summer by an *ofensive* war against the Spanish territories in America, &c., but that if an accommodation be likely to take place the British Cabinet would wait the issue of it, his Excellency answered that his Catholick Majesty is willing to agree that the foreign possessions of both nations should be left in *statu quo*, for the same purpose.

" I have nothing further to add until I have the honor to see your Lordship, but that I shall set off on my return this night, and that there are relays of coaches and mules by my orders on the road from this to Bayonne, to carry me with the greater expedition. I shall return thro' France under a feigned name, as I came, and tho' I hope to reach London before this letter gets to you, yet for greater security I send it by Lisbon, agreeably to your Lordship's instructions."

Thomas Hussey to Lord George Germain.

1780, February 3.—" Give me leave to remind your Lordship of my expectation to be enabled to return by to-morrow's post at least a *general* answer to the Court of Spain upon the present negotiation. This I hold to be indispensably necessary to remove her suspision and distrust of the views which she imagines the British Cabinet has in the steps hitherto taken. I do not mean to call for the issue of the full deliberations of the Cabinet; but to be able to assure Spain that the cession of Gibraltar shall be one article of the treaty, tho' the terms upon which it will be surrendered are not settled.

" I shall at the same time assure the Court of Spain that Lord North disavows the commission which Commodore Johnstone

assumed, and that consequently Administration is not responsible for his imprudence, which they condemn as much as Spain. The disavowal, will, I am sure, be of use towards fowarding a mutual confidence between both Cabinets. And whatsoever further your Lordship thinks may tend to this desireable end, I request you may inform me, that I may communicate it in the most early and confidential manner."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1780, April 21. Portsmouth.—Is waiting to go on board Sir William Burnaby's frigate, the *Milford*. The St. Helen's fleet lies there, bound for Quebec. Sixteen sail of the line, including the *Prothée*, *Monarca*, and *Diligente*, are at Spithead. The last of these is said to be a very bad ship. About five line of battle ships are getting ready in dock, of which two are the *Barfleur* and *Union*, of ninety guns each. Everything there that floats, floats upon copper. Has walked Mr. Hussey purposely through the dock-yard, which exhibited a wonderful display of stores.

The Same to the Same.

1780, May 25. Buenos Ayres, Lisbon.—"The thermometer for several days has never been below 80 in the shade. . . . The town is becoming sickly and replete with bilious fevers and cholics. My wife is a sufferer to a great degree. . . . There is a good deal to see in and about Lisbon, but curiosity is a dangerous passion to indulge in this climate. Everything that is great or striking has Pombal for its author. His fountains, streets, squares, bridges, aquaducts, and public edifices are monuments of a lofty mind; they are now suspended or very feebly pursued, and the melancholy habits of superstition cast a gloom over the whole city and State. In Pombal's day, processions of monks and friars scarce dar'd to show themselves, he drove thro' them, or even over them, without reverence to the Host; now they parade the streets with impunity. Yesterday exhibited His Majesty of Portugal, with the Prince of Brazils, walking the streets bareheaded in the flaming meridian sun, without a canopy, following the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, bearing the Host, in vestments of white damask and silver, embroider'd with gold and spangles, underneath a cloth of gold supported by six mitred abbots, and preceded by the Knights of Christ, with all the religious orders bearing crucifixes, images, and chaunting as they walked. The train was near five hours in passing, with very little intermission, thro' lines of troops, which to my utter surprize made a most respectable appearance; two entire regiments pass'd me under arms, which, to my judgement, as to men and accoutrements, were excellent. The whole corps was prostrated in the dust at the passing of the Host, and the attitude of the men with the action of the musquets with fix't bayonets, resting over the arm, and pointed into the earth, had a touching effect. The Queen did not walk, but sate very stately and erect

in the church, never speaking to any of her train, nor even to the Prime Minister, who, with her Confessor, attended at her back. She was fine in jewels, particularly pearls, but dressed in an ill stile, both of cloathes and head dress. Her equipages of horses are fine and without number, and the liveries are stately. I saw seven zebras in her stables, of exquisite shape and beauty, and in her gardens at Belem she has an aviary of Brazil small birds, of incomparable plumage; the gardens are disposed in strait walks between hedges of myrtle, Portugal lawrel and yellow jasmine, overarched and centering in stars; the quarters being planted with limes, citron and oranges, now in high season. The parterres are neglected, and in general the whole is dishevelled and wild, but the flowers are luxuriant in excess, particularly carnations of a Patagonian expanse. I was quartered during yesterday's grand procession at a window with Count D'Oeyras, eldest son and heir of old Pombal. This young man is a close resemblance of John Yorke, with the advantage of some years; he wears the gold key, at the time when prosecutions are going on against his father, and the Prime Minister avowedly hostile; his abilities are moderate and his passions in great government; in short he has the character of a worthy prudent man; he enjoys Pombal's whole fortune, which is about 12,000 per annum, mostly in houses within this city, built since the earthquake. . . . [Pombal] has made over all his estates to the Count D'Oeyras, and lives upon his Court appointments, which the Queen continues to him.

"The present Minister is a very inferior character, and seems distinguishable for no passion but that of making money. The Dutch Consul has the lucrative contract for diamonds; all within a certain weight the King sells to him at a fixt rate, and all above that weight are kept in the royal treasures; the collection is immense. It is lodg'd in the arsenal in iron chests, where there is a great sum of gold; I am in hopes of being admitted to see this treasure. The square, which Pombal projected, is truly magnificent; it is built upon arches with cloisters like Covent Garden, only much loftier and more spacious; the river forms one side, and the approaches to it are form'd by magnificent arches of the whitest stone raised upon Ionic columns of fair proportion and in a grand *gusto*; the whole was to be dedicated to public offices; a colossal equestrian statue of the late King fronts the river in the centre of the square. It is the work of a Portuguese artist; the statue is of brass, and the emblems round the pedestal are of stone; these latter are of much superior workmanship, and both in execution and design have great merit; a medalion with the head of Pombal was fixt under the royal arms in front. This is now cut out and a bronze bas relief of a ship fixt in its place; a guard is mounted upon the statue day and night."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1780, May 26. *Milford* Frigate.—"I have now moved Mrs. Cumberland and my eldest daughter on board the frigate;

the former was so ill that I am persuaded she would [not] have stood three nights more on shore, being reduced with flux and fever to the lowest state; she revives to a wonder in this climate, and the friendly solicitude of these dear and gallant creatures from the captain down [to] the cook's mate is not to be described. I wonder at myself for standing the heat as I do; the flies cover the table as we sit at our meals, and the bugs and fleas are another plague of Egypt. My heart, however, is so fixt upon my business and my hope of success is so warm, that I feel no difficulties and fear no dangers. I am closely watched, but I know it, and know the spies that are set upon me. Thus forewarned I am forearmed, and tho' I have no soul to advise with, apprehend nothing either for myself or my business. Of a certain I should be delighted if I coud slip into your Cabinet for one hour and avail myself in this exigency of that clear and candid judgement which at once possesses me of both head and heart, and gives both comfort and counsel at the same time. But my lot has fallen upon other ground, and I must be silent. . . . I beseech of God to bless you and your sweet family, whom I love with the tenderest respect and affection. . . . Lisbon affords no one article that can be convey'd to the young ladies; its fruits and flowers woud perish, and as for manufactures, it has none. The scourings of our shops form the chief ornaments of theirs, but they are not shops, they are hog-sties, hung with penny ribbands."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1780, July 5. Madrid.—Congratulates him on the successes at Charlestown. Forbears to describe his feelings upon the intelligence of the dreadful commotions in London.* No letter has yet reached him from England, and he sucks his politics through the corrupted strainers of the *Courier de l'Europe*. Recommends "the gallant but perhaps inconsiderate youth" whom he left behind him to his Lordship's care.

Lord G. Germain to Mr. Cumberland.

1780, July 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"I had the pleasure, when I was yesterday in town, to see your correspondence, private as well as official, with Lord Hillsborough. I do not wonder that heat and business prevent your writing to your friends, when your situation demands so much attention to the business which we all have at heart.

"I confess I cannot feel so sanguine as to its success as you do, as I anxiously waited, but in vain, for some terms held out on the part of Spain, the treating upon which might have tended to peace, but the mode directly contrary has been adopted. She asks for declarations on our part, relating to our subjects in America, when she must know from the whole tenor of our

* The Gordon riots.

conduct that lenity, moderation, and even parental affection have been preferred to severity, resentment, and justice.

"If fresh proofs are wanting to justify my assertion, let the proclamations of General Robertson, Sir H. Clinton, and Admiral Arbuthnot confirm what I say. What then can be the meaning of Count Florida Blanca in waiting for a declaration on our parts? Surely it cannot be in concert with France, to obtain terms equivalent to independence. What pretext is wanting to renew the good understanding between England and Spain, if it suits the interests and inclinations of both Courts, without apology to France? We know of no engagements or common cause which Spain has with France in this war. Read the manifestos and declarations of Spain. The grievances supposed and complained of relate solely to our conduct towards her, not a word of America, not a hint of interfering with our disputes with France, and now for the first time we hear of engagements never before explained or acknowledged. All these affairs, I conclude, will be fully and more clearly stated to you by Lord Hillsborough, but I feel so interested in the success of your negotiation that I write what occurs, as I am sensible it can be of no other consequence than to convince you that I am not an indifferent spectator when this great business is in agitation.

"I am sorry you committed your sentiments in writing before the Minister gave you the outlines of his ideas, for in treating it is of infinite consequence to prevail upon your antagonist to speak first, but you did wisely in avoiding all conversation upon the subject of America. There is an absolute necessity in preventing the interference of foreign powers in settling the terms to be granted by a sovereign to his rebellious subjects, and as we have now a more reasonable expectation of settling our disputes with the provinces of America than at any former period, we must avoid as much as possible the appearance even of being influenced by the interposition of those who have either publickly supported or privately encouraged the present unprevoked rebellion. The attentions and favor shewn to you are certainly pleasing and agreeable to you, but I cou'd rather have wished that your reception had been less publick, and that you had been visited with caution and not with *eclat*. It would have convinced me more of their real intentions of peace, and of their acting without any communication with France.

"Had they spoken out and asked even unreasonable concessions, I should have entered into the discussing of them with pleasure, as I should hope they might be modelled into a practicable agreement, but till they will explain their ideas and enable you to discuss and transmit hither what may serve for the foundation of a treaty, I shall not be very sanguine in my hopes of regaining the friendship of the most valuable and the most natural ally of Great Britain. I need not exhort you to exert your abilities upon this occasion. Judgment, firmness, and temper cannot be more usefully exercised than in the transactions with Ministers. I am happy in knowing you will meet with every assistance from our friend Mr. Hussey, and it is with great

satisfaction that I hear from all quarters justice done to his talents, to his honor, and to his integrity. I beg my compliments to him. . . .

"The Board of Trade are become important. Such fine reports you never read. Who now will say it is a useless establishment?"

Richard Cumberland to Lord George Germain.

1780, August 4. Madrid.—I have been laid up with a broken arm, occasioned by a fall from a mule. On reaching home after the accident I "was soon attended by a succession of surgeons: the first pronounced my arm broke at the elbow, which bled vehemently; the second broke it at the shoulder, where the chief contusion was; and the third declared it a contusion only. An argument ensued, and no question of experimental philosophy was ever sifted more thoroughly than my miserable limb, the different surgeons by turn moulding and pulling it to the purposes of their theory. This lecture upon fractures lasted a full hour, . . . when a worthy old priest belonging to my neighbour, the Duc d'Ossuna, put an end to it by deciding for the fracture at the shoulder. . . . It is a miracle to relate that I am alive, and what increases the wonder, I am doing well, . . . but I am reduced to the anatomy of a monkey and nearly to the colour of one." The heat has been very great, but we are charmingly lodged in a spacious house standing high and facing north to the mountains. "My wife just exists. The girls enjoy themselves tolerably, but Sophia the best. They are much carrest and are the spectacle of the place, and have set the English fashions for every tittle of their dress, from the Princess of Asturias downwards. . . . They have been to one bull-fight, but suffered more than words can relate."

I have not yet heard a word from the Minister. As to Mr. W[alpole] at Lisbon, his correspondence is too trifling and rediculous to put up with. If my son could bring out my instructions I should receive it as a great indulgence. The Imperial Ambassador, Count Kaunitz, wishes to take him with him to Vienna. A more amiable or a more elegant man than this ambassador I never saw, and a little of his society would be of unspeakable advantage to my son. It gave me no small delight to hear that he was upon guard at your house during the tumults. He had been reported sick just before, and then was 14 nights without going to bed or taking off his boots, and I hear it has shaken his health. Might this not be an honorable plea for leave of absence, and do I not need some fresh instructions, as for instance in the affair of the Russian mediation?

The Same to the Same.

1780, August 30. Madrid.—On his progress in the negotiations with Spain. "The crisis is now become exceedingly arduous and intricate. . . . Solano's junction and Cordova's success have

so changed affairs that I retract from my confidence and coincide with your suspicions."

Mentions his girls, his son the Ensign, the death of his son George, and the birth of a girl on Sunday last. Is sending Lord Hillsborough an authentic journal of Solano's fleet from their departure from Cadiz to the 29th of June.

"If Mr. Thompson* will bring his frigate to Lisbon in February I shall be happy to embark with him for Falmouth. Wherever the girls go they are sure of a fight and a good prize."

THOMAS HUSSEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, September 1. Madrid.—Thanks his Lordship for the opinion expressed in his favour in a letter to Mr. Cumberland.† Mr. Cumberland has gone to the Court at S. Ildefonso, in which invitation he (Hussey) was especially excepted. His treatment at this Court is such as to make it "unworthy" of him to continue to enjoy any benefice under his Catholic Majesty, but he waits to declare his resignation until the negotiation is brought to some issue. He flatters himself there is one point already gained, which is his Catholic Majesty's distrust of one of his Ministers, who is notoriously in the French cabal, and consequently an enemy to his own country. Mr. Cumberland's hopes of success are sanguine as usual.

R. CUMBERLAND to the SAME.

1780, September 24. Madrid.—"My worthy friend, Mr. Hussey, delivers this to your Lordship. After a long negotiation with the Minister of Spain, we are convinc'd that the politicks of this Court have been greatly warp'd by late events in favour of their French connections; and in the multiplicity of matter which now occurs to be reported to you, we have judg'd it most advisable and satisfactory for Mr. Hussey to repair to England; this he has willingly undertaken, and having with great address engaged the Minister to adopt our idea and take the proposal on himself, he comes to you in full possession of the mind and opinions of the Court of Spain.

"Your Lordship's sentiments respecting Mr. Hussey are so just and withal so friendly, that I forbear to add those testimonies which in duty to his character and conduct I should else be bound to give. . . . This being the case, I shall refer every circumstance to his relation, observing only as a matter too essential to pass over, that if it shall be found consistent with the dignity of the State not to withdraw from the negotiation, this advantage will accrue from its continuance, that Spain, who has declared and avow'd her resolution of acknowledging Mr. Jay instantly on my departure, will not, till that event takes place, enter into alliance with the rebel Colonies; and as the great events of the war are now at issue, both in the West Indies,

* Afterwards Count von Rumford.

† See above; letter of July 29.

North America, and Gibraltar, it is more than probable a short course of time may as effectually dispose this Court to peace as her late success and other causes have for the present conspir'd to turn her from it."

R. Cumberland to Lord George Germain.

1780, December 13. Madrid.—Is waiting for directions, but has had in eight months only two letters from the Secretary of State, and no intelligence whatever; and when he asked for news of what was projected against Spain, received a very sharp rebuke for his curiosity. "The women" [his wife and daughters], against whom a protest was entered on his departure, have been his most powerful coadjutors. When the domestic regularity of his family is contrasted with the intrigues and irregular habits of the Corps diplomatique in general, and with "the barbarisms of the most vicious and despicable noblesse under heaven," the public give them more credit than they deserve. His girls set the fashions "and all the town is now in English riding-habits, hats and head-dresses. All this is nonsense at London, but it is business at Madrid." The King of Spain is sending him two noble horses for the King of England, with whom he shall send a magnificent pointer of the Navarrese breed as an offering to the Duke of Cumberland, and he has a true Andalusian horse for Miss Sackville, or for a charger for his schoolfellow, Mr. Germain. Has been eight months absent from London, and after payments for expenses of himself and Mr. Hussey at Madrid, San Ildefonso, Escorial, and Aranjuez, has received 2,500*l.* and spent 600*l.* of his own besides; but cannot bring his expenses at present within the rate of 3,000*l.* per annum. He begs to be remembered to Mr. Thompson, now in execution of Mr. De Gray's place,* and to congratulate him. Has had some distant expectation that Lord North would have found a seat for him.

Count Florida Blanca to Thomas Hussey.

1781, Jan. 20. The Prado, Madrid.—"Fully comprehending the answer which Lord Hillsborough directed you to give me relative to the negotiation of peace intended to be established, I see that that Minister and his Court have formed the idea that Gibraltar was not to be *mentioned*, nor the Colonies, in case of Mr. Cumberland's coming to Madrid. In this point there is a great equivocation, because on our side it was only agreed upon that nothing should be mentioned about Gibraltar in the *Preliminaries*; but it was proposed that by a secret convention, or separate treaty, the cession or exchange of that forteress might be regulated and concluded at the same time with the Preliminaries of Peace. This was uniformly my language, to which I always added that without such cession or exchange it would be impossible that the peace should be lasting, nor that the amity between the two nations should be true or solid. The negative, therefore,

* As Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

put in such *absolute* terms by the Court of London on this matter, is to us an undeceiving proof that Great Britain does not desire to be the friend of Spain, nor indeed never can whilst this apple of discord subsists between both nations.

"As to what regards the Colonies, I always said that some method ought to be found to save the honour of France with them and that of Spain with France. You see therefore how incompatible this answer is with the idea of the British Ministry that they must not be mentioned.

"Now my Lord insinuates as if I should suggest this method or medium. You, and even all the world, know how many mediums were suggested by this Court during the mediation of the King previous to the war, and not one of them was accepted of by the Court of London. I am not, however, astonished at this repugnance on their side, because perhaps those mediums that were proposed by us were not answerable to the views of that Government; but what appears very extraordinary to me is their never having proposed any mediums on their side, nor even giving any *explanation*, either by modifying or varying some circumstance of what was proposed, so as to enable us to agree in any *one* point of reunion, thereby to enable the King prudently to invite France to partake of the benefits of the peace. When one resists all mediums of reconciliation, without offering any idea of what might be acceptable to him, it is as much as to say he does not wish for peace.

"You are fully acquainted with all the mediums that occurred to us, and that we only wished that the British Ministry would aid us to reflect and discuss how to bring to greater perfection and practicability those already tried, or that we might find out some new one more consistent and admissible. On this ground you will enter on the subject, and see if there be any road that may lead us to peace and forward this negotiation.

"If the British Ministry refuse to enter on this way of thinking, the King will have the consolation to reflect that he has made use of every possible means he could think might put an end to the horrors of war, and will cordially regret not having been able to obtain that much wished for end.

"In this case you see how useless it will be to give the world room to talk about the residence of an English emissary at this Court. The King therefore wishes you to return to London without loss of time, and see if that Ministry will come to more positive and specific explanations, for his Majesty will be thankfull to have the whole truth told to him and so be undeceived. General hopes referred to future times about the present disputes, and praises which my Lord gratuitously bestows upon me, are neither suitable to the King's disposition nor do I deserve them.

"What you know and can assure them is that here there is sincerity in our explanations, probity in the exact compliance with our word, a true desire to re-establish public tranquility by every means that may be consistent with our honour, and constancy to defend that very honour at all hazards. God preserve you." *Translation.*

RICHARD CUMBERLAND to LORD G. GERMAIN.

1781, February 3. Madrid.—Thanks him for his continued friendship and sends his love to Mr. Thompson. Requests his Lordship's perusal of his letters to the Minister of the Department, numbered 18, 20, and 21.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1781, February 11. Madrid.—"A secure conveyance offering itself, I trouble your Lordship with a few words to repeat my thanks for your continued friendship and protection, of which I am assured by Mr. Hussey. I hope you have perused my letters No. 18, 20, and 21, as they lay open the situation of this Court with Russia and Denmark in a very interesting transaction. I trust they have convey'd material information to the Cabinet; and the rather, as the exposition of Russia's pretended overture of mediation, formally offer'd to Spain, was so critical in point of time with respect to the Emperor's interposition. I hope it will also be thought of some importance to my Court to be informed, as they are by my letters No. 20 and 21, of the arrival here and reception of the Emperor's declaration, and of the reference made by Spain to her Ambassador at Paris in answer thereto; also of the allusion made by France to my negotiation in her reply to the proposal. If I stand in need of any justification for having stept beyond my commission in a business not yet communicated to me, I flatter myself your Lordship at least will think my conduct deserves it. By this information I have proved the trick and chicanery of this Court, which I always suspected, as to Russia's mediation; and by Count Florida Blanca's letter to Mons. de Zenowieff, and Count Reventlau's message to the Minister, it is evident that Denmark is upon such terms with Spain as present a fair opportunity of drawing her into alliance with Great Britain, if the war is to be continued; and if it is to close upon the Emperor's accession to the mediation, I perswade myself that your Lordship's candour will give me some credit for having adverted to the measure so early as the month of August, and stated the friendly disposition of the Imperial Court, to which the correspondence of the Ambassador here with his father and the Emperor, particularly since his accession, has not a little contributed.

"If the ultimatum carried home by Mr. Hussey is what the Minister communicated to me, I may expect a short and speedy answer, with my recall from a residence which is now continued upon the sufferance of this Court, and it is not improbable but they will send me my passports of their own accord, seeing me here in no manner of confidence or correspondence with my own Court. If Mr. Hussey had come through, or if I had had authority, I coud have modified the ultimatum to an idea which I think wou'd have fitted the purposes of Great Britain, of which I will inform your Lordship when we meet. When I reflect upon the consequences which have resulted to France from my coming

* Of these, only No. 18 is amongst the Spanish Correspondence at the Public Record Office.

to Spain, and the sacrifice she has made of a whole year's naval operations to her managements of this Court for the prevention of my negotiation, I flatter myself the experiment has had its uses, and the charge I have unavoidably incurr'd has not been thrown away.

"An express yesterday from Cadiz announc'd the sailing of the fleet under Don Vincente Doz on the 6th instant. Whatever you may have heard of the affairs of the Peru cannot easily fall short of the truth. I think I have some grounds to say that a certain person, here employ'd on the part of the rebel Colonies, wou'd not be deaf to reason, if he was properly applied to; but as the importance of the object does not strike me in any public view, I have taken no step and probably shall take none.

"It is true, my Lord, I have not much encouragement to pursue the line of negotiation from the specimen I have yet had, nevertheless I cannot withhold from saying to your Lordship, and that with all due diffidence in myself, that if the Emperor's mediation shall bring on a congress of the belligerent Powers at Vienna or elsewhere, and if Great Britain shall appoint Commissioners to the Convention under his Imperial Majesty's mediation, I think that my connection with the house of Kaunitz, and the insight I have acquir'd in Spain, might render me serviceable as one in the Commission. I should not offer such an idea to your Lordship if I did not know in what place the report of Count Kaunitz had put me with his father and his Court, and what had pass'd between them and him on that occasion.

"The daily intercourse of Count Kaunitz in my family, and his personal correspondence with the Emperor, warrants me to say what otherwise I should not have said. . . ."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1781, March 2. Madrid.—"I think it proper to inform your Lordship that the speech of your new member, Mr. Wraxall, has rais'd a flame here amongst the diplomatique body that is extremely unseasonable. The comments and insinuations of M. Montmorin have been artfully applied to enflame the parties, who resent the several insults to their Sovereigns and States, particularly the Imperial and Danish representatives. The Ministers of this Court second these unfriendly offices with more success than one should suspect cou'd be drawn from so despicable an occasion. As I live in daily intimacy with Count Kaunitz and Count Reventlau (the latter of whom is the Danish Minister), it has been in my power to remove any impressions on their minds individually consider'd, and as they are both well inform'd men, acquainted with the constitution of our Parliament, it is easy to bring them to hear and to talk reason; but each apprehends the mischievious consequences that may attend the circulation of so infamous a libell, when the Dutch papers shall join the *Courier de l'Europe* in spreading the poison. Contemptible as I know Mr. Wraxall to be, both in his writings, opinions, and person, I cannot help being very uneasy for the consequences

of his speech, unless some healing measures are taken by Lord North and Lord Stormont, especially towards the Danes, against whom no invective could be more critical and ill-tim'd.

"I hope some of the young Danish volunteers in our fleet will have the spirit to give this silly incendiary a proper personal chastisement, which he so fully merits.

"Your Lordship will have the goodness to pardon my troubling you on this subject, in which I confess I have no other object in view than to vent my chagrin, perswaded as I am that the prudence of Administration will use all proper preventives on the occasion."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

1781, April 28. Bayonne.—On private affairs. Has been at death's door with a violent fever.

The Same to the Same.

[1784, December 3.*] St. Alban's Street, Friday evening.—"I find there is no way so effectual to give me some consideration with myself as to suppose that you take some little interest even in my dramatic concerns; therefore I take the liberty to tell you that the *Carmelite* was triumphantly receiv'd, and I am now sitting in a little dirty lodging (*not Mr. Lackington's*) over a smoky chimney by myself under the shade of my lawrells. Mrs. Siddons was divine, and crown'd with unceasing peals of applause; Mr. Palmer and Mr. Kemble excellent, Mr. Smith execrable; if anything coud have tempted you to sacrilege, you would have crackt his shaven crown with your cane for being such a bellowing Carmelite. I found Sir Charles Thompson with Mrs. Siddons this morning, and was vastly flatter'd by him; posted between actress and author he scarce knew which way to turn; Lord Loughborough was there and all the fine people in town; poets, painters, printers, writers, devils, and demireps from all quarters.

"The Drayton comedy comes out in three weeks, for we strike whilst the iron is hot. I saw Wraxall in the morning, but neither he nor *My Lord* were with Mrs. Siddons at night. Father Hussey was with me in the manager's box, and wept streams, but he anathematis'd his brother monk and said he acted like an atheist preaching Christianity. I took Henderson into the Green Room, where he was the life and soul of the party, adoring Mrs. Siddons and cheering every body around him; her brother Kemble was applauded thro' the house, and his likeness to Mrs. Siddons, whose son he is in the play, was greatly felt.

"I am excessively happy to hear Mr. and Mrs. Herbert are with you at Drayton and beg my best remembrances to them. I dare say Mrs. Herbert found her little ones much grown and improved, and that so many good peaches and pears have not

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* "The Carmelite" was produced on Dec. 2, 1784.

been bestow'd upon Bessy for nothing. If I saw her I could tell her that *William Harry Edward Cavendish Bentinck*,* tho' he does not own many more months than names, begins to sing *Malbrook* most divinely, so that I am thinking of sending him my prologue and epilogue, hoping they will go pretty well to that tune; therefore I take it to be high time for a young lady of her standing to cry something else besides peaches and pears.

"I beg to be most respectfully remember'd to Miss Sackville and the ladies. I was sorry for Miss Leighton's sake to find Lord Derby with Lady Paragon, when I came with my book under my arm to read her part; we are great friends, however, tho' rivals, and I was afraid he woud have jump'd out of a three-pair-of-stairs slip last night for joy of the *Carmelite*, and I really doubt if he woud not, had not the spikes of the orchestra been in his way; he made it up with screaming. Sheridan behav'd like an angel both to me and the performers, and even Will Woodfall grinn'd a ghastly smile.

"What nonsense have I been chattering to you. If I read it over I shall not venture to send it. My only consolation is that it will arive in a December evening, and as Miss Jane has nothing to do of a Sunday night, she perhaps will read it, if nobody else will.

"Lackington's daughter is recovering fast."

Richard Cumberland to Lord G. Germain.

[No year] August 31.—The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland are here. His Royal Highness has given me two batches of politics of near two hours each, and "unfolded his situation in terms far above my idea of his capacity," lamenting the rejection of all his offers of service and asking my advice as to what to do in this crisis. He told me "how you had aided his negotiation and how much he owed to your friendly agency, tho' it did not meet success." "From what has this evening passed between Mr. Harford and my daughter . . . I have every reason to conclude upon their certain though not speedy agreement."

Thomas Hussey to the Same.

[No date] Thursday night. Richmond Buildings.—The issue of his conversation with Lords Hillsborough and Stormont showing him that nothing can be concluded upon the subject of the letter he wrote to his Lordship and the one forwarded by express to H.M. Envoy at Lisbon for his Lordship, he requests they may be returned, as well as the Prime Minister of Spain's letter to him. Will call on him.

The Same to the Same.

[No year] March 6. Richmond Buildings.—Writes to inform his Lordship that—hearing that Lord Petre "had imputed some

* Cumberland's eldest daughter Elizabeth married, in 1782, Lord Edward Charles Cavendish Bentinck. This was their eldest son.

dishonourable view to his last journey to Madrid for which his Lordship thought that the whole body of English Roman Catholics might fall under the suspicions of government"—he has seen Lord Petre and insisted on his informing some of the Secretaries of State of it, and that he will probably inform his Lordship of his suspicion. Has never given Lord Petre any idea of his real business to Madrid.

XIV.—LETTERS RELATING TO THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

Sir Edward Walpole* to Lord George Germain.

1777, February 4. Pall Mall.—"The respect I bear your Lordship and my esteem for you entitle me to your kind attention to this short address to you in behalf of the Duke of Gloucester: who has indeed a much stronger advocate with you than I may pretend to be, in your own respect and esteem for His Royal Highness.

"I will leave it to your Lordship's quick comprehension to supply what my feelings would dictate if your time were not too full allready with other big concerns, wherein your conduct will some day do you great honour. My business with your Lordship is little more than a painfull wish, hardly accompanied with hope, that some potent man in the House of Commons would try to get the Duke's debts included in the Bill, whenever it shall come into Parliament, for the payment of the King's debts.

"The Duke of Gloucester's debts are full thirty thousand pounds, and if this matter should be put in motion, with a favourable gale, would it be a very extraordinary indulgence to a person of the Duke's consequence to extend that thirty thousand pounds to something more for present exigencies than the mere debts amount to? For the same consideration and reasoning which points out the propriety and humanity of paying his debts will lead to an inclination in the breast of every man that has any delicacy to do it in such a manner as may prevent the idea of a niggard munificence. Barely to pay a man's debts that has been long encumber'd, without a small additional lift, allways leaves some distress behind.

"Your Lordship knows the Duke's is a great character, fine parts, great observation, acute discernment, judgement in forming and prudence in delivering his sentiments; honour, probity, and generosity; universally beloved and with all these talents (possess'd, not enjoy'd) in a state of banishment.

"I think every man of real great birth and high rank must feel for him.

"In enumerating his virtues, I know I reach your Lordship's quickest sensations, and in calling upon high birth to support his cause, I touch another string that must vibrate forcibly upon your

* Father of the Duchess of Gloucester.

Lordship's ear, and sound a note which Parliament should echo to the King, and ask if it is fit or decent that the brother (and such a brother) of so great a prince as is the King of England, should live sequester'd and proscribed for want of a help that would be trifling in the general burthen; and that he should sue in vain at a season of such prodigality, such profusion of pensions, grants, and etcæteras as is amazing; and so bestowed (in great part) as is ten times more amazing."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR EDWARD WALPOLE.

[1777, February, between the 4th and 18th.]—"I must begin by making an apology to you for having delayed answering your letter for some days, but the subject of it was so important that I wish'd to consider whether there was a possibility of my giving any advice which might tend to the promoting what I should be happy in seeing accomplish'd.

"The Duke of Gloucester's debts could not come under consideration of the Committee of Supply without the King's previous consent, and the only parliamentary method of proceeding would be to address his Majesty to pay the debts of H.R.H., the House promising to make good whatever his Majesty thought proper to expend for that purpose.

"You may imagine that such a proposition, unless it was known to be agreeable to his Majesty, would not meet with the support of the Ministers, and the House would hardly be prevail'd upon under such circumstances to press an address which might not be favourably received.

"I see no chance of Parliamentary assistance but from the recommendation of the Crown, and if that cannot be obtained, from a return of that affection which formerly subsisted between the King and H.R.H.; all other efforts will only tend to encrease ill-humour and prevent that reconciliation which every friend of H.R.H.'s must sincerely wish to promote.

"I agree entirely with you in the high opinion you have of the Duke of Gloucester's character. His talents will do him credit, his honor and integrity will ever claim respect, and I trust that his judgment will lead him to pursue every method which may speedily produce that happy union in the Royal family which every good subject must desire.

"I cannot end this letter without returning you my sincere thanks for the obliging manner in which you express yourself towards me. I shall be happy if I can deserve your good opinion, as I always wish to meet with the approbation of those whom I regard and respect." *Draft.*

SIR EDWARD WALPOLE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, March 2. Pall Mall.—"Particular bodily infirmities, to which I am subject at times, prevent me the honour of waiting on your Lordship, as in all propriety I ought to do if I could; nevertheless, you now have the trouble of reading only, not of

writing, my present purpose importing no more than to express my concern that your Lordship was not pleased to honour me with a more confidential letter than that which I receiv'd from you. By trying to get the Duke's debts paid, I could not mean that your Lordship should be the person to move it in the House without the previous consent of the King, but I did mean, and I hoped your Lordship would see I did, that you should speak to the King yourself in that behalf, preparatory to which the Duke himself can do nothing. He can neither do nor undo. What he has done cannot be undone. The succession to the Crown in the persons of Queen Mary and Queen Anne are recent proofs of the truth of this assertion. If so, the worthy Duke's being undone himself is a poor satisfaction, and the suffering him to sink when he should be raised is just the same as by any act to ruin him.

"Between active and passive persecution, between positive and negative destruction, there is no difference to the feel and but very little in the colour. And as to reconciliation, can your Lordship, can any man living say what method there is for him to pursue in order to regain the King's affection, if he never forfeited it? If your Lordship can suggest any such method, I dare say you will have the goodness to impart it to me by some proper hand or means that I may forthwith convey it to the Duke: who, I know, will receive it with double joy from your Lordship, as he is sensible you are his friend. And though your Lordship may think it too big a compliment paid to my understanding to talk with me freely on great and arduous matters and concerns of State, yet upon this subject you cannot refuse me an open and friendly opinion and assistance: moreover, as I have been on the side of Government throughout the whole of the contest with the Colonies, and have particularly admired your Lordship's firmness and perseverance since your accession to the Ministry in such measures as would force them, not court them, to obedience; persuaded as I am and as I once said to a considerable person, that an inveterate pox can not be cured by lenitive electuary, I have still a farther claim upon you. And here I stop, hoping still that you will speak to the King and that you will speak in time, and that you will think of me rather partially than otherwise; for turning the perspective glass diminishes too much and flings one at too great distance; likewise that you will permit me to flatter myself that upon a nearer inspection and better knowledge of me you would not be displeased with putting confidence in me."

The Duke of Gloucester to Sir Edward Walpole.

1777, March 12. Rome.—"Dear Sir,—Yesterday's post brought me your letter of the 18th of February, the contents of which have given me not little uneasiness. I am truly sensible of your affectionate meaning in writing to Lord George Germaine, but I cannot but heartily wish your warmth of heart had not led you to take that step, it having been my plan for these last two years not to trouble the King in the least with anything that

concerns me, as I have too great reason to see how obnoctious I am unfortunately grown to him ; besides, in the repeated applications I have made to the King through Lord Rochford and Lord North, my whole idea and wish has been to get a Provision for the Dutchess and my children in case of my death ; a request that appears to me so much my duty to have made, and of so little trouble to the Crown to grant, that it preys much upon my mind my having as yet failed in, as it is surely both just and moderate.

"As to the getting any debts of mine payed by Parliament, it has ever been far from my thoughts, knowing full well the little claim I could have for such an application ; and being ready enough to confess my follies ought only to be redressed by my future œconomy. I am now ten years older than I was, and as my only object in life is the care and education of my children, I have long bid adieu to views of ambition. Mistake me not in this point, for whenever the King or my country call for me, I shall stand as forward as ever and shall let all paternal affections sleep for that moment. But till that time comes, it is my firm intention to pursue a retired and œconomical plan.

"I am as much at a loss as you are, Dear Sir, to explain Lord George's meaning where he says that *he trust my judgement* will lead *me* to pursue every method wish (*sic*) may speedily produce *that happy union, &c., &c.* I know of no fresh offence I can have committed since my first declaration of my marriage ; and I had flattered myself that I had clearly proved to the King the absolute necessity I was under of making that publick declaration at that time ; if ill minded people have misrepresented me to the King since that time, it is totally out of my power to know what effect that may have had. I have never troubled the King but for a provision for the Dutchess and my children, and I must again repeat it ; that it's not having been granted me yet, grieves me to the soul. This application is misunderstood by the ministers, and the King is lead to believe that the granting it would be a mark of his approbation of my marriage ; whereas it would really be but an act of justess. The late King of France in '72 gave the Duke of Orleans leave to marry, but required the marriage to be kept secret until the Dutchess should be with child, in which case the King would have received her at Court, but nevertheless immediately impowered the Duke of Orleans to provide for this Dutchess.

"The King of Spain last summer, tho' he had just made a new law to hinder the Infants of Spain marrying without the consent of the Crown, in *immitation* of the *Royal Marriage Bill* in England, suspecting his brother's intention of marrying, yet gave his consent to a private marriage, and allowed the Archbishop to marry them, and also immediately empowered his brother to make very great settlements upon his wife and children. I am further assured that the King intends soon to receive them publickly at Court. The Infant has been twice with the King since his *marriage*.

"I have now fully explained my reasons for wishing you had not wrote to Lord George Germaine ; but at the same time must

desire you to be assured I am truly sensible of the warmth and zeal you have ever shown towards me. Yours, William Henry."

Postscript.—"As I do not by any means feel myself so well as I did last winter, I propose if I am not wanted at home to pass another winter abroad; and as I had the King's leave of absence brought me by Lord North, I cannot suppose Lord George Germaine conceives my being abroad can offend."

With note, dated Pell Office, Exchequer, April 3, 1777, and signed "Edward Roberts," that the above is a true copy of the Duke's original letter to Sir Edw. Walpole.

The Duke of Gloucester to [Lord George Germain].

1777, March 31. Rome.—"My Lord,—I take the oppurtunity of Sir John Dick's returning to England, who will deliver this letter into your own hands, to write to you confidentially upon a matter which I have much at heart.

"It is impossible for me to see the great warlike preparations that I may say every European State is making, without expressing my earnest desire of serving whenever the King may find himself obliged to take a part. I ask no questions, only desire, my Lord, most warmly, that whenever that event is likely to take place you will present my duty to the King and assure him how happy I shall be to prove my attachment to him by being ready to serve at a moment's warning.

"I wish much, my Lord, to interest you for Sir John Dick, who has faithfully and ably served the Crown twenty-three years. To you only I can venture to recommend a person whom I have the greatest regard for, as I know you will not let him suffer for his attachment to me. The King expressed himself very graciously about Sir John to me, in seventy-two, when I returned from Italy. His great attention to me for five weeks in a most dangerous illness was the origin of our acquaintance; but the knowledge I have had of him since makes me know how deserving he is of any mark of favour his Majesty may be so good as to bestwo (*sic*) upon him. I remain, yours, William Henry."

Sir Edward Walpole to Lord George Germain.

1777, June 1. Pall Mall, Sunday.—"I received a letter from the Duke of Gloucester on Friday, of which the inclosed is a copy.

"I am desirous upon the occasion of paying my respects to your Lordship, whenever it may be most convenient to you, as I should be glad of your Lordship's opinion on some points relative to the Duke's proposal before you move in it.

"I am obliged at the same time, as I am an invalid and am in my doctor's hands, and have a ceremonial to go through every morning, to beg that your Lordship will not appoint me before one o'clock any day.

"Perhaps, if your Lordship, who are very indulgent to me, would condescend to call upon me, as you must frequently pass

by my door, you would be sure of not being interrupted while we are in conference, and I should run no risk of waiting among strangers till you could speak to me, which to a man who never comes out but with the flies and the bees and the insects, is a formidable thing; I don't know what they may take me for."

Postscript.—"The sooner I am enabled to answer the Duke's letter the better, on account of his double journey if necessary." *Seal of arms, in garter.*

Enclosure.

The Duke of Gloucester to Sir Edward Walpole.

1777, *May* 16. *Venice.*—"*I received your letter of the* 15*th of April two days since. I am most sincerely obliged to you for it, as it gives me fresh proofs of your affection and zeal. Lord G. Germain's conduct towards me is truly uniform and handsome; if you should find by him that it would be pleasing to the King that I should come over now, I will set out immediately, to show how desirous I am to give the King every mark in my power of duty and attachment.*

"*At so great a distance it is impossible to discuss every point or enter into a minute defence of my conduct; however, I must say I have been misinterpreted. If the coming over now should be approved of I will leave my family at Verona and return to them, as I feel it necessary, if I am not wanted, to pass another winter at Rome.*

"*I must repeat my warmest thanks to you for the very friendly part you have taken. As to Lord G. Germain, I must leave it to you to assure him how very sincerely I am affected with his conduct towards me.*" *Copy by Sir Edward.*

Sir Edward Walpole to Lord George Germain.

1777, June 1. Sunday evening.—Thanks him for his good nature; will be exceedingly proud to have the honour of a visit from his Lordship, and hopes to see him next day.

Lord George Germain to the Duke of Gloucester.

1777, July 2. Pall Mall.—"I had the honor of receiving your Royal Highness's letter by Sir John Dick, and I was very happy in seeing that your Royal Highness does justice to my zeal for your service, in trusting me to execute your commands upon so important an occasion. There is no immediate prospect of a war with France, yet I thought the offer you were pleased to make of your service should be communicated to His Majesty. I therefore took the first opportunity of acquainting the King of the letter I had received and of the offer I was empowered to make, should this country be involved in a war with foreign powers; as the case did not exist, I did not wish for any answer, but I had the pleasure of observing that the spirit and zeal of your Royal Highness met with approbation. I hope I did not do

wrong in mentioning your Royal Highness's intentions as early as possible, as I hoped that every mark of duty and attention to his Majesty could be productive of no bad effect.

"Sir John Dick may depend upon my best services, if I can be of the least use to him. I was happy to hear from him that your Royal Highness and the Dutchess were in perfect health."

Mr. Jennings to Lord George Germain.

1777, August 7. Trent.—"Having heard his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester express himself in the warmest manner with respect to your Lordship's sincere and friendly conduct towards him, I am therefore assured that you will not require any apology from me for troubling you on an occasion on which his Royal Highness's life seems to depend.

"I doubt not but that your Lordship will steal a little time from your important avocations and exert the whole of your bright abilities to bring about and complete a reconciliation which foreigners and Englishmen all pretend ardently to wish for, but which none but your Lordship has yet had the spirit and skill to urge his Majesty with any effect upon.

"If a letter from the King is sent to the Duke, tho' filled only with general expressions of kindness such as family civility in the intercourse of private life would dictate, even that would be of material use, but if nothing further follows the Duke will (I fear) think that the message which I deliver'd was only an artifice to keep up his spirits, and it will be impossible to prevent his falling into that fixed and desperate affliction in which I found him.

"Could the correspondence between the King and the Duke be reviv'd on the former private footing (without the intervention of others) in which it once subsisted, it would render the remainder of the Duke's life happy; or should his strength be so far exhausted as to make him past recovery, at least secure his death in peace.

"Consider, my Lord, and paint it in those natural and affecting colours which you can do, that the King of England's brother, once his favourite, his friend, now hangs in a cott and at the point of death in a mean apartment in a little insignificant town a thousand miles from home, and that if it had not been for the romantick generosity of a private gentlemen, Baron Cressen, and his brother, who of their own mere motion compelled him in a manner to come into their house, the Duke, Dutchess, and the Prince and Princess, their children, would have been now lying in an inn far worse than any subaltern officer was ever quarter'd in in England.

"His Royal Highness is so emaciated that Doctor Jebb and Mr. Adair declare no living person that they ever saw equall'd him. His appearance is quite shocking, he has lain above six weeks on his back without strength to move himself, nay could his posture with the assistance of others be changed, his bones would pierce through his skin, which as he is, is with difficulty

prevented by pillows and bolsters made for that purpose; the Dutchess, worn almost to a skeleton also with anxiety and fatigue, sits disconsolate by him. His Royal Highness said to me with the most affecting look and tone of voice, 'I am indifferent about myself, I have scarce a wish to live, and feel again what I have done for some years past, but what is to become of the Dutchess, what of my children when I am gone?' I told the Duke in the strongest terms the anxiety of the King to be acquainted with every particular respecting his Royal Highness's health, nay, his commiseration of the Dutchess's situation, which I was authoriz'd to declare by the person to whom his Majesty expressed himself as touch'd with it. What I said on that subject had the best effect, it seemed to quiet the Duke's mind greatly, and he was refresh'd a little time after with some sleep, and when he awoke that disconsolate gloom which I at first perceived in the Duke and Dutchess's countenance seem'd much dispelled.

"To enable your Lordship the more effectually to proceed, it is proper to acquaint you what the message was which I deliver'd, and how procured, and you may judge from thence that if so slight a thing can have produced those wonderfull effects which the medical gentlemen (tho' with a trembling doubt) think it has produced, what is to be expected if no time is lost in going a little further.

"I went to Court on Friday, the 18th of July, to take leave, and kiss the King's hand on going abroad, which was all that the Lord of the Bedchamber mention'd. The King, after some kind expressions respecting my own health, ask'd me on what day for certain I set out. I answer'd 'Sunday, or at furthest Tuesday, unless I am honor'd with your Majesty's commands to the contrary;' the King repeated, 'Sunday or Tuesday,' and seem'd to muse a short time; he then, as he left me, said something low which I did not understand, but which sounded like 'You shall hear from me,' or some such words.

"On Friday night I received a letter from Col. Heywood, giving the most alarming accounts of the Duke's condition. I sent this to old Ramus, the King's favorite page, with a respectfull message in writing from myself, which I desired him to repeat to his Majesty; the purport of it was that hearing of his Majesty's anxiety to be acquainted with every particular respecting the Duke of Gloucester's state of health, I sent a letter which I had received the night before concerning it for his Majesty's perusal. I was authoriz'd in this proceeding by the King's repeated requests to Mr. Le Grand, Col. Rainsford, and Mr. Stiel, a servant of the Duke's, to communicate to his Majesty all the letters and accounts which came from Trent, and I am informed that the King read with the greatest avidity all the letters which came even from the pages and inferior servants of the family to one another, and I knew people made their court by delivering at the Levee publickly as well as privately all the accounts and reports they could collect, and by talking to his Majesty openly and directly about the Duke of Gloucester.

"I accompanied the preceding part of my message with a request that his Majesty might be acquainted with my intention to proceed by the shortest road and quickest conveyance to the Duke of Gloucester, but that I would not set out till I had receiv'd his Majesty's commands, assur'd that any token of affection which his Majesty might please to send to his Royal Highness would operate more effectually towards the Duke's recovery than any efforts of his physicians.

"I was inform'd that the Bishop of Litchfield, having seen my message, had most humanely, and in a manner most becoming to his function and station, privately spoken with the King on the subject. I, however, received no commands.

"On Tuesday morning, having order'd my chaise to be ready against my return to London, I went down to Kew, and desired the page in waiting to acquaint the King that Mr. Jennings most respectfully awaited his Majesty's commands, on the receipt of which he proposed setting out instantly for Trent. The page told me that his Majesty had told old Mr. Ramus that he thank'd me for my attention, but would not trouble me with any thing at that time; I soon made young Mr. Ramus (the father being absent at that time) sensible of the importance of procuring something from the King to the Duke, and his Majesty being from home, I waited about an hour and a half for his return, when the King drove into the courtyard with the Queen, and immediately went along the passage leading towards the garden. Mr. Ramus, running after him, stopp'd him almost at the end while I stood at some distance near the back entrance into the house. I just caught the King's eye, and was honor'd with a slight salute, and then his Majesty follow'd the Queen into the garden, while Ramus coming up to me told me exactly these words, 'Sir, the King orders me to tell you that he is much obliged to you. He desires you to give his love to his brother, and he heartily hopes you will find him quite recover'd.'

"I have not made the Duke acquainted with all these particulars, I do not know how far it will be at all necessary, but I am sure it would be improper in his present condition to do so; on the contrary I have placed things in the most favourable light, not directly inconsistent with the truth, which I could possibly do, in hopes as well of comforting the Duke at present, as of reviving (as far as I can) a reciprocity of affection. Here ends the scope of my ability; 'tis under your Lordship's direction I shall proceed in future, if there remains any part for me to play which can be beneficial to the Duke or his family; if not, it is not my intention to assume any impertinent airs of consequence for the little I have done on this occasion, nor do I expect that your Lordship should call off your attention from any of your business to enter into a correspondence with me.

"To a person of less discernment than your Lordship the *minutiæ* with which this letter is swelled to its great length might appear absurdly introduced and needless, and perhaps on any other occasion than in the *little* busyness of a court they would be really so, but being convinced that the strength and clearness of

your judgment is far superior to any general conclusions I could draw, I submit the whole and exact state of facts.

"That your Lordship's efforts may succeed I most heartily pray, to the securing for your Lordship for ever a steady friend near the King, be whatever party prevalent in Government; to the doing an act of justice to a much injured prince, and to the saving our Sovereign's character in the present as well as future ages from the stain with which all the inhabitants of the Continent think it, and without reserve declare it, tainted, by the unrelenting conduct of his Majesty towards his brother; a precedent sovereigns and their subjects both condemn and scorn to aid in carrying into execution, a precedent most of them declare unfrequent and vicious in the most arbitrary countries, but absolutely new in the history of England, where the same events have happen'd before, but never were follow'd by such effects.

"I flatter myself the Duke of Gloucester has that opinion of my sincere and faithfull attachment to his interest that he will believe a wish to promote his happiness and advantage is the sole motive of what I say or do respecting him. Yet I fear I run the risk of his displeasure in saying what I do, but from my particular observations I am most solemnly of opinion that if his Royal Highness dies it will be of a broken heart, however his fortitude may conceal the effects of it from others who have known less than myself. The vexation and anxiety of mind which have prey'd on him for these last seven years have brought him to the condition in which he is in, not the distemper to which the family are subject, that being but a secondary and very inferior cause.

"I trust to your Lordship's generosity to put the best interpretation on what may have perhaps rather imprudently escaped from my pen, yet if it produces any good to the Duke I care very little for its consequences to myself."

Endorsed:—"For your Lordship's private perusal only."

Mr. Jennings to Lord George Germain.

Same date.—A formal letter sending the Duke's thanks to the King for his kind message, which has been a great comfort to his Royal Highness.

The Same to the Same.

[1777.]—"In full confidence of your Lordship's honour I again pass the bounds of prudence in writing what others less sincerely attach'd to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester might hesitate in doing lest they should doubly expose themselves to the Duke's displeasure and the King's resentment for their interference between them; but having had the honor of his Royal Highness's confidence and friendship for several years, I feel that the best return I can make for his kind intentions towards me is to promote his and his family's happiness and

welfare by all the means I can, without heeding little forms, and trust to the purity of my intentions for my justification.

"I must premise that I have no authority whatever from his Royal Highness to write this letter to your Lordship, and that I do it purely with the hopes of enabling your Lordship to complete what you have so nobly and successfully begun with greater facility, in acquainting you with the state of things which my being near His Royal Highness enables me to be acquainted with.

"In consequence of your Lordship's powerfull influence the King wrote a letter to the Duke dated August 18th, which arrived at Trent on the 3rd of September. On the 5th (being the next post day) his Royal Highness with great difficulty did contrive to write an answer in his own hand to the King. These letters contained, on the one part, an assurance of protection to his children in case of the Duke's death, and on the other, an acknowledgement of the King's kindness in so doing; they were both written in warm and affectionate terms. Excepting enquiries from his Royal Highness's servants, &c., &c., &c., by the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, which indeed have been very constant and strongly marked, I know of nothing further which has passed at this time. To bring about an interview on the Duke's return yet remains to be done, and to ensure the continuance of the intercourse.

"If the King intends a compleat, open, and general reconciliation without any reserve whatever, His Majesty will probably cause his commands to be signified to the Duke of Gloucester, who is (I am confident) disposed to receive them with all due respect and to pay obedience to them. If it is requisite that the Duke should begin first, His Royal Highness will (I understand) ask the King's permission to wait on him to thank him for what has past, and as the Queen and Prince of Wales have severally made enquiries, he will also ask to pay his acknoledgments to them, and as it is a circumstance of material consequence to bring the children acquainted with each other, the Duke will desire leave to present his to the King and Queen, &c., provided any hint is given that it will be agreable. Their Majesties will not (it is hoped) omitt to desire a repetition of these visits and a continuation of this intercourse, both in general terms and in some particular invitations. Your Lordship will be pleased to remember in the arrangement of these things, that the Duke is and will be quite unable to walk or even stand up without succour, and that this circumstance must be provided for: the pre-arrangement of these little things may tend to take off all appearance of coolness and distrust between the family, and it may save His Royal Highness some little awkwardness in being under the necessity of mentioning them to your Lordship, to find you have already prepared everything. The Duke will, I understand, acquaint your Lordship of his arrival and proceed in the affair under your Lordship's counsels.

"Trusting to your bright and steady abilities, and your real good intentions, I assure myself that the public prints of Europe

will soon announce the compleat and happy reconciliation of the Royal Family of England through your Lordship's mediation, an event which there will not probably be another opportunity (if the present fails) ever to bring about, and which, if longer delay'd, may lay the foundation of a settled enmity between the two branches, and produce the worst of evils to posterity.

"Although I write with the utmost freedom, I beg your Lordship will not believe I do so with any impertinent design of dictating to your better judgement; on the contrary I feel a strong deference, and submit myself entirely to it, and assure your Lordship that for your noble procedure towards my Royal Friend and Patron, whatever so private and inconsiderable an individual as myself may ever have in his power to do to shew his attachment to you shall be executed with the most gratefull alacrity."

MARIA, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER, to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Aug. 26. "Pavillions," H[ampton] Court.—Recommending Mr. Edward Roberts, a very deserving young man, and asking his Lordship's influence with Lord North on his behalf.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1779, Sept. 5. "Pavillions."—Thanking him for his kind response to her request.

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER to LORD G. GERMAIN.

[Undated.] Gloucester House, Sunday morning.—Will most certainly be very glad to see him when convenient, and will then express his thanks for his Lordship's very kind and manly behaviour.

XV.—INDIA.

SIR ROBERT FLETCHER (Commander-in-Chief at Madras) to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, September 21. Fort St. George.—I beg to offer my congratulations to your Lordship on your taking charge of a department so worthy of your distinguished abilities, and as I think it not improbable that the transactions of India may shortly be connected with that department, I hope you may not think me too forward in my present address. Affairs here fall little short of American confusion, and party contests never before rose to such a height. Those of Bengal have lately been submitted to decision at home. "It is much to be regretted that abilities both in the Cabinet and the field such as the Council of Bengal possess, could not be got to co-operate for the public good. A man of more public ability for the administration of India than Mr. Hastings possesses lives not. The other members possess each very distinguished merits."

As to this Presidency, "I will only say that opposition in our Council ran to such violence between the majority, of which I was a member, and the minority, led by Lord Pigot, that matters came at length to mutual suspension, or rather expulsion, of each side. Lord Pigot expelled first the majority and took possession of the Fort. We, to prevent bloodshed, were obliged to arrest his person the day thereafter, outside the Fort, an act happily executed, and which prevented civil war."

I have done all in my power to put this army on a respectable footing, "my powers, as Commander-in-chief, as lately established by the Company, being sufficiently ample for the regulation and direction of the troops. But one of Lord Pigot's first measures was to supersede those powers, and to assume them in his own person on his expedition to Tanjore."

France has still an ambitious eye on this country, but if we keep up our harmony with our best ally, the Nabob, and are supported from home, I am confident that she will find her attempts in the Carnatic ineffectual. It is fortunate that the Nabob's cavalry is in some order, and that he has not disbanded many of his troops, for Hyder Ally's army is very numerous and in good order, and his joining the French is to be apprehended.

I am uneasy at the unfinished state of our fortifications, but for this Lord Pigot is to blame. I enclose the Resolutions which the Governor General and Council in Bengal have passed against him for violating the rights of the Nabob of the Carnatic, guaranteed by the Treaty of Paris. Lord Pigot's treatment of him was such that his Highness, in a fit of despair, assembled his friends and declared that "since he had been so grossly and so publicly dishonoured his life was not worth preserving, calling them to witness that if he was found dead in the morning Lord Pigot was the sole and only cause of it."

Postscript. October 6.—We have just received from the Governor and Council of Bengal a complete and unanimous approbation of our conduct and condemnation of Lord Pigot. *In duplicate.*

Enclosing,

A copy of the Resolutions of the Council of Bengal against Lord Pigot, dated August 7, 1776.

Lord North to Lord George Germain.

1779, December. Downing Street.—Enclosing the answer of the Secret Committee of Directors of the East India Company to the ideas stated to them by his Lordship, and requesting an opinion upon the draft of his reply.

Thomas Poplett to the Same.

1780, Oct. 5. Goree.—Gives an account of a dispute between Governor Wall and Captain Adams of the 75th Regiment. The troops at Goree are supplied with but little fresh meat, although the beef is better than that in the West Indies, "and the ordinary

price of two bullocks is a piece of Baff, which is generally sold by the East India Directors for about 15*s.* sterling, and great quantities of cattle are to be had daily."

Governor Wall has appointed the writer "by warrant, Barrack Master of this garrison and island, in lieu of a little boy, about eight years old, that formerly was nominated to that office, named Fortye, now in England."

[Archibald?] Campbell to [Lord George Germain?].

1780, Nov. 2. "On board the *Kingston* at Sea."—"I have this moment borrowed a quire of paper and a pen with a determination to write you, my own things in the hurry and confusion of our embarkation being stored away the Lord knows where; but I feel myself so overloaded with matter that I am totally at a loss where to begin or how to arrange in any kind of order the multiplicity of ideas that crowd on my imagination; however, I shall endeavour to dash them down as I can separate them, without reserve or partiality, having a thorough reliance on your friendship and judgment for the suppression of anything that either the heat of my disposition or unripe judgment may lead me to advance. And as the critical situation of affairs in this country is of much greater consequence than a recital of my private adventures, I shall suppress them till I have the happiness of seeing you, and confine myself entirely to what has and is likely to happen in this quarter of the globe.

"I suppose it is unnecessary to tell you anything more of Sir Thomas Rumbold's conduct at Madras than that he ruined the country, drained the Treasury without putting any one place in a proper state of defence, and finding nothing more was to be squeezed out of the oppressed natives, resigned the government at the very time he ought to have exerted himself most, and set sail for Europe with his illgotten wealth, which I hope will not prevent his being hanged on his arrival, although everybody here seem to think a proper application of it will smother all enquiry into his iniquitous behaviour and procure him a peerage at least. The best comment on the conduct of his successor, Mr. Whitehill, is the present deplorable situation of the Company's affairs; it will be both tedious and disagreeable to trace him through all his blunders, but some of them are so very unaccountably curious as to force me to mention them, such as his suffering Hyder Ally to enter the Carnatic at the head of an immense army without his taking any steps to prevent him, not even so much as assembling the army, and when he appeared within sight of Madras, exclaiming, 'Who the devil would have thought it,' notwithstanding his being repeatedly admonished of it by some members of the Council, whom he caused to be suspended for their officiousness, &c.

"For the very same reasons that I touch so lightly on the political conduct of Mr. Whitehill, I leave the manœuvres of General Monro in the Cabinet to be related by himself, if he can get any one to attend to him, and follow him into the field, which I can safely venture to do on paper. I wish the poor fellows whom his stupidity and obstinacy has absolutely sacrificed had gone no

further. I shall endeavour to give you the best account of his extraordinary campaign that the information I am possessed of will allow, but as I was not on the spot, cannot absolutely vouch for the authenticity of it, but I believe I shall not be far wrong.

"He marched from Madras with the following troops, 26 August :—

	Numbers
His Majesty's 73rd Regt., about - - -	650
The Artillery at the Mount - - - -	230
The 21st Battalion Seapoys - - - -	750

Twenty-four field pieces and four howitzers.

He was joined at the Mount by Colonel Brathwaite's detachment from Pondicherry, consisting of :—

The 2nd Battalion 1st Regt. of Europeans -	300
The 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th Battalions of Seapoys each 750 men, in all - - -	3,000
Six — pounders and two 3-pounders,	
And one company of Artillery, about - -	75

With this force he took the field and marched as far as Conjeveram to favor the junction of Col. Baillie, who was on his march from the Northern Circars with the following detachment under his command :—

A Company and half of Artillery, about - -	100
Two Companys European Infantry - -	100
Three Battalions of Seapoys, viz: the 2nd Circar Battalion, and 1st and 11th Carnatic Battalions, making about - - - - - - -	2,210
Six Companys of the 7th Battalion Seapoys -	320

Baillie was attacked on his march by Tippa Saib, Hyder's eldest son, with a large body of horse and foot, but met with such resistance that he sent off to Hyder, who was then besieging Arcot, that unless he moved with his whole army to his assistance nothing could be done. At the same time Monro received intelligence from Baillie of his situation, and that he could not pursue his march unless speedily and strongly reinforced. Hyder without loss of time raised the siege of Arcot and flew to support his son with all his army. Monro instead of making a motion to prevent this junction, which it was in his power to have done, lost the opportunity, and eight and forty hours after took the fatal resolution of sending the following detachment under the command of Colonel Fletcher to Baillie's assistance :—

The Grenadiers and light infantry of His Majesty's 73rd Regt., about - - - - - -	200
Two Companies of European Grenadiers of 2nd Battn. 1st Regt. and of the 2nd Battn. 2nd Regt.	200
Ten Companies of Seapoy Grenadiers of the five battalions, about - - - - - -	800
The Company of Marksmen, about - -	90

These joined Baillie on the evening of the 9th without any accident, and on the 10th the whole moved towards Conjeveram in a hollow square, headed by the Grenadiers and light infantry of the 73rd, supported by the Company's Grenadiers. They had

not marched far when they were attacked by the Horse, whom they repulsed in various onsets with prodigious slaughter, till they came to a hollow way in which a Mr. Lally,* who is at the head of 500 Frenchmen in Hyder's service, had constructed four batteries. The two first of these was so contrived that the muzzles of the guns were on a level with the ground, and of course not perceived by our people till they were within the reach of grape, when they were opened and did dreadful execution, notwithstanding which they were immediately attacked and carried, one by the Europeans, the other by Captain Rumley at the head of five hundred Seapoy Grenadiers. They were no sooner in possession than two batteries in the rear of these they occupied immediately plumped into them and they were blown out again with a most horrid slaughter. At the same instant a flight of 500 rockets blew up the only two remaining tumbrils, which effectually broke the square, and the Horse at this critical minute having driven the camp followers in amongst them, prevented their forming again, and cut them to pieces indiscriminately and by all accounts without mercy. The Europeans still fought on and made a desperate charge through the enemy with their bayonets, and pursued their march till they came to a grove full of fresh troops, where the business was soon compleated, and every man of them would have been put to the sword if it had not been for the humanity of a French officer, who made his way to Hyder and told him his people were butchering the remains of the detachment in cold blood; Hyder with a frown that sufficiently denoted his purpose to have been death, could not help giving an order for the carnage to cease, and the poor remainder were taken prisoners. I inclose you a list [*wanting*] of the killed, wounded, and missing, the best I have been able to procure, although not a compleat one, as it mentions only 77, and there are 86 officers missing; as for the privates there is no certain account of their fate—it is even doubtful if any have escaped, although many give out that more than two hundred are saved but mostly wounded. Monro, notwithstanding the representations and remonstrances of everybody about him, would not quit his camp till he heard the firing—they tell you that Lord Macleod went on his bare knees to him, after having exhausted every argument he could think of without effect; and after he did move, instead of marching directly for the detachment and attacking the troops between him and them, by which means he would have placed them under two fires, supposing the detachment still existing, of which he had no certain intelligence to the contrary, the beast took a circular route with an idea of attacking Hyder in front, but before he got near him, hearing the fate of the detachment, he sent the whole to the right about, and pushed to regain his camp with an alacrity which if put in practice at a proper time would have rendered him one of the greatest men of the age. Thus fell the finest body of troops ever

* M. Demotz de Lallée; not to be confounded with Comte Lally Tollendal, executed in 1766.

collected together in India, through the obstinacy and stupidity of one man. The capriciousness of fortune never was more fully displayed than in the transactions of these few days; after, I may say, courting him to victory and throwing opportunities in his way that would have required the utmost skill and exertion of a man of the greatest abilities to have brought about, that it should end in the destruction of so many fine fellows! I have no patience while I mention it; I could swear if it would mend the matter, for indeed I am more than half mad. Even old Humphry Bland tells every Ensign in the Army if you advance a Corporal and four you ought to support him with a Sergeant and twelve, but not a word of making your detachment more numerous than what ought to be your main body. When he got to his camp he employed himself in feeble attempts to destroy his battering train, which he had tugged all the way from Madras with him, but his camp not affording anything in the shape of a sledge hammer, the trunnions could not be knocked off, neither was there a spike fit for the purpose. All that could be done was breaking the carriages and tumbling the guns into a tank. He then gave out orders for the army's march at three o'clock in the morning, but thinking better of it, at twelve he went to the left of the line, and putting himself at their head desired the word to be passed from one corps to another without sending or leaving so much as an aid-de-camp either to acquaint the troops with what was intended or see that his orders were complied with, the consequence of which was that Lord Macleod and the 73rd regiment, with two battalions of Seapoys, were left fast asleep in the camp. At 3 o'clock they began to prepare for their march, but to their utter astonishment could neither perceive General nor army. Lord Macleod declared he would not quit his ground without orders, and continued for some time in that resolution, till his officers represented that it was of a piece with the whole of the General's conduct, and at last finding the matter grew serious he consented to move. Leaving everything standing he followed the road he supposed the General had taken, and happened to be right. The two battalions of Seapoys were not so fortunate, but happily for them the day brake time enough for his Lordship to bring them into the line of march. The blunders he (General Monro) committed on the retreat are as extraordinary as what happened before, but I am tired in relating them; it is sufficient he continued his march for thirty-two hours without intermission, which brought him to Chingliputt, where he was joined by Lieut.-Col. Cosby with the following reinforcements from Tanjore by the way of Gingee, after having lost about 60 men in endeavouring to surprize Chittapet:—

	Men
Black Cavalry, well appointed, about - -	580
Nabob's Seapoys attached to the Cavalry -	500
Ten Grenadier companies of Seapoys from the Battalions stationed at Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, about - - - - - -	700

Three Battn. companies of the 19th Battn. Seapoys - 200
Four small field pieces mann'd by black Artillery belonging to the Nabob.

The fatigue of the march was so very severe that Capt. Gilchrist of the 73rd died without having received a wound. Two officers of the 73rd with upwards of 250 men were so totally knocked up that they were obliged to be left behind at Chinglaputt;* what proportion of the Company's troops were left in the same situation, I have not yet heard. From hence he continued his march to Marmelong, where he arrived on the 15th, within four miles of Madras; the effect this second march had on the remainder of his troops I am unacquainted with, but I know for certain that the 73rd has not more if so many as two hundred men left fit for duty. I am told for certain that the soldiers, both black and white, hissed and reviled him on the march, and we have a report that both officers and men have actually refused to take the field again under his command. As far as I can learn he has not as yet sent any kind of return to Sir Eyre; neither has any one of his family furnished us with a single circumstance wherewith we might defend his conduct or account for his behavior. The *Nymph* sloop brought the intelligence of these transactions to Bengal in four days, and a letter from Sir Hector, the purport of which was that he had neither men, money, nor provisions, and, poor man, did not know what to do. The Supreme Council came immediately to a resolution of supplying them with as much rice as was requisite, and accordingly contracted for 100,000 maunds (*margin*, 60 pound weight) to be sent off as it could be procured. They likewise resolved to send Sir Eyre Coote with a reinforcement of:—

Two hundred Artillery - - - - -	200
Three hundred European Infantry - -	300
The General's body guard of the 73rd Regt. -	50
And about eight hundred Lascars for the guns	800

with stores and ammunition and fifteen lacks of rupees, under the disposal of Sir Eyre, who I fancy on his arrival at Madras will overturn the present Government and take everything in his own hands, but as I have not seen the consultations of the Board, I only guess at this part of it. Now, my dear Sir, you must allow me to give you the reasons which made me condemn these proceedings when in Bengal, as I do not think that even the safe arrival of the reinforcement sets them entirely aside. . . . I am not afraid to tell you my private opinion, and I do not believe I am single in it if people dared to speak out. But men in this country appear to have no other God than money; gain is their *summum bonum*, the *amor patriæ* is entirely out of the question, and poor John Company may go to the devil if individuals can but fatten on the spoil: I do not believe there ever was in the world so liberal a master so infamously served." I have to write from memory, without maps and papers, but hope you will make out my meaning. "I look on Bengal as the seat of

* The writer more than once spells the same name in two ways.

Empire, and in the utmost danger, even if this reinforcement had remained to defend it, of being overrun by a body of at least 60,000 Mahrattoes now assembled at Cutteck ready to make an irruption the moment the rains are over; exasperated by our behaviour towards them by making a partial and impotent attack on them which has answered no other purpose than draining our Treasury, and depriving our own dominions of a very large body of our best troops whom we now want to defend them, and are at such a distance that it is impossible to get them back in time if at all; I mean Goddard's army. In the next place it is certain that Nazaphe Cawn, the King of Delhi's General, is at the head of 60,000 men ready to fall on the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. Him we have likewise exasperated by the most childish and impolitic behaviour I ever heard of. Can you believe that Mr. Hastings, merely for the sake of humbugging Capt. Mordaunt, who commands the Nabob's bodyguard, should be weak enough to authorize him to raise a body of 8 or 10,000 men to make an attempt on Delhi, merely that he might have the giving away his appointment to another man, which has taken place; and now poor Mordaunt's preparations are ordered to be laid aside; Nasuphe Cawn must feel himself stung and that to the quick at so barefaced an insult, and if he ever meant to be our friend, will not now fail to exert himself to the utmost against us. Another fact is that Hyder has had an ambassador at Delhi for more than a twelve month, a circumstance I was perfectly acquainted with when up at Lucknow, but which the Governor was totally unacquainted with till very lately. It certainly then was our business to have kept well with him at any rate; as far as I can see there appears to be a general combination of all the powers in India to drive us out of the country; our forces, which if collected together is more than fully sufficient to defend our own provinces and punish the aggressors, are so scattered in making futile attempts to increase our dominions, which already are more than we can or ought to wish for, that I think we run a very great risk of losing everything. . . . . As it now stands I fear the Mahrattoes will not be prevented from making an excursion if they chuse it, the consequence of which must be the total loss of the revenue for this year, and the unhinging of everything. How can you support a war against so many enemies at the same time and find subsistence for troops that are scattered all over the face of India, whilst an enemy is ravaging your own country, preventing all manner of people, both farmers and manufacturers, from carrying on their business, and at the same time giving so bad an impression to men of property that they are afraid to trust it in your hands. The strongest proof I can give you of the truth of this latter idea is the Governor and Council not being able to get a single rupee paid into the Treasury at five per cent., which was the terms held out by their first proclamation, but were obliged to recall it and offer eight per cent. in a few days afterwards; this is called the first loan and is for forty-five lacks. The second loan is said to be in favour of the Company's servants, for twenty

lacks to be paid in England in five years at the rate of 20 per cent. of the principal yearly and interest upon the whole at the rate of 4 per cent., but subject to the determination of the Court of Directors in England, and in case of their disapprobation the subscribers to be repaid their money in Bengal with the same interest as the first loan bears, eight per cent. The third loan is by way of annuity payable in England at the rate nearly of 10 pound per annum for the thousand rupees, this is for twenty lacks more. . . . When we arrive [at Madras], which I hope will be to-morrow, we cannot take the field immediately for the rains and the want of camp equipage, which Mr. Monro's expedition has effectually made away with, and I fear instead of striking that dread into Hyder which we ought to do if we could act with vigour on our landing, we shall, as I have often seen in America, dwindle into nothing more than an addition of so many rank and file; in short I cannot help thinking we have given up a sure and certain game to put everything to the hazard and leave the fate of India to be decided by fortunate circumstances which may happen but cannot be depended on. If our ship had been lost, and I think I never was so near it in my life, pray how would you have made head against Mr. Hyder or any other power; the other ships of our fleet are gone the Lord knows where, and we are not yet on shore; if the monsoon breaks before we get ashore, if it does not sink us we must go to Ceylon, from whence we cannot get to Madras for some months, which certainly might have been better employed in making the proper preparations in Bengal for taking the field when the season permitted, and if we do get to Madras I cannot think the object after all worth the risque we have run. His Majesty's and the Company's ships are obliged to leave the coast on the 15th of October, it is now the 2nd of November, the very day that such destruction was done in a former monsoon. . . . I pity Sir Eyre's situation from the bottom of my soul; to be obliged, at his time of life, to resyne his well-earned reputation on an expedition of this kind. He is, as far as I can see, the only man in power in India that acts for the good of the Company and Nation. . . .

"4th November.—Happening to mention last night to Sir Eyre that I had been writing to you, he desired me to add his best compliments, and as I have got the pen in my hand I shall mention a few things I have omitted in the body of my letter owing to the confusion there is on board. They say that a body of French troops are expected on the coast to join Hyder, and give that as a reason for sending the detachment, but I think Sir Edward Hughes ought to be able to give a good account of them if they attempt it, and if they do effect a landing our presence cannot be of any service, as we shall be obliged in that case to retire into Fort St. George, where we shall only add to the crowd, as there are certainly troops sufficient left to sustain a siege without us. They say the Admiral has been at Tranquebar and bought from the Danes ten thousand saddles and as many stand of arms, which it is supposed were intended for the use of the Nabob of Arcot's second son, who is suspected of having a good

understanding with Hyder. Hyder is said to have lost ten thousand men and six thousand horses in his engagement with the detachment at Conjeveram; he is in possession of almost all the forts in the Carnatic, and his army is said to exceed 100,000 men. He has left a strong body at Conjeveram, and is besieging Arcot with the rest."

[Madras.] . . . "I do not suppose the world ever exhibited such a train of villainy as has been practis'd here ever since the departure of Sir Thomas Rumbold. I thought it impossible to refine on his conduct, but the gentlemen here have displayed [such] a genius for rascallity that I would pitt them against the Devil himself. Things have turned out nearly as I supposed, we have had certain intelligence from Bengal that Nazuphe Cawn has concluded a treaty with Laindee the Mahrattoe and means to do exactly what I foretold. This blows up all Mr. Hastings' hopes and assertions that the Mahrattoes would accept of the terms he had offer'd them. We cannot take the field till the rains are over, and since our arrival the army has been put in cantonments. Our whole force does not exceed five thousand men, Europeans and all. The detachment expected from Bengall under the command of Col. Pierce of the Artillery, consisting of ten battalions of Seapoys, cannot arrive in Madras in less than three months, allowing they are not molested by the Mahrattoes at Cuttack . . . Hyder has taken Arcot since our arrival, before which place Sir Eyre Coote lost more men than in the siege of Pondicherry. The Europeans who were in it capitulated to the number of one hundred and sixty men on condition of not serving against him during the war, and are arrived safe at Madras. . . . A vessel sail'd yesterday to Bombay with dispatches to Sir Edward Hughes and orders for Goddard to attack Hyder on his side immediately; I suppose we shall not move till we think he has time to begin his work and then we shall act vigorously on this side."

Endorsed :—"Mr. Campbell, Transactions in India."

[Lieut.-Col.] Patrick Ross to Lord George Germain.

1781, September 22. Johanna, Ship *Asia*.—A long narrative of the expedition intended for the Cape of Good Hope under Commodore Johnstone and General Meadows. Reports an engagement with the French fleet on April 16, off St. Jago, Cape Verde Islands. On July 10, they were joined by the frigates, with a captured Dutch ship, the people on which informed them:—"That the war with England was announced at the Cape the 31st of March by a French schooner on her way to Mauritius. That an overland express from the English East India Company had been stopped, and the French had contrived to get possession of the dispatch, which contained orders for the attack of Negapatam and Ceylon. That a ship arrived at the Cape in April, from the coast of Choromandel, with an account of Hyder Ally having last year, in the month of July, entered the Carnatick, plundered Porta Nova, gone to Pondichery and invited the

French to return to the possession of it, and afterwards laid siege to Arcot, on which General Munro marched with the Company's troops to Conjiveram, where he waited for the junction of Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie with a detachment from the northward. That Hyder got notice of the Colonel's approach, and waylaid him on the 6th of September, who, notwithstanding, gained some advantage over Hyder's people. That General Munro, on hearing of this, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher with some Highlanders and twelve companies of Grenadier Sepoys to effect the junction of Colonel Baillie's detachment, on which Hyder raised the siege of Arcot and went with all his force to oppose it. That on the 10th of September he surprised them with the opening of a considerable battery, which they immediately attacked, and which soon made the action become general on both sides. And whilst victory hung doubtfull, the unfortunate blowing up of four English ammunition tumbrils decided it for Hyder, who, availing himself of the confusion the accident occasioned, ordered his cavalry to cut in amongst them, and terminated the day with the demolition of the party, and the loss of Colonel Fletcher killed, and Colonel Baillie wounded and prisoner. That, on hearing of this disaster, General Munro had retired to cover Madras, Hyder's parties having penetrated as far as Vipery. That General Coote was on his way from Bengall with ten thousand men for the relief of the coast. That Hyder had retired on account of the monsoon, and that the French fleet from the Islands was at the Cape when this news arrived, on which they immediately returned."

The African coast was sighted on July 20, and in Saldana Bay several English ships were rescued from the Dutch. On board the *Romney* they found the King of Tarnet (? Ternate) and his son, who had long ago been stolen by the Dutch and confined on Robin or Penguin Island until the war broke out, when for greater security they were put on board the India ships.

On July 27, when all were hoping to be allowed to attack Mons. Souffrein, who was reported to be in False Bay, Commodore Johnstone suddenly announced his intention of leaving them, and thus ended the expedition, greatly to the disappointment of the writer. After a very tedious voyage from the Cape, the ships reached Johanna on the 2nd and 3rd inst. The King's troops were here removed from the East India Company's ships, and left to "pursue their destination" as best they might, without protection.

Paul Benfield to Lord George Germain.

1781, October 10. Fort St. George, Madras.—The causes of Hyder's Ally's invasion are so variously represented that he believes his Lordship will not be displeased to receive "an abstract from Record" of the circumstances to which he believes it may be chiefly ascribed.

Although Hyder's progress at first was alarming and rapid, he is unable to maintain his ground before the British army, which

has had the advantage of him in three engagements since July last, and probably his departure is at no great distance.

Proceedings in the Carnatic.

[1781, October.]—Paper endorsed "Abstract of correspondence and measures that preceded Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic in September, 1780." [*Sent enclosed in Mr. Benfield's letter above.*]

"In consequence of an offer made by Bassalut Jung, thro' the Nabob of the Carnatic, to give up the Circar of Guntoor to the Company on certain conditions, a treaty of alliance was concluded between him and the Government of Madras the 27th April, 1779.

"A small detachment under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Harper was sent about that time by sea to Mootapillie in the Guntoor Circar, from whence it was to proceed to Adoni, the residence of Bassalut Jung, agreeable to the treaty made with him.

"The Governor [Rumbold] acquainted the Nizam that a body of troops was to be sent to defend the possessions of his brother Bassalut Jung against Hyder Ally Cawn, who at that time was in that neighbourhood with a large army.

"He wrote at the same time to Hyder to inform him that the English Government had entered into a treaty with Bassalut Jung and promised to defend his country, and it was hoped he, Hyder, would lay aside his intentions against him if he had formed any.

"The Governor wrote Fazel Beg Cawn that his view in sending troops to Bassalut Jung was to defend his territories against Hyder, whose ambition it was necessary to check, and he for that purpose requests Fazel Beg Cawn to send some of his troops to join the English. Thus it became universally known that the English had taken Bassalut Jung under their protection and meant to support him against all his enemies, particularly against Hyder, who had long intended to strip him of his territories.

"The English troops were detained several months in the Circar of Guntoor for want of provisions, before they could proceed to Adoni. As part of the Cuddappa country lately conquered by Hyder lay between the Guntoor Circar and Adoni, Colonel Harper, who commanded the detachment, thought it necessary to apply to Aly Reza, Hyder's manager, for leave to allow the detachment to pass through Hyder's territories, but the answer he received amounted to a refusal. Colonel Harper had orders to proceed, and the Governor wrote to Aly Reza, desiring he would let the troops pass through the district he commanded, but he gave no answer to the letter. The English troops were harassed on their march by parties of horse, and when they came within a few miles of Dournal, in the Cuddappa country, Colonel Harper received intelligence that the pass was blocked up by Hyder's people, who were determined to oppose his passage.

Colonel Harper having with him but a few days' provisions, thought it imprudent in his situation to advance. He therefore retreated to Ennindoa in the Guntoor Circar, and when the Presidency was informed of it, preparations were made to reinforce the detachment, and the Governor wrote to Hyder to demand a free passage for the troops, but received no answer. Bassalut Jung, who had long impatiently waited for the arrival of the English troops, upon hearing of their retreat gave himself up to despair. His country was overrun and laid waste by Hyder's Horse, and he was told plainly by Hyder that he must give up his connexion with the English to keep upon good terms with him. The Nizam on the other side, foreseeing that if the English troops got to Adoni his brother would effectually grow independent of him, did everything he could to prevent their getting there, and wrote to his brother a threatning letter to make him give up his alliance with the English.

"Bassulut Jung seeing no likelyhood of his being soon *relieved* by the English, saw no remedy left but to throw himself upon his brother the Nizam's protection, to obtain which he solemnly promised to drop all connexion with the English. The Nizam upon this granted him his intercession with Hyder, who ordered his troops to evacuate the country of Adoni. The detachment in the Guntoor Circar had in the meantime been reinforced, and Colonel Baillie was appointed to the command of it in the room of Colonel Harper. While they were on their march to Adoni, a letter was received from Bassalut Jung desiring them not to proceed, as he had then no occasion for their services.

"The Nizam had been much hurt at the conduct of the Government of Madras in attempting to support one of his vassalls and dependents in direct breach of the treaty made with him, and his displeasure was greatly encreased by the demand made of him about the same time to give up the *Peshcush* or tribute money for the Northern Circars. The resentment he betrayed on that occasion is fully expressed by himself in a letter he wrote to Fazel Beg, which was forwarded by the latter to Mr. Rumbold. Finding, however, that it was in vain to contest the point with the Government of Madras, he applied for redress to the Governor General, whom he earnestly sollicited to interpose his authority; at the same time he was not idle in pursuing those measures he thought would be most effectual in lowering the power of the English, for he offered himself a mediator between Hyder and the Mahrattas and brought about the alliance between them in October 1779, promising to join them himself in attacking the English on all quarters. Sir Thomas Rumbold, suspecting that Hyder Ally had taken umbrage at the treaty concluded with Bassalut Jung, sent Mr. Swartz to him to sound his intentions, and wrote him a friendly letter, which Hyder answered in very different terms. Hyder shortly after this received intelligence that the English troops commanded by Colonel Harper had attempted to force their way through the Cuddappah Country, and that there had been a skirmish between his people and them. It is probable that he, from that hour,

considered the peace between the English and him to be at an end, since they had actually commenced hostilities. He began from that time to make preparations for war and to treat all the English who came into his country like enemies. The Nabob having no doubt of his designs, from the private information he received from his court, acquainted the Government of Madras of it, and called upon them to make preparations for the defence of the Carnatic, but all to no purpose.

"Mr. Gray was sent by them to Hyder to obtain the release of some English gentlemen who had been made prisoners in his country. The answer Mr. Gray brought from him was sufficiently declaratory of his hostile intentions, but no notice was taken of it. This letter was received the 29th of March, before Sir Thomas Rumbold embarked for Europe, and Hyder invaded the Carnatick in the July following."

[Lieut.-Col.] Patrick Ross to Lord George Germain.

1782, March 6. Bombay.—Continues his relation of proceedings, from the time of the writing of his last letter. (*See p.* 364 *above.*) The Indian news reported from Johanna is confirmed, and news has come of the French fleet of eleven sail of the Line, besides frigates and fireships, with 2,500 land troops, being in Madras Road in the beginning of February. General Coote is in the field against Hyder, who has taken Arcot. General Stewart has lost his leg and Colonel Brown is killed. The Dutch factories on that side of India were all taken possession of by the British on the breaking out of the war, and General Munro and Sir Edward Hughes have since taken Negapatam and Trincamallee. The Bombay troops have taken Bassein Callicut and several other places, and are, it is hoped, meditating a stroke of importance. *Begun on the same sheet as the previous letter, and endorsed* "Duplicate originals, forwarded from Bombay."

The Same to the Same.

1782, November 3. Fort St. George.—Transmitting copies of the letters of which the originals were forwarded from Bombay, and giving a long account of his proceedings and of the situation in India. Mentions Col. Brathwaite's defeat in the Tanjore country by Tippoo Saib on February 18; Sir Edward Hughes' action with the French fleet on February 17; Col. Humberston's success over a party of Hyder's troops, at Tricalore; the repair of Col. Horne, Capt. Smith and the writer to interview Col. Humberstone at Tanore near Calicut, their voyage round Ceylon, during which they were chased by the French fleet, and their safe arrival at Madras, where they found things in a very unpleasant situation, the effects of last year's scarcity evident in the feebleness of the inhabitants, the Company's civil servants unpaid, the army in arrears and wanting necessaries, the Treasury without money, and public credit depressed by lack of confidence in those entrusted with the management of the Company's affairs.

The revenues of the Carnatic, entirely under the management of Lord Macartney, are much reduced by the desolating war there; the Nabob, "who once to have seen was to be rich," now dependent on his Lordship for the daily subsistence of himself and his family, and complaining that although the acknowledged Prince, he has not even the shadow of authority left, in spite of his treaty of assignment with the Bengal government.

The preliminaries of the Mahratta Peace have been received from Bengal with much satisfaction, but Hyder's continuing the war and receiving from Mons. Souffrein the prisoners taken at sea by the French (*see narrative addressed to the Commissioners, below*) gives rise to apprehensions that he will not ratify them.

General Coote has gone to the southward; Sir Edward Hughes arrived at Madras on July 20, after a third action with the French on the 6th in which he had the advantage; Col. Horne has been taken at sea, going to command the southern army.

October 31.—Sir Edward Hughes has again come in, after a fourth action with the French on September 3 off Trincamallee, of which the French had got possession during his absence by capitulation of the garrison, who have been sent back in cartel ships. They say they were obliged to capitulate for want of shot. Sir Edward has hoisted his flag on board the *Sultan*, meaning to carry his fleet round to Bombay, and Sir Richard Bickerton has arrived on this coast. General Coote's disappointment in not obtaining supplies preyed so much on his mind, as to give him a severe bilious illness which endangered his life, and he has had to give up the command to General Stuart and return to Bengal. The good news of Lord Rodney's success has been brought in by the *Juno*.

There is great anxiety lest the present distresses of the Settlement should be increased by famine, the sad effects of which are every day seen, and will be greatly increased if the grain vessels cannot be protected from Mons. Souffrein. *Dated November* 3 *at the end, and evidently written at various times.*

[To] the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for the management of the affairs of the East Indies.

1782-1784.—Unsigned paper so headed, being the narrative of an English officer who was on board the *Hannibal*, Captain Christie, going out to Madras to join the squadron under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, when she was taken by the French on January 22, 1782. Relates the sufferings of the English officers during the five months they were imprisoned on the French ships, their delivery by the French Governor at Cudalore to Hyder Ally, and their subsequent treatment and hardships. Many died on the march to Bangalore, which occupied six weeks, from want of food, drinking stagnant water, and lying at night in the open air exposed to a deluge of rain. At Bangalore they were confined in close prisons, with their legs heavily ironed. In October, 1782, certain of their number, viz.: Messrs. Drake, Masters, Le Sage and Austin, midshipmen, captured in the

Hannibal, Messrs. Hudiman, Wilkinson (*alias* Wilkins) and Randall Cadman, midshipmen, captured in the *Resolution* (armed store ship), and Mr. Willey, of the *Fortitude*, Indiaman, together with about twenty of the youngest people, were sent to Seringapatam. The rest remained where they were; their bed the floor of their prison, and their food unwholesome rice and water, until they were given up on the 25th of April, 1784, to Lieut. Dallas, of the Company's troops, who escorted them to Madras.

XVI.—MINORCA.

Lieut.-Governor James Murray to Lord George Germain.

1776, August 27. Minorca.—I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kindness to my friend, Major Caldwell. "I may now congratulate your Lordship on the reduction of America. Sir Guy Carleton will have it in his power to reinforce his army with 10,000 Canadians, and the Indians to a man are at our devotion. The Lakes Champlain and George we should be masters of. . . . . The summer will be very well employed in establishing the Army at Albany, filling the maggazines there with everything which will be wanted next summer, and securing the communications with Canada. That being done, I shall be disapointed if the winter doeth not produce Chart Blanche from the rebels. If they persist in their obstinacy, I see nothing to make me alter the opinion I wrote last year to the Secretary at War . . . . . I ever thought the offensive war was to be pushed from the side of Canada. I take the liberty to enclose a copy of that letter.

"I think your Lordship should know that a great number of American ships come up the Mediterranean with impunity. We have only a 60 gun ship and four frigates from Lisbon to Constantinople." Fifteen or eighteen vessels belonging to this Island could be employed, if they were commanded by Lieutenants or inferior experienced officers. "Our neighbours, though both nations have equipped squadrons this summer, I believe do not mean to disturb us; I am, however, much upon my guard. A most perfect harmony subsists betwixt the German and English troops, and I am particularly happy in possessing the affection of the garrison and the inhabitants, ... but unless we soon finish the business in America our neighbours cannot be so much wanting to themselves as not to strike."

Enclosing :—

Extract from a letter from himself to Lord Barrington (Secretary at War), dated 1st July, 1775, giving his views on the best mode of prosecuting the American War.

The Same to the Same.

1777, Sept. 6. Mahon.—Enclosing a copy of a letter from his brother, Lord Elibank, releasing him from the payment of

a debt amounting to sixteen thousand pounds. The General proceeds:—"I am glad the Howes have avoided a general engagement. The fate of battles at the best are precarious. When Burgoyne gets over the lakes, and Sir John Johnstone penetrates with his Indians, Sir Wm. Howe's detachments co-operating with them, must open the eyes of the deluded, unshackle the constrained, and accomplish your most sanguine wishes without much bloodshed. I take it for granted the only men in arms which Washington can depend upon are the emigrants from Europe who have not yet been mollify'd by an American possession. The native American is an effeminate thing, very unfit for and very impatient of war. I dare say everyone of them are praying for peace, and will be happy to be liberated from the oppression of the usurpers. I hope you'll hang the French renegadoes to terrify their countrymen from the like practices hereafter."

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR JAMES MURRAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, March 18. Mahon.—The importance of the subject must be my excuse for troubling you with the enclosed papers. If Wright obtains the patent [of the living of Ciudadella] for Olivar I shall be able to prove simony, which by Minorkeen laws makes it null and void. "If I am baffled in this business I shall loose all credit with the people, and then any other person will carry on the government here better than I can do."

Enclosing:—

Papers and copies of letters from himself to Lord Weymouth and others concerning the attempts made to interfere with his right of recommending to the "Pabordership" of Ciudadella, and the offering of bribes to Mr. Johnson and Mr. James Wright, his own and General Mostyn's secretaries, on behalf of persons anxious to obtain the living.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1778, November 14. Minorca.—I have had no earlier opportunity of thanking you for your letters received from Sir William Moor, who has arrived, but narrowly escaped being taken by a French frigate. The enemy's cruisers surround the island, and the only chance of communicating with the continent is when a neutral ship drops in. "I am now perfectly convinced Lord Weymouth meant me no injury in the affair of Olivar's living. The candid proceedings of that noble man in this business must for ever attach me to him . . . It is now all very well. The law is taking its course with Mr. Olivar, and I knew it was impossible for me to govern here had I acted otherwise . . . I set out by governing the people by their laws; they had been so little used to that mode of government, it was some time before they could be convinced I was sincere; at last I acquired their confidence, but had Wright succeeded I must have been totally overset. . . .

"Lord Amherst's promotion makes me very happy for many reasons. I love and esteem the man, and I think him the fittest person for the great task he has to perform of any of our generals, and is, into the bargain, a very great favourite of Fortune, which the Romans, I believe very justly, thought a necessary ingredient in their generals. Until his late appointment to the command in chief, I never could account for his not being sent to America when General Gage was re-called. The salvation of Great Britain is of more consequence than the restoration of peace to the Colonies."

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR MURRAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, March 14. Fort St. Philip.—Sending the copy of a letter to Lord Amherst, for whose behaviour he cannot account. He little thought he would have to suffer by his Lordship's exaltation, but if he survives the siege, he will retire with great satisfaction.

Enclosing :—

Letter to Lord Amherst of the same date, declaring that he cannot do justice to his King and country unless his authority is supported. On taking the command his Lordship made it a rule to attend to the recommendation of the Colonels for the vacant ensigncies, yet the ensigncies in the 13th regiment of foot have been filled up from the recommendations of the Lieut.-Colonel while his own are neglected. He has this day heard of General Mostyn's death, but as he cannot get an ensigncy for a friend in his own regiment, it would be ridiculous to expect the government of Minorca. Fears a successor cannot arrive before the fate of the Island is decided, as Fort St. Philip may be invested before the 15th of April, but hopes, if he does come, he will find that everything possible has been done for the defence of the place. No exertions of his own shall be wanting to assist the new Governor in repelling the enemy.

GOVERNOR MURRAY to THE SAME.

1779, October 15. Minorca.—Requesting his interest with Lord Amherst in favour of Sir James Murray (son of Sir Robert Murray and of the writer's sister), who is the writer's heir and the only object of his care, and who can only be honourably extricated from the West Indies by promotion to a regiment at home. Wishes that supplies of money and provisions could be sent. A re-inforcement of men they do not dream of till they are once more masters of the seas, which they flatter themselves may be the case next spring. Till then he believes the Island will not be attacked, as it is too late to attempt St. Philip's Castle by a regular siege, and the winters there are boisterous to a degree, which will secure them from annoyance from the enemy. *In duplicate.*

Fort St. Philip.

1782, January.—Copies of papers relative to the defence of Fort St. Philip, in the Island of Minorca—besieged by the French under the Duc de Crillon.

1. Questions submitted by General Murray to the officers of the garrison for their consideration as to the best way of disposing the troops of the garrison in order to continue the defence, dated January 18, 1782.
2. The state of the effectives of the different corps and of the guns in garrison.
3. The reply of the officers, recommending the proposal to the Duc de Crillon of a suspension of arms for a fixed period, after which, should no relief arrive, the fort to be given up.
4. General Murray's answer, stating that their answer "takes in a latitude" he never meant to give them. He consulted them on the point how best to prolong the defence, and on that alone; he will never consent to propose terms for surrender until driven to the last extremity, and he adjures them to obey him and execute his orders. If they refuse, he must resign the command to the Lieut.-Governor, whom he sincerely believes to be a better officer than himself, and who certainly is a better politician.
5. The reply of the officers, announcing their determination to obey him. Signed by Major-General H. B. de Sydon, Colonels G. W. Linsey, Henry Pringle, John Bruce, John Acklom, Lieut.-Colonels H. de Hagan, C. H. de Gruben, Wm. Gauntlet, James Case, Capt. Gilbert Townsend. [*Probably the papers alluded to below.*]

Governor Murray to Lord George Germain.

1782, Feby. 16. Mahon.—Encloses a copy of a letter to Lord Hillsborough. Captain Don will present the letter to Lord George, and is able to inform him minutely of every circumstance relative "to the general and the siege."

Enclosure:—

Governor Murray to Lord Hillsborough. Marked "Private, to be laid before his Majesty if Lord Hillsborough shall think proper." Detailing the unhappy differences between Sir Wm. Draper, the Lieut.-Governor, and the writer relative to the surrender of the place to the French, and forwarding authentic papers by Captain Don. Could have held out two months more, had the garrison continued in health. Copy.

XVII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Lord William Russell to King Charles II.

1683, July 19. Newgate.—"May it please youre Maiesty,—Since this is not to be deliuered till after my death i hope your Maiesty will forgive the p'sumption of an attainted man's writtinge to you. My cheife Buisnes is humbly to ask your pardon for any thinge that i haue sayd or done that might looke

like want of respect to your Maiesty or duty to your Goverment, in which though i doe to the last moment acquitt myselfe of all designes against your person, or of alltering your Goverment, and protest i know of noe designe now on foote against eyther, yett i doe not deny but I haue heard many things, and sayd some things contrary to my duty, for which as i have asked God's pardon, soe I humbly begg your Maiestye's, and i take the liberty to add, that though i haue mett with hard measure, I forgive all concerned in itt from the highest to the lowest, soe that i goe out of the world free from all resentments, and i pray God to bless both your person and government, and that the public peace and the Protestant religion may be preserved under you, and i craue leaue to eand my dayes with this sincere protestation that my heart was euer devoted to that which I thought was your true interest, in which if I was mistaken I hope your displeasure against me will end with my life, and that no parte of it shall fall on my wife and children, which is the last petition will euer be offered you from, May itt please your Maiesty, your Maiesty most faithfull, most dutyfull and most obedient subiect, Will. Russell."

This is a true coppy from the originall. Wittnes,—R. Russell, John Russell.

Endorsed:—"Lord Russell's letter to the King. The copy sent to the Countess of Northampton by Lady Russell."

Port St. Mary's.

1702, October 30.—The Duke of Ormond having, by her Majesty's command, issued a declaration that all Spaniards who did not oppose him should be protected, and certain officers and soldiers having, notwithstanding, plundered Port St. Mary's: The question is—1. What punishment they have incurred, and 2. How it may be inflicted, whether by Court of Law or Court Martial.

With Judges' opinion that the offenders are not punishable in England, either by Court of Law or Court Martial. *Eighteen signatures. Copy.*

Endorsed:—"Judges' opinion about the trial of those that had plundered Port St. Mary's."

Order in Council.

1702, November 11.—Referring to the judges the following query:—Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara having been put in arrest on one of her Majesty's ships at sea, by order of the Duke of Ormond, commander of the Sea Expedition, for plundering at Port St. Mary's, and having broken from the said arrest and come ashore in England; whether they may not be sent back on board the ship, and what prosecution may be had in law.

With the opinion of the judges thereupon. That they cannot be sent back, nor any prosecution by law be had against them. Dated November 13. *Copy.*

O. P. to Sir Spencer Compton.*

1727, November 14.—"The subject of this letter must, I think, necessarily be the subject of your own daily thoughts in your present situation; and tho' I am very sensible few men reason better, yet, as a stander-by, whose reflections are cool, often observes something that escapes him who is engaged at play, I flatter myself here are at least one or two hints which may deserve your most serious reflection. I chuse to keep a mask upon my face that my reasons may have just as much weight with you as they deserve in themselves, and be neither too much or too little considered upon the account of the person they come from. I wish you extreamly well both for your own sake, and as I think you more capable at present than any man alive to serve your country; and shall therefore give you a frank and true account of what I find people say and think both of you and your rival† in power, and what the publick, your prince, your own reputation and safety, all seem to demand of you.

"During the reign of his late Majesty, while you fill'd the chair with great capacity, you at the same time gain'd the confidance of the Prince his son with such an admirable foresight and address that upon his father's demise everybody expected to have seen you declared first minister. Their expectations are deceived. The same person† who held the first posts before keeps them still. His dependants do not scruple to intimate that you found yourself unequal to the charge, and that upon his pretending a readiness to resign his posts you became conscious of your own weakness and desired him to continue in them; but that his Majesty is since so sensible of their master's unparallel'd capacity that he is now fix'd in his employments and above your reach. They even pretend to name some instances where his interest has of late prevailed over yours, and give people to understand by several obscure hints and expressions that he will soon oblige you to confess his superiority, to be content with a title, and ever after to draw under him. The temper of that gentleman is indeed too well known to let many people suspect that he can ever pardon one who has pretended to rival him in power, and that however specious his professions may be, he is not constantly endeavouring to undermine and blow up the man he has once conceived a jealousy of.

"If he is not indeed blinded by avarice and ambition, he must see 'tis impossible for him to hold the rains much longer, without ruining his master and his country. His Majesty comes to the throne as much to the satisfaction of people in general as ever prince did. The only exception to his Administration seems to be his keeping this man in power, who is become more odious to the nation in general than can easily be conceived.

"His being long ago found guilty of corruption is not forgot; nor his seeming but a few years since to have made his present

* Afterwards Earl of Wilmington. The author of this letter may perhaps have been Mr. George Dodington, afterwards created Lord Melcombe, as the style is very similar to his. Compare his letter printed at p. 36.

† Sir Robert Walpole.

Master no more than a mere property, a step to mount upon. He is said to have screen'd all the South Sea iniquities from justice, to have sold the whole Company two or three times over to the Bank, to have undone the poor annuitants, and flung the publick stocks for private reasons into so many shapes as has ruined many thousands of families. His new order of knighthood* is thought to have disgusted all our old nobility, and his making so much hast to get out of it himself that he left even the King's son behind him, to have discovered a more excessive degree of vanity than even his greatest enemies suspected. Lastly, his immense riches, his engrossing everything to himself or family, his notorious jealousy of all men of capacity, his ignorance of foreign affairs, and leaving them wholy to his two weak brothers; all these particulars, whether true or false, are at least so firmly believed as I fear have made it utterly impossible for him to do any service to his Prince or the publick.

"On the contrary, everything seems to favour and even in a manner to court your taking upon you the charge of first minister. Your family is already so noble that no honours the Crown has in its power to bestow on you will be envyed by reasonable men; your fortune is known to be so great as must set you above using any mean expedients to enlarge it. As you are a bachelor, you have no numerous family that must be all provided for, however the publick administration is disgraced by it. Men of capacity who serve you faithfully may all hope for proper encouragement. You have the character of being a good friend, and juster to your word than courtiers usually are. Your experience and capacity in business are indisputable, and there is a certain most happy dignity in your aspect and behaviour which your rival most notoriously wants, and which will give the utmost weight to every word and action in a first minister.

"The Tories will readily come into measures with you, and by taking in some few of the best of them (tho' this must be done with caution), and giving the rest but tolerable quarter, you may make his Majesty *King of all his people*. You will consequently make him the greatest Prince in Europe, and become yourself the most beloved and greatest first minister that perhaps had ever yet his name transmitted to posterity. All good men, all real lovers of their country, and in a manner all parties among us, would jointly strive to make your administration easy and glorious; yet, notwithstanding this inviting prospect, you are generally thought to want either courage or inclination to accept those favours fortune offers you; and you will, therefore, I hope, pardon me if I take the liberty to examine the force of the four following reasons, which are the only ones I could ever yet hear given, or can possibly conceive, for your seeming indolence in this great crisis.

"1st. You may not care to enter on the administration when our affairs abroad by the uncountable (*sic*) conduct of some men are in so bad and uncertain a scituation, and when our trade at home is so visibly decaying.

* Probably means the revival of the Order of the Bath, in 1725.

"2ndly. You may apprehend the power and interest of your rival in the House of Commons.

"3rdly. You may apprehend the fateague of the post of first minister and imagine you may have riches and honours sufficient without it.

"4thly. Your rival may have gain'd so much ground of late that you may think it now dangerous to oppose him.

"As to the first reason, (viz.) that you may not care to enter on the administration when our affairs abroad, by the unaccountable conduct of some men, are in so bad and uncertain a situation, and when our trade at home is so visibly decaying:

"It is certain that people are so generally dissatisfied with the conduct of the present first minister, and would be so transported to see his power in other hands, that they would make much larger allowances to his successor than are necessary for the difficulties he must encounter. Those that embarrass our foreign affairs are not yet insuperable, though it would exceed the bounds of a letter to consider each of them with its proper remedy. The British nation, a very little more united than it is at present, would be too formidable to be provoked by her enemies, or to have her friendship refused by some of the greatest powers in Europe on the most fair and equal terms. As to our trade, we have as yet so many hidden and such vast resources for the improvement of it, as if they were once opened and employed to the best advantage would discover and produce an inexhaustable fund of wealth.

"The writer of this has something of the utmost consequence (and capable of the clearest demonstration) to offer upon this head. He would be proud to see it executed and reckoned one of the many blessings his country might enjoy under your administration; but is most firmly resolved never to expose it to be either prostituted or maimed by the avarice or envy of the person now in power.

"As to the second reason against your accepting the post of first minister, viz., that you may apprehend the power and interest of your rival in the House of Commons:

"It is certain he has been exceedingly sollicitous to get as many of his own creatures as possible into Parliament, and yet it is as certain that the moment he was strip't of his posts he would be utterly unable to do anything there.

"The never-failing arguments of places and pensions, and the rod of dissolution but never so gently shook over that House, would, 'tis conceived, make them as complyable as heart could wish, and the present great man, when the publick hatred was at liberty to show itself in its full strength and all his actions might be freely examined, would be evidently in your power to do with as you thought fit; either to deliver him up to the resentments of the people, or give him what degree of quarter you thought proper.

"There are the strongest reasons to believe that the moment he found himself falling, he would beg to compound on any terms, and most humbly submit to any conditions.

" As to the third reason against your becoming first minister, namely, that you may apprehend the fateague of the post, and imagine you may have riches and honours sufficient without it:

" The great Knight has not laboured any one point more, and perhaps not without some success, than to make people believe that the trouble of being first Minister is too great for any man to support but himself; and that to be at the head of the Treasury requires a most wonderfull skill in accounts; whereas the plain truth is that Government when it is once set on a right foot and the great wheeles put in motion, will afterwards like a good clock go of itself without giving any farther trouble to him who first put it together and wound it up. The business of the Treasury, as to form, is done by the clerks of the office, and the raising money on any emergency is concerted with a set of men in the city who find their account in it too well ever to refuse their assistance. A good judgment, capable of weighing the several expedients that will always be proposed to it, is the chief quality required in a Lord Treasurer. The late Earl of Godolphin, who knew but little of accounts, whose hand was perhaps one of the worst in England, and who did not even write at all without some difficulty, is generally allowed one of the best Lord Treasurers we ever had.

" 'Tis beneath the dignity of a first Minister to be constantly fighting his own battles in an House of Commons. The great man last mentioned always entrusted that part to some of his friends who were plausible speakers; by this means he found employment for those sort of men who must be doing something, secured them firmly to his interest, never fail'd of success without making himself look little, and constantly preserved the dignity of his post.

" There can be no manner of doubt if you was once a Peer and held the white staff, but that by placing a proper Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, and by giving such hints to your particular friends as you thought proper to have them speak to, you would meet at last with the same success, since you have not a few visible advantages over the Lord Godolphin. You would, in a word, find the post of Lord Treasurer less fateaguing than the drudgery of the Chair, which you have so long sustain'd, not to mention that your being constantly obliged to ward against the private attempts to ruin your interest, which there are good reasons to think are even now making and will be daily made by your rival, is of itself perhaps a more troublesome and uneasy task than the business of any two posts in the kingdome.

" As to the fourth and last reason which I have heard given for your not being first Minister, (viz.) that your rival has gained so much ground of late that you may think it now dangerous to oppose him:

" I hope there is no ground for this supposition, yet taking it for once to be fact, I shall venture to affirm that if you will but obtain a favourable audience for some certain poople, there may be such facts laid before his Majesty as would soon recover your

lost ground and make him sensible that even notwithstanding his own great and excellent qualities and his being now so eminently in possession of the hearts of his people, it will be impossible for him to support and continue the present first Minister without highly endangering his own administration; nor can you want some friends in the house who, if you gave them only leave, would soon raise a spirit not easy to be laid without your appearing in it.

"Upon the whole, suffer me, Sir, to animate you to undertake the glorious work fate seems to have designed you for; and as all delays may be extreamly dangerous, by no means to defer till to-morrow what may be done to-day: In this single circumstance be pleas'd to imitate your rival, who took the seat of power the moment 'twas offered him, tho' the times then were much more difficult than now. 'Tis certain he judged right so far, and that had he afterwards only minded the publick more and his own private interest a little less, he had acquired an immortal reputation with the general love of the people. You will find an abundant allowance made you, and the utmost indulgence from all reasonable men in consideration of the false steps your predecessors have taken; you will find that the moment you appear yourself, such a number of friends will appear for you and bring such effectual assistance, as will make all difficultys vanish before you: An hundred lucky circumstances seem all to concur at this juncture to make you the greatest, the most beloved and best established minister that perhaps Great Britain has ever yet beheld. If you doubt your own capacity, give me leave to assure you that you are in this one case singular in your opinion and do injustice to yourself; be pleas'd only to remember that honour is acquired by action, and let your great and happy genious exert its full strength: no longer refuse a Peerage and the Staff: fling off that order which, for this age at least, can only be look'd upon as the mark Sir R. distinguished his creatures by, and take the Garter which both your services and your blood most justly intitle you to.

"May your ministry make the most glorious part of the English history, and that it may soon commence, let me conjure you seriously to reflect on some things in this letter, as you value either your country, your prince or your friends, your own honour, your own reputation, or even your own safety."

P.S.—"I think I know your generous sentiments of honour infinitely too well to be under the least apprehension of your showing this letter to any person whatever, much less of your exposing me to the revenge of the great man whom my subject has obliged me so often to mention. I wish him no other harm than that it may be out of his power to do you or the public any; and as I have still some things to mention to you which I durst not write, shall make no scruple to appear if you desire it. In that case be pleas'd to signify by an advertisement in the *Daily Courant* of Wednesday or Thursday next at what time and place O.P. may wait upon the person to whom he sent a letter dated Nov. the 14th.

"But if you think there is nothing in my letter worth your notice, be pleased only to burn it, and permit the writer for ever to remain unknown to you."

Endorsed: "Anonymous, 14 Nov. 1727, to Lord Wilmington."

King George II.

1743, September 26. Headquarters at Spire.—Warrant to the Duke of Dorset, Steward of the Household, to deliver up unexecuted warrants for issuing money for secret service (left in the hands of Lord Wilmington, now deceased) to Henry Pelham, Esq. *Sign manual. Countersigned by Carteret.*

Also, Receipt for the same, dated October 14th, 1743, in Pelham's hand.

Robert Maxwell* to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Aug. 8. London.—"I arrived here last night from Taunton after a great deal of smoaking, some drinking, and kissing some hundreds of women; but it was to good purpose, for I made a great number of acquisitions while I was there. I may venture to say that I have now near 150 majority, and as good a returning officer as I could wish for." Lord Egremont and Mr. Francis Fane have been with me, and both of great service. "I found the account O'Brien gave me answer in every particular. I never saw better kind of people than the principals are. After the first day they insisted upon being no more treated, and I dined and supped with some one of them all the remaining time of my stay there. . . ."

My father grumbles a good deal, but has promised the money. If you could do me the favour to procure an ensign's commission for Dr. Maxwell's son, it might put him in humour. The boy has served some years as a volunteer in one of the Scotch Dutch regiments.

T. Curteis to Lord G. Sackville.

1754, Aug. 25. Sevenoaks.—Informing him that the Duke of Newcastle will be in town on Tuesday, and begging the continuance of his Lordship's friendship towards getting his business settled. The audit at Canterbury will be in November, when the living must be filled up.

Gideon Schaw, Assistant Registrar General of Tobacco for Scotland, to the Duke of Newcastle, 1st Commissioner to the Treasury.

[1757?]—Petitions that his three clerks, hitherto paid by himself, have now got "deputations" as clerks to the office, since which they have "turned insolent, negligent and remiss, looking upon themselves as equal to and independant upon" himself, whereby all subordination in the office is lost, making

* Robert Maxwell, Esq., was returned M.P. for Taunton, 24th December, 1754.

the execution of his own duty "most uncomfortable." Prays that the deputations may be cancelled, and the 100*l.* allowed for them be paid to him, that he may have the paying of his own clerks "as all the other gentlemen in the Customs of Scotland have." *Copy.*

SIR JOHN IRWINE to LORD SHELBURNE, Secretary of State.

1767, Feb. 8. Gibraltar.—Concerning the insufficiency of the garrison at Gibraltar to withstand an unexpected attack if made in force both by land and sea.

THE TEA TRADE.

1772, December.—Printed "plan for relieving the East India Company from the present temporary distress in point of cash, by allowing them to export China tea from India to the foreign markets of Europe." *Endorsed*: "Tea Plan."

SCOTCH DUTCH BRIGADE.

1772?—"Facts relative to the Scotch Brigade in the service of Holland."

About the year 1570, the fame of the Wars in the Low Countries and the great name of the Prince of Orange drew many Scotch gentlemen over, who carried with them small bodies of men. These at first were formed into independent companies, and probably without any General, every noble or gentleman making a particular agreement for himself and his followers.

1578.—At the Battle of Reminant, near Mechlin, the English companies were commanded by Norris, the Scotch by Robert Stewart; and Strada attributed to their bravery the repulse of the Spanish army. A company then consisted of 200 or 250 men.

1583.—The companies were reduced to 150 men, and so remained until they were regimented, some time before 1592.

1592.—Balfour had command of a regiment, that year augmented with 500 men.

1594.—Thomas Balfour and six Scotch captains quitted the Dutch service, but at least one regiment remained, consisting of ten companies of 150 men.

1596.—Two more companies were added to each regiment. The States of Holland sending an embassy to Scotland, the ambassadors (Walrave, Lord of Brederode, and Mr. Jacob Valke), were accompanied on their return by many Scotch gentlemen with their followers, who joined Prince Maurice's army.

1600.—Col. Edmond [Sir William Edmonds], raised 800 men in Scotland to recruit the companies and form three new ones.

1602.—Col. McLean raised a regiment of 2,000 men. Eleven companies of 200 men each were also raised to recruit the other regiments, so that the whole Scots corps (36 companies, in three regiments) amounted to about 7,000 men.

1609.—After the conclusion of the Twelve Years' truce, [at Antwerp], McLean's regiment was reduced, leaving two, with twelve companies of 150 men in each.

1629.—After the siege of Bois-le-Duc, a third regiment was again added, bringing the forces up to 4,500 men.

1653.—The oath to the States General, to be taken by the English and Scots officers in that service, was settled by Cromwell.

1664-5.—Four English and three Scots regiments were reduced in Holland in consequence of the war with King Charles II. "The Dutch appear nevertheless to have intended to retain in their service some of the officers and men, by placing a part of those corps (reduced in Holland) upon Guelderland and the other inland provinces, but finding many difficulties in framing an oath of qualification for the officers, the magistrates of these provinces filled up the vacancies with their own relations and countrymen."

1672-4.—A new Oath of Qualification was settled, and the province of Holland determined to reduce part of her own troops in order to take back the English and Scots into her service.

1677.—Lord Ossory appointed Colonel General of the English and Scots troops. The States General complained of a Scots regiment being raised for the service of France, as "contrary to treaty."

1678.—The capitulation of the English and Scots troops delivered to the Prince of Orange by Lord Ossory. It is supposed that their Establishment and pay were then altered, and some of their privileges curtailed.

1685.—On alarm of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, King James demanded first the three Scots and then the three English regiments. Some of the Dutch towns objected, but the Prince of Orange and Council of State ordered them to embark, the Pensionnary Fagel having insisted that it was only fulfilling an old treaty. They were shortly sent back with a letter of thanks.

1688.—The States refused to let these troops go over when demanded by the King of England, who thereupon issued a proclamation recalling all British subjects from the States' service. But the regiments, being firmly attached to the interests of the Prince of Orange, showed no inclination to join King James. Some of the officers resigned their commissions, the others remaining upon the footing of the Dutch national troops.

Soon after they went over under Gen. Mackay, in favour of the Prince of Orange, and served at Killiecrankie, Dunkeld and in Ireland. When the Revolution was complete, they were sent back to Holland.

1699.—Twenty Scotch companies reduced or taken into British pay.

1701.—The States got 28 Scotch companies from the King, with leave to raise in Scotland 44 more, to form six regiments of 12 companies at sixty-six men, making a corps of upwards of 5,000 men.

Probably the first 28 companies were those who had been in the service before. Their capitulation was signed at London,

March 7, 1701, and mention is made of another regiment stipulated for, upon the Dutch national footing, to be commanded by Brigadier Belcastle.

1713.—The three new regiments were reduced at the Peace of Utrecht, being then under command of Sir James Wood and Cols. Douglas and Hamilton.

1721.—These officers thinking themselves and their regiments greatly injured, applied to Parliament, and their petition was referred to a committee (April 20), upon whose report an Act was passed in their favour.

1742.—There remained only three regiments of ten companies each in the service when George II. permitted two more companies per regiment to be raised in Scotland.

1745.—Eight more companies per regiment were added, which made two battalions per regiment, and the whole corps upwards of 5,000 men.

1747.—The Earl of Drumlanrig raised a regiment of two battalions (20 companies at 88 men), to be on the same footing as the rest, taking oath to his Majesty as well as to the States, bringing the strength to near 7,000 men.

1749.—One of these battalions reduced.

1752.—Four companies per battalion disbanded; the remaining companies of Drumlanrig's taken into Halket's, an old regiment of the Scots brigade.

That Brigade then reduced to its *present jooting, i.e.* three regiments, each of two battalions, and of seven companies per battalion. The strength of each regiment (officers included), 720, and of the whole 2,160.

1756.—An Act passed requiring all the officers to qualify to the King as well as to the States.

1756.—Leave of recruiting in Scotland still granted to the Brigade, though since suspended.

1763-4.—Leave again granted, but afterwards retracted on representation from the Royal Boroughs in Scotland.

1772.—Permission for recruiting of a certain number of men in Scotland yearly solicited by the Prince of Orange. *Copy.*

Foreign Officers.

1773, Jan.—Case, papers, and opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown (Sir E. Thurlow, Attorney-General, and Sir Alex. Wedderburn, Solicitor-General) relative to the naturalization of foreign officers and the case of General Haldimand. *Copy.*

Ferrol.

[After 1774.]—Remarks on the harbour of Ferrol, its fortifications and position.

Major-Gen. Burgoyne to Lord George Germain.

1776, Jan. 4. Hertford Street.—Enclosing a plan of the writer's for augmenting the regiments of light dragoons with one

cornet, one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty-three men per troop of the same regiment, these augmented men to be dismounted (riding behind their comrades) and to serve as infantry in conjunction with the mounted dragoons.

Sir Robert Herries to Lord George Germain.

1776, June 25.—Plan for bringing staves and lumber from and to the Mediterranean. Also a second letter from the same, one from Sir Philip Gibbs, and a scheme upon the same subject.

Mauritius.

1776, August.—Paper endorsed, "Account of the state of the Mauritius." *Unsigned.*

France and Spain.

1778, March 2.—Paper endorsed "Hints for the management of the impending war with France and Spain."

Mr. Mitchell to Lord George Germain.

1778, Oct. 22. Tower.—Will send him his system of politics, a plan for the future government of the British possessions in the East, and a plan for the adjustment of the differences with the Colonies, if his Lordship will not shew them to anyone but the King.

Lieut.-Col. S. T. Cary to the Same.

1778, Nov. 20. Broad Sanctuary.—Offering his services to command an expedition against the Island of Goree, occupied by the French.

Prisoners.

1779, Aug. 19.—List of English prisoners in France, the total being 4,925.

John Wesley "to all our Brethren whom it may concern."

1779, Oct. 24. London, City Road.—"I cannot but highly approve of Captain Webb's design of assisting his Majesty in case of an actual invasion. The particulars he will himself explain to you. This may be of more consequence than yet appears. I recommend the design and all that promote it to the blessing of God, and am, my dear brethren, your affectionate brother, John Wesley."

Annexed: "Proposal for imbodying and training a number of his Majesty's faithfull and loyal subjects belonging to the society (called Methodists) to be ready in order to assist his Majesty in opposing the daring designs of his enemies in case an

actual invasion should take place." The officers to be commissioned by his Majesty, but to be chosen by the men of their company by ballot. They are to be commissioned at once to train their men, but to take no pay or rank in the army except during the time that they are in actual service. The captains to choose the field and staff officers by ballot, and these latter to be commissioned by the King when called out into service. "The chaplain to be nominated by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, and presented to the Bishop of London for ordination by the King's orders." The whole is to form one Legion, "and Mr. Webb, who is well known to the people and who is an old experienced officer,* is recommended by Mr. Wesley for this command, with such rank as his Majesty shall think proper." To serve only during the actual time of invasion. *Signed*, T. Webb.

MONSIEUR DE RENAC.

[1780?]—Particulars concerning Monsieur de Renac *alias* Comte de Renac.

MR. MITCHELL to LORD AMHERST.

1781, January 23. Old Aberdeen.—Enclosing observations (*not now with the letter*) made by him on the defences of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1770, which he thinks may be useful if an expedition is planned against the settlement in consequence of the rupture with the Dutch; and offering himself to accompany the expedition (should such a one take place) in any capacity in which his local knowledge or professional abilities might be useful.

Also, Letter of the same date to Lord George Germain, asking him to give the above to Lord Amherst or not, as he thinks best, and explaining that, owing to the state of his health, he could only go on such a service as a volunteer, not in any station on which the success of the expedition might depend.

LORD TRAQUAIRE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, May 21. Edinburgh.—Reminding him of the part he has taken in relation to the Roman Catholic bill, and the cheerfulness with which he dropped its extension to Scotland, where he remains excluded even from the inconsiderable privileges which his brethren in England now enjoy; and asking his good offices to obtain for him some mark of his Majesty's munificence, either by private pension or something equivalent, to enable him to save the remains of his fortune (shattered partly by two journeys to London and residence there and partly by casual encumbrances and an increasing family), and to support with some kind of becoming dignity the honours of an ancient and respectable family which must otherwise fall into decay. "I appeal, my Lord, to the feelings of your own heart, ever ready to sympathise with the distressed, and I rely entirely on that benevolence of disposition that distinguishes your character, and which has so often been efficaciously exerted for the relief of others."

* He had served under Wolfe at Quebec.

Plan of Saldanha.

1781, July 21.—Plan of the Bay of Saldanha, on the S. W. coast of Africa, showing the operations of the squadron of Commodore Johnstone in the attack upon five Dutch East India ships on the morning of the above date. Drawn by Lieut. D'Auvergne, R.N., commanding the *Lark*. (*Perhaps sent with Lieut.-Col. Ross's letter. See p.* 364 *above.*)

Undated Miscellaneous Papers.

Dr. Oliver and Sir John Cope.

"Doctor Oliver's advice to Sir John Cope upon his catching St. Anthony's fire by drinking Bath waters.

"See gentle Cope with love and gout oppress'd,
Alternate torments rattling in his breast,
Trys at a cure, but tampers still in vain,
What eases one, augments the other pain.
The charming girl who strives to lend relief,
Instead of healing heightens all his grief:
He drinks for health, but then for love he sighs,
Health's in her hand, destruction in her eyes,
She gives us water, but with each touch alass!
The wicked girl electrifies the glass;
To ease the gout we swallow draughts of love,
And then, like Ætna, burst in fires above.
Sip not, dear knight, the daughter's liquid fire
But take the healing beverage from the sire,
'Twill ease your gout; for love no cure is known,
The god of physick could not heal his own."

Charles Townshend.

[No date.]—In these our days a Genius hath arisen with such powers of intellect that history affords no equal to him; he is compleat in every part of oratory, finished in every branch of science; his elocution nervous, yet polished; his wit prompt and fine, his humour delightful, and his satire keen and cutting. In a word, his knowledge is as unlimited as his admirable faculties, and yet, with all these (deficient in constancy and firmness), he hath hitherto done as little good as mischief to his country.

His heart is often penetrated with the love of virtue and possessed at times of the noblest feelings of patriotism; for, as he has studied everything, he cannot but perceive the beauty of truth, and that the primary virtue of a social being is to promote the happiness of the community of which he is a member; and though this is a duty he frequently wishes to perform, it is always with a proviso that it does not interfere with his love of midnight roar, his propensity to joke, fun and the laughable bagatelles of life, which governs all his actions and predominates in the minutest, as well as in the most important affairs; in

curing a lady's lap-dog of a fit of the colic, as in consulting the safety of a great Empire. There never was a stronger proof of the imperfection of human nature; this moment great, good and wise; the next, capricious, whimsical and absurd.

If this mind could be wholly bent to the advancement of the national interest, he would be more than man; but as it is, the country may rejoyce that there is such an alloy in his temperament, for if ambition and the lust of power had wholly engrossed him, such talents could scarcely fail to undermine all the pillars of liberty, and entirely to eraze from the minds of the people every principle of patriotism and virtue.

Endorsed: "Character of Ch. Townshend by Lord Holland."

Memorandum endorsed "of Consulships, by J. M."

"Mr. S. will accept these loose hints which are offer'd purely with a view of leading him to more circumstantial and useful information from other hands than he can pretend to give."

Particulars concerning the southern consulships and offices in the gift of the ministry, in the form of a letter, but unsigned. Endorsed, "More particulars concerning consulships, by J. M."

Paper endorsed, "Sketch of the trade between Great Britain and Russia, shewing the great balance against the former and in favour of the latter, with some general observations on the expediency of raising and importing hemp and flax, &c., from the province of Quebec, and the utility of such a measure to Great Britain and Ireland, humbly submitted to the consideration of the Rt. Honourable Lord George Germain, &c., &c."

Paper on the late invention called a carronade, showing its advantages and importance, and recommending that some officers of the artillery should reside at Carron to make observations.

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Page 41, *line* 15, *after* Westminster School, *insert* [Dr. William Markham]

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REPORT

ON THE

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OF

MRS. STOPFORD-SACKVILLE,

OF

DRAYTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Vol. II.

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The text of this Report has been revised and additions made to it, on behalf of the Historical MSS. Commissioners, by Mrs. S. C. Lomas. The Index has been compiled by Mr. Sydney C. Ratcliff, M.A., of the Public Record Office.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume (completing the re-issue of Appendix III. to the Ninth Report of the Historical MSS. Commissioners) contains that portion of the report by the late Mr. R. B. Knowles and by Mr. W. O. Hewlett on the manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville which relates to America and Canada; the other portion, consisting of the documents relating to the British Isles, the Continent of Europe and India, having been re-issued in 1904.

The following remarks are taken from Mr. Hewlett's Preface:-

The papers which relate to the American War of Independence range from 1775 to 1782, and, being in fact State Papers, are the most important of the Stopford-Sackville collection. They should be read in connexion with the Irwin letters,* which, beginning in 1761, go down to 1784, and form, as it were, a running commentary upon the events here dealt with.

Lord George Sackville, to whom almost all the letters are addressed, was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1775 to 1782, and consequently received most important despatches from all concerned in the war. The papers may be divided into two classes; those from other ministers or officials in England communicating despatches which they had received from the seat of war, and those directly from abroad.

Of the first class, there are numerous letters from Lord Suffolk, Principal Secretary of State from 1771 to 1779; Lord Stormont, who succeeded him; William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, Under Secretary for the Northern Province, 1771 to 1773; Alexander Wedderburn, Solicitor General, afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn; Lord North, Sir William Pulteney, and others. In the second class are despatches from General Burgoyne, Admirals Rodney, Arbuthnot and Sir George Collier, the Hon. G. Damer, Sir Henry Clinton, Lords Percy and Cornwallis and others.

Of these, Admiral Rodney's are of the greatest importance. In his letter of December 22, 1780 (*p.* 191), he lays bare the gross mismanagement of affairs by those at the head of the army, and the grave mistakes made in the conduct of the war. Another, dated March 4, 1781, and marked "private," gives valuable information with regard to some of the West Indian Islands, St. Eustatius, St. Martin's and others which had been taken by him, and as to the means adopted for their reduction

* Calendared in Vol. I. of the re issue.

(*p.* 202). His letter of April 15, 1782 (*p.* 220), announces the important victory gained by him over the French fleet (at Martinique, on April 10). The letters of the Hon. George Damer (a son of Joseph, Lord Milton, by Lady Caroline Sackville, sister of Lord George, and who was afterwards Earl of Dorchester) are numerous and valuable. One of his, dated April 23, 1780 (*p.* 159), announces Rodney's victory off St. Dominique, another, of October 13, 1780 (*p.* 183), mentions the capture of the unfortunate Major André by the rebels, while two others, dated respectively September 27 and October 29, 1781 (*pp.* 212, 214), deal with Lord Cornwallis's disaster in Yorktown.

There are also copies and drafts of Lord George's despatches to America, many of them marked "private" or "most secret," and several papers dealing with the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed in 1778 to restore peace to the Colonies.

The papers dealing with the war in Canada (*p.* 257 *et seq.*) consist chiefly of original letters from Wolfe, Amherst and others, and contain very full details of the campaign.

There remains a bundle of letters from Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford, and, in 1780, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the American Department, in which office he continued until it was finally abolished in 1782 (*p.* 249 *et seq.*). He was a personal friend of Lord George, and raised during the war a troop of dragoons known as the "King's American Dragoons," with which he did good service and received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief.

A large number of additional letters and papers in relation to America will be found in this new edition of the Report. The most considerable addition consists of letters from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain and drafts of Lord George's replies. These were omitted in the previous report probably because manuscript copies of some of them (though by no means of all) exist either at the Public Record Office or at the Royal Institution, but it has now been thought better to calendar them, in order not to break the continuity of the series of Sackville Papers. There are also additional letters from General Burgoyne, Admirals Arbuthnot and Sir Geo. Collier, Sir John Dalrymple and others, and many papers in relation to the West Indies, including interesting letters from Governor Dalling in Jamaica and the Rev. James Ramsay at St. Christopher's. Amongst the miscellaneous papers now included for the first time will be found an interesting account of "the State of the rebel army" in 1775, by Lieut.-Col. Benj. Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford

(*p.* 13); a "View of the Colonies" in this same year by a writer who stated that he knew Washington well, and believed him to be an honest man, with a character distinguished by extreme coolness and caution (*pp.* 19, 20); enquiries in relation to Howe's campaign in 1776; and observations upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1777 (*pp.* 88, 89). A long paper by Sir John Dalrymple, "Thoughts on Instructions to the American Commissioners" in 1778 (*p.* 101) contains the following suggestion :—

"From all accounts of General Washington's character, there is a resemblance between his character and General Monk's, for he is silent, keeps his mind to himself, has plain understanding and is a man of principle. . . . Charles II. owed his kingdom to his personal application to Monk, delivered by one of Monk's own friends. Might not the ministers . . . or the King himself, write a private letter to Washington to remind him of the similarity between his situation and Monk's, desiring him to ask terms for America fair and just, and they should be granted, and that the terms for himself should be the dukedom given to Monk and a revenue to support it, in order to give dignity to the man who generously gave up his own power to save his country."

Dalrymple ends by suggesting a Mr. Lloyd Delany, "the bosom friend" of Washington, then in London, to carry the letter.

After this, there follow :—Secret Instructions to the same Commissioners (*p.* 105); an unsigned paper upon "The Object of the War of 1779" (*p.* 132); Queries by Sir George Rodney on his being sent to the West Indies in December, 1779 (*p.* 196), and a lengthy and interesting Report by Lieut.-Governor Henry Hamilton on his winter expedition in 1778 from Detroit to St. Vincennes, six hundred miles away, by way of Lake Erie and the Miamis River; his defence of Fort Sackville and surrender to Col. Clarke, and the subsequent imprisonment and sufferings of himself and his companions in Virginia, until liberated on parole in October, 1780. In this document, attention may be called to the interesting picture of the venerable Père Potier exhorting and blessing the Indians accompanying the expedition (*p.* 225); the curious account of the way in which beavers made possible the navigation of a river (*p.* 227); the scene on Hamilton's arrival at St. Vincennes, where the people, "kissing a silver crucifix at the foot of the altar" in the little church, renewed their oaths of allegiance (*p.* 229), and the occurrences at the time of the surrender of Fort Sackville, in February, 1779 (*p.* 231 *et seq.*).

S C. LOMAS.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
MRS. STOPFORD SACKVILLE
OF
DRAYTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

VOL. II.

XVIII.—PAPERS RELATING TO THE AMERICAN WAR, 1775–1782.

Lord Suffolk to Lord G. Germain.*

1775, June 15. St. James'.—The town is full of private letters from America, which contain much more particular accounts of the skirmish† than are related by the General. They don't do much credit to the discipline of our troops, but do not impeach their readiness and intrepidity. The impression made at New York (that neglected place) by what has happened in Massachusetts is disagreeable. A larger force at sea to blockade, while land operations are confined to New England, becomes necessary, and it may be expedient to strengthen Gage's army. "There is a Colonel Maunsell come from New York who gives a most ridiculous account of the reception which Lord Chatham's plan met with in that province. He said it was paraphrased in public prints and abused in every company. The resolution of the House of Commons also arrived before this gentleman's departure. But it reached America just as the news of the affair at Concord transpired, and people's minds were too much heated to pay attention to it. It was termed insidious, considered as calculated to separate and divide the colonies, and treated with the same epithets and in the same manner as it was treated by the Opposition here; but not so much reviled by a great deal as Lord Chatham's plan. . . . . Americans on this side of the Atlantic are of course active and zealous to make the most of what has passed on the other, but they can raise no alarm. The stocks are unaffected, and the respectable part of the city is in very proper sentiments. Everything is right at *this end of the town*, and I neither perceive disinclination to persevere or diffidence in the success of perseverance *anywhere*."

* See allusion to this letter and to Lord George's answer, vol i. p. 135.
† The affair at Lexington and Concord, 19th April, 1775.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to [LORD SUFFOLK].

[1775, June 16 or 17.]—"I had yesterday the honor of your Lordship's letter, and at the same time I received one from Mr. Eden of a much earlier date, as it had been directed to me in Northamptonshire.

"The particulars of the skirmish surprized me very much, as I had no conception the loss of the troops could have been so great when everybody agrees that the men behaved with proper spirit. The disposition I fear was originally defective, and the manner of opposing an enemy that avoids facing you in the open field is totally different from what young officers learn from the common discipline of the army. Mr. Braddock first suffered in the last war by a surprise from the Indians, and his little army was sacrifiz'd without seeing an enemy, and by keeping together and firing in bodys, could neither defend themselves or annoy their opponents. Another discipline was then establish'd and all our light troops in America were taught to separate and secure themselves by trees, walls, or hedges, and became so formidable both to the Indians and Canadians that they were victorious upon all occasions, and ever protected the main body of the army from surprize or insult. Nobody understands that discipline so well as General Howe, who had the command of the light troops, and who will, I am persuaded, teach the present army to be as formidable as that he formerly acted with. Your Lordship wishes me to write freely. I must then lament that General Gage, with all his good qualitys, finds himself in a situation of too great importance for his talents. The conduct of such a war requires more than common abilities, the distance from the seat of Government necessarily leaves much to the discretion and the resources of the General, and I doubt whether Mr. Gage will venture to take a single step beyond the letter of his instructions, or whether the troops have that opinion of him as to march with confidence of success under his command. This consideration, however, makes taking every measure for immediately increasing your forces the more necessary, and what your Lordship mentions of sending more small ships of war is the surest method of bringing the rebellious part of that continent to reason, for I have no conception, when the trade is effectually stopp'd, that the numbers of distress'd people will not combine in favour of Government, and shake off the power of those factious leaders who have been the authors of the present confusion. The Highlanders are the soonest formed into soldiers, and there are many half-pay officers in that country who might be able to raise and discipline a regiment or even a brigade sooner than in England or Ireland; in the last war some battallions were rais'd for the defence of that part of the kingdom, and if I remember right, when they were reduced, all the officers were put upon the half-pay, and I conclude many of them would

be glad of employment, but I trust that the most immediate assistance may be had from Canada, as a diversion from the frontiers of that province will be most usefull to Mr. Gage and most alarming to the rebels; the Canadians will fight behind walls and trees at least as well as the Bostonians, and I believe the Canadians would be very ready to chastise their neighbours under the sanction of Government. As to foreign troops, they would be of use in garrisons and in a regular campaign, but I do not think they could be sent in the course of this year, for they require much time in being put into motion; if the rebellion continues, I am persuaded the Ministry must have recourse to them. I should not imagine you can often draught the regiments at home; at present they may afford you some of their recruits, but the new rais'd men can be had in numbers only in the Highlands and Ireland. What has happen'd in New England I look upon as trifling when compared to the defection in New York.

"I often lamented Mr. Gage's drawing thence all his forces to Boston; as long as you maintained New Yorke the continent was divided, at present there is a free communication between all the disaffected. I rejoiced greatly when it was determined to send four regiments thither, had they arrived I am persuaded the friends of the Government could not have been insulted. Now that post is lost the importance of it will be known, and had I the honour of advising Administration I should say that till that post was regained I could see no prospect of ending the war with success, and I had rather act upon the defensive in New England and make my first and most vigorous efforts in establishing the troops in that centre from whence I could occasionally act offensively against any of the rebellious provinces. I beg pardon for troubling your Lordship with so long a letter, but I feel myself so interested in this event, and I see the honour and the authority of this country so involved in it that I could not help availing myself of the indulgence you gave me of plainly telling you my sentiments upon the subject. Whatever measures are adopted I heartily wish them success, and nothing can contribute so much to it as that unanimity which I am happy to hear prevails among the Ministers."

General Howe to Lord Howe.

1775, June 22. Camp upon the Heights of Charles Town.—"In my last of the 13th, I mentioned the General's intentions of occupying Dorchester-neck or Charles Town Heights. And it was determined that the former should be seized, as on Sunday last, the 18th at daybreak: the tide serving well for that time. Everything was prepared accordingly. But on the 17th at daybreak the rebels were observed at work in great numbers upon these Heights, about 1,500 yards from the battery mentioned in my last as commanding these Heights from the town of Boston. And it was

plainly to be seen that they had thrown up a Redoubt in the night, from whence they could annoy the shipping in the harbour by placing cannon in it covered from the battery by an Epaulment. This work was no sooner observed, than it was determined they must be removed from thence as soon as the troops and boats could be got in readiness for that purpose. And as the shore where it was judged most proper to land was very flat, the landing could not be made with facility after the tide of ebb was much run off. It was, therefore, necessary that no delay should be made in our proceeding, since it would be High Water at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. At about that time the landing was effected without opposition : the *Lively*, *Glasgow*, and *Falcon* ; an armed transport, armed sloop and five floating boat batteries being stationed for the service, which they executed very effectually. The troops we could land together at one disembarkation, in our number and species of boats (not one of our old accustomed flat boats amongst them) were not more than 1,100 rank and file, composed of 10 companies of Light Infantry ; ten of Grenadiers, with the 5th and 38th Battalions. The second Body, which landed quickly after, was the 43rd and 52nd Battalions ; making about 450 addition to the former. With these, followed by some Field Artillery, I went on shore with Brig. General Pigot, and formed my little Corps in three lines, upon a rising spot about 100 yards from the beach. On the first view, it was clearly seen that the rebels were in force and strongly entrenched upon their right, in the Redoubt that had been seen from the town at daybreak ; with cannon, and with a large body of troops posted in the houses of Charles Town about 200 yards distant from the right of the Redoubt. Their left and centre were covered by a breastwork (a part of it cannon proof) which reached from the Redoubt to the Mystick, the space from the Redoubt to that river being about 380 yards, and the whole extent they occupied about 600 yards ; the left of their line was about 500 yards from our army when we first formed.

From this appearance as well as our observation that they were assembling with all the force they could collect, I applied to General Gage for a reinforcement of troops. This he immediately complied with by sending the Companies of Light Infantry and Grenadiers remaining at Boston, with the 47th Regiment and 1st Battalion of Marines. My strength with this addition amounted to about 2,200 rank and file, formed in *two* lines ; Brig. Gen. Pigot commanding on the left. We began the attack by a sharp cannonade from our field pieces and two Howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The Light Infantry on the right were directed to keep along the beach (shore of the Mystick) and to force the left point of the rebels breastwork ; and then to take them in flank. The Grenadiers were directed to attack the left of the rebels' line, in front, supported by the 5th and 52nd Regiments. These

orders were executed with great perseverance, the rebels by their great superiority of numbers keeping up a heavy fire as soon as the line was advanced within distance of their shot. The intermediate space between the two armies was cut by fences, formed of strong posts and close railing, very high, and which could not be broken readily. Had they not been in our way, the rebels would have been quickly forced upon their left, without any great loss on our side. Upon our left, Pigot met with the same obstructions in his advance to the attack of the Redoubt; as well as from the troops in the town, which last alone would have given him sufficient employment, had it not been set on fire by order, at this critical time, with a Carcass from the battery upon the Town Hill at Boston. This relieved Pigot from the difficulty upon his left, and he carried the Redoubt in a very handsome manner, at the *second* onset, tho' it was most obstinately defended to the last, thirty of the rebels having been killed by bayonets within it. It was my opinion that the defeat of the rebels could be ensured by the success of either of the two attacks. The carrying of the Redoubt needs nothing more to be said of it, but that the spot on which it was placed commanded all round it, and if the attack of the right had succeeded, the rebels in the Redoubt would have been turned. But tho' at length when we succeeded in both, the soldiers were so much harrassed, and there were so many officers lost, that the pursuit was not followed with all the vigor that might be expected."

(The loss of officers and men, the numbers as in the printed account.)

"My corps is now encamped upon these Heights, in a very strong situation, with three respectable Redoubts; and without the least apprehension of being attacked. But I much doubt whether we shall get much farther this Campaign, the rebels, on this side, having entrenched themselves very judiciously, about two miles in our front. On the Roxbury side they have done the same. I may, therefore, safely predict that with our present force, the 2nd Division from Ireland not being yet arrived, we shall not do more than to possess these Heights, and the Dorchester-neck, which Gen. Clinton will take possession of either to-morrow or on Saturday." *Copy, in Lord Howe's handwriting, and enclosed by him in his letter of July* 29.

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1775, July 22. Porter's Lodge, Barnet.—Encloses extract of General Howe's letter of the 12th of June (not now with the papers).

The Same to The Same.

1775, July 29. Porter's Lodge.—Encloses copy of letter from General Howe [printed above] correcting the relation

of the late action in the *Gazette*. Suspects that "a languid idea of withdrawing the troops from Boston may prevail," and thinks "the efforts of ships of war alone will operate little indeed to recover our dominion over the rebellious colonies, if the other part of the General's plan is disregarded."

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1775, Aug. 7. Grafton Street.—Has reason to believe from his Lordship's last letter that it has been determined to recall Gage and appoint his brother to the chief command in America, the province of Canada excepted. Considers that the additional troops will not much exceed the half of the required force. Thinks that the frigates will greatly distress the rebellious provinces in their trade, but that a considerable increase of land forces will be required in the spring to cut off their mutual intercourse. Is sure that General Howe will receive very particular satisfaction by the communication of his Lordship's sentiments and that "if the spirit in carrying the late arrangements into execution partakes of the vigor that gave birth to the measure, he will have reason to applaud his good fortune in the essential support."

General Burgoyne to Lord Geo. Germain.

1775, Aug. 20. Boston.—[A very long letter detailing the state of the war and the prospects of success.] All parties in England have contributed to foster the growth of the rebellion, and at length "after a fatal procrastination, not only of vigorous measures but of preparation for such, we took a step as decisive as the passage of the Rubicon, and now find ourselves plunged at once in a most serious war, without a single requisite, gunpowder excepted, for carrying it on." The only satisfactory feature of the campaign has been "the victory obtained at Charlestown by the conduct and spirit of my friend Howe, and the exemplary, I might perhaps say unexampled bravery of the officers under him. It would depreciate this victory to estimate only its immediate effects. . . . It re-establishes the ascendancy of the King's troops in public opinion, and enables us to rest upon our arms, or even to close the war, should the enemy so incline. The army is firmly attached to the cause of England, and with the exception of a few drafts from Ireland no privates have deserted. The rebels though undisciplined are expert in the use of firearms, and are led by some very able men. "I believe Adams to be as great a conspirator as ever subverted a state. I cannot help quoting a passage of a letter from him to his wife, intercepted the other day, and which I conclude is transmitted with some others to Lord Dartmouth :—*

"'The busyness I have had upon my mind,' says he, 'has 'been as great and important as can be entrusted to man,

* Adams' two letters are printed in Force's *Archives*, 4th ser: vol. ii, col: 1717.

and the difficulty and intricacy of it is prodigous. A con-'stitution to form for a great empire; a country of fifteen 'hundred miles extent to fortify; millions to arm and train; 'a naval power to begin; an extensive commerce to regu-'late; a standing army of twenty-seven thousand men to 'raise, pay, victual, and officer,' &c. In another confidential letter to a friend, intercepted at the same time, after expressing great dissatisfaction against one of his tools (I conclude he means Hancock, the president of the Congress, whom he calls a pidling genius) he goes on thus: 'We ought to have 'had in our hands a month ago the whole legislative, 'executive, and judicial of the whole continent, and have 'completely modelled a constitution: to have raised a naval 'power and opened all our ports wide; to have arrested 'every friend of Government on the continent, and held 'them as hostages for the poor victims in Boston, &c.' The bare effort of investigating such objects argues an aspiring and vigorous mind." Such a man soars too high to be allured by any offer Great Britain can make to himself or his country. "America, if his counsels continue in force, must be subdued or relinquished; she will not be reconciled." My favourite plan for future action is a descent upon Rhode Island, but I despair of ever seeing this or any other operation carried out as the army is at present constituted. General Gage is an officer totally unsuited for the command, and to this many of the misfortunes the King's arms have suffered may be traced. "It may perhaps be asked in England, what is the Admiral [Graves] doing? I wish I was able to answer that question satisfactorily. But I can only say what he is *not* doing:—

"That he is not supplying the troops with sheep and oxen, the dinners of the best of us bear meagre testimony, the want of broth in the hospitals bears a more melancholy one.

"He is *not* defending his own flocks and herds, for the enemy has repeatedly and in the most insulting manner plundered his own appropriated islands.

"He is *not* defending the other islands in the harbour, for the enemy landed in force, burned the lighthouse at noon day, and killed and took a party of marines almost under the guns of two or three men-of-war.

"He is *not* employing his ships to keep up communication and intelligence with the servants and friends of Government at different parts of the continent, for I do not believe General Gage has received a letter from any correspondent out of Boston these six weeks.

"He is surely intent upon greater objects, you will think; supporting in material points the dignity and terror of the British flag, and where a number of boats have been built for the rebels, privateers fitted out, prizes carried in, the King's armed vessels sunk, the crews made prisoners, the officers killed, he is doubtless enforcing instant restitution and reparation by the voice of his cannon, and laying the

towns in ashes which refuse his terms. Alas! He is *not*! The British thunder is diverted or controlled by pitiful attentions and quaker-like scruples, and under such influence, insult and impunity, like righteousness and peace, have kissed each other.

"I should have hesitated in giving an account that may appear invidious, had not the facts been too notorious to expose me to that censure, and my feelings in this great cause too sensible to observe them without some impatience. Upon the whole, when the supineness of this department is added to the diffidence of the other, and the defects of Quarter-master Generals, Adjutant-Generals, secretaries, and commissaries are superadded to both, they will make altogether a mass of insufficiency that I am afraid would counteract and disappoint the ablest counsels in the world." [The remainder of the letter is personal.]

William Eden* to Lord George Germain.

[1775], September 15. St. James's.—Understands that Admiral Graves is to be recalled and is to leave the command with Shuldham.

Considers that the Government are beginning to see the danger of half measures and that more has been done in the last three weeks than in the three preceding years, but much is wanting to make that exertion systematic and effective. Expects to see in the next issue of the Gazette "handsome addresses from Manchester, Lancaster, Liverpool, and Leicester."

The Same to The Same.

[1775], September 18. Downing Street.—"We received late last night some letters from General Gage of the 17th August, and written with unusual spirit. Nothing had happened, however, except the dislodging the rebels from two or three advanced posts; and they continued round Boston in great multitudes. The ships had collected and just brought in 1,300 sheep and 100 oxen, which would prove a very seasonable supply. There seem'd not to be any intention to march out to an attack, as he observes that it would be impossible for them, even if they had a victory, to make any use of it, having no apparatus nor numbers for advancing into the country, and I am persuaded that the secret intent is to abandon Boston and go to New York, whence we receive every day new reasons to believe they will be well received and will act with advantage.

"Washington had written to Gage upon the usage of the rebel prisoners, to which the General sent an answer that I think will do him much credit.

"We have other private accounts that the Congress had disagreed much and did not separate in good humour with

* Afterwards Lord Auckland.

each other; that the plan from the beginning has been for a total separation from Great Britain; that they will proceed accordingly to invite foreign nations to trade, &c.

"The business, however, begins to be understood here, and bears, therefore, a more promising aspect than it has hitherto done."

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1775, Sept. 25. Grafton Street.—I have received two letters from General Howe, the latest dated the 20th of August, their general purport being to impress the necessity of changing "the theatre of the now inevitable war to the province of New York." I understand that a discretionary power to that effect has been sent with my brother's nomination to succeed General Gage. The sickness in the army is stated by General Howe, including wounded, to be near one-third of the whole numbers.

The General's propositions are for an army of 15,000 men to act next campaign from New York, and 4,000 Regulars with Canadians and Indians on the side of Canada, and to preserve a communication between Quebec, Montreal, and Crown Point. He recommends that 5,000 rank and file should occupy Boston and the adjacent posts round it necessary for its security. He professes his plan to be of greater compass than he feels himself equal to direct, and judges it proper that a chief officer in the character of a viceroy with unlimited powers should be chosen for the occasion.

"If Government is unable to furnish the force he suggests, estimated in his opinion at the lowest amount, he then thinks it better policy to withdraw the troops entirely from the delinquent provinces, and leave the colonists to war with each other for sovereignty, the certain consequence, he judges, of their determined separation from the Mother Country."

Rear Admiral Shuldham is appointed to replace the commander by sea, Byron to serve second in command.

I think it probable from the tenor of General Howe's letters that the evacuation of Boston will take effect in the course of next month. I confess my anxiety for the event becomes great, considering the extent of such an operation.

William Eden to Lord George Germain.

[1775], September 27. Downing Street.—"I return the inclosed* with many thanks for the communication, tho' it makes my heart ake. Shuldham takes leave to-day and expects to go about Monday next. I shudder to think how ill the removal of the troops, artillery, &c. from Boston will be supported by Admiral Graves. Burgoyne is under a mistake with regard to Adams. The writer of the letter which he quotes was John Adams. The leader of the Congress and

* Probably General Burgoyne's letter of August 20, above.

now the "Constitutional Treasurer" (for he assumes that office) is Samuel Adams.

Shuldham goes well convinced that he is to act in every respect as against an enemy.

More addresses! the nation is good enough.

William Eden to Lord G. Germain.

1775, Oct. 3. Bushy Park.—Writes by Lord North's desire. "It is unnecessary to say much on the transactions of our American campaign, a worthy general* with parts inferior to his situation and a corrupt admiral without any shadow of capacity have jointly contributed to increase the strength and number of the armed rebels in a very great degree, and to render the avowal of rebellion general over the whole of the American Continent. Government is certainly not blameless for so bad a choice of commanders, and possibly for having left undone some other things which ought to have been done. There has, however, been one good effect in our inefficiency (if it deserves so hard a name). It has fully shown to the people of Great Britain that the quarrel does not arise from any wish of the Minister to oppress the Colonies, but from a determined purpose in the New England Colonies to seek independence at all hazards. The cause therefore is now (which it never was before) generally understood, and the heart of the nation is warmly engaged in it. The nation is at the same time so candid as to feel no impatience with their rulers for having in common with all the world undervalued the rebellion, and only feels resentment against those whose designs appear so much worse than they were supposed to be. With such a cause to fight for such a nation, Lord North looks forward to the event with full confidence of success, tho' with concern for the harsh measures which must necessarily lead to it. The outlines of the force now intended to be sent have already been detailed to your lordship, and I shall only add for the present upon that point that every possible attention is using to keep the plan from falling short in the execution, and every farther measure is adopting that may either add to its strength or supply contingent deficiencies. With the prospect then of having a most numerous fleet on the American coast and two large armies in the field, it is not unreasonable to look towards a good conclusion of the contest; and Lord N. did me the honour to confide to me some months ago that he thought this would be best accelerated by giving a commission to some proper person with ample powers to settle everything in dispute with any Colony which either fear, interest, fickleness or duty, might bring to submission. The great probability that the Southern Colonies would avail themselves of such a commission was obvious, and the importance of turning such a disposition to good account on the first moment of its presenting itself was

* General Gage.

also obvious. His lordship, however, determined never to mention the thought till he could see a reasonable certainty of collecting a force sufficient to shew that he was proceeding on a system equal to the emergency, and not either holding out false lights of conciliation to this country, or seeking for a subterfuge from the difficulty.

"I may now, I believe, desire your lordship to stop here for a few minutes, and to read the enclosed draft, which is likely to contain the general idea and in great measure the expressions of his Majesty's speech at the opening of the Sessions (and I may communicate to your lordship in confidence that, tho' we drew a sketch of it before I was sent with it to Kenwood, I there, which you know is a great secret, had the kindest assistance for many hours at different times in putting it into its present form). The several objects of this speech with regard to foreign nations, to the Colonies, and Great Britain will occur to your lordship easier than I can describe them. I must also leave much to your lordship's imagination to supply the several powers to be given in the proposed commission. There must of course be an authority to supersede all governors on the spot, to convene representatives, to settle a form of taxation (on easy terms) according to the last year's resolution, to make some corrections in some of the Governments, to grant pardons, to open ports, &c., &c., &c.

"There never perhaps was a commission of such importance for any individual in the annals of mankind, and I shall proceed to tell your lordship without form or flattery that Lord North (and I believe every person equally well informed and equally honest in wishes and declarations) thinks you the fittest man in the kingdom. He also *knows* that nothing would make your friend Howe so happy as to see you in such a situation. But how far it might be compatible with your health, sentiments, and family enjoyments and engagements, are very different considerations. I shall for the present only ask your lordship's pardon for the dashing style in which I write, and request the favour of you to answer me with your usual indulgence and frankness, both upon this letter itself and the enclosure contained in it. It is superfluous to add from Lord North that your lordship's sentiments on any part of his plan will be received with the utmost deference."

William Eden to Lord G. Germain.

[1775, probably Oct. 21], Saturday evening, ½ past 10.—"I have this moment received a note from Lord North to say that the hurry of business in which he has pass'd the last three days, and from which he cannot yet extricate himself, has put it absolutely out of his power to write fully to your Lordship as he had proposed. He desires me therefore to send the inclosed corrected draft of the speech to your Lordship and to add to it such other particulars as your Lordship may have any curiosity to be inform'd of.

"Lord North has now opened his plan to his principal friends in both Houses, and as far as he had advanced in that task this morning it had met with perfect and chearfull approbation; he expected, however, to meet with one or two to-day who have been rather rigid in their ideas hitherto, and without considering circumstances or situations have always press'd for pursuing the extreme of compulsion, without admitting any language that might by any possibility be misconstrued into wavering. He hoped, however, to satisfy them that this speech is so worded as to shew the most decisive firmness to both sides of the Atlantic, with that mixture only of possible lenity which every good man must wish to proclaim to the multitudes engaged in such a contest.

"Your Lordship will observe that in this draft we have omitted the mention of Russians, Hessians, &c. It must depend on the return of the messenger, whom we expect about Tuesday next, whether they can be particularized; *en attendant* we have accounts of an expected change in the Russian ministry, which are by no means flattering to our hopes. Mr. Ackland* is to move the Address, and to be seconded by Mr. Lyttelton.

"The Attorney and Sollicitor General have this morning concluded their draft of the proposed Commission; but we have no longer any idea of any one person fit to fill so large a Vice-Royalty, and, unless your Lordship will help us, must divide the burthen and reduce it too.

"I think you will find that at present we are by no means inactive; preparations are making for an immediate and considerable expedition to the southward, the object of which is not to be declared, tho' it may be guess'd, and I will state the particulars to your Lordship when I have the honour of seeing you.

"We have not any news worth mentioning: I am very sorry to say, however, that I find the idea entertained of Shuldam by some who know him well, is by no means better than that of the wretched commander whom he supersedes.

"The City patriots are going very wicked lengths; they will get themselves into some scrape. Lord Suffolk, who has been very well the whole summer, is at this moment when it is so particularly inconvenient to him seized with the gout.

"Our addresses as your Lordship will observe are multiplying very fast, and I really believe that they contain the genuine and general sentiment of the nation; tho' I wonder that so spirited a people should be so civil after so dispiriting a campaign."

Admiralty.

1775, October 25. Admiralty Office.—Abstract of the most material proceedings in that department relative to North America from 1774, December 13th, to 1775, October 23rd.

* *See* vol. i. p. 137.

1775, December. A similar abstract commencing from the same date, but carried down to 1775, November 1st.

Observations by Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford).*

1775, November 4. Boston.—Miscellaneous observations upon the state of the rebel army.

"Upon Sunday, October 15th, I saw 16 flat-bottom'd boats or batteaus lying just below Cambridge Bridge, and two more were making in the yard. The workmen informed me that one was finished every day, and that more workmen were daily expected from Newbury. These boats are built of common deal boards, and in general will contain from 50 to 60 men, including the rowers. What number of them were to be made I could not learn.

"It is generally supposed in the rebel army that an attack is designed upon either Charlestown, or Boston, or both, and that these boats are preparing to transport troops to those places. But many of the more intelligent, and among these some of their principal officers, rather suppose these preparations are only to amuse the King's troops, and by keeping them continually alarm'd with apprehension of being attacked, prevent their going to distant parts of the country to ravage.

"About the 13th October a return was made of the number of men that all the boats of every denomination (exclusive of the flat-bottom'd boats,) in the rebel camp were capable of transporting, and I was told by a person who saw said return that the total number was 550.

"From the best information I have been able to get with respect to their military stores, the total quantity of gunpowder that they have in their camp (exclusive of what is distributed among the troops) may be somewhere between 12 and 15 tons.

"The only magazines on the left wing of the army (that I know of) are the powder house, a round stone building about half or three quarters of a mile north-west of Winter Hill, over which a subaltern's guard mounts, and a cave in the west side of Prospect Hill, the entrance into which is defended by a small trench and parapet, which descends obliquely from the fort down the side of the hill. This magazine is inaccessable from without, on account of the steepness of the hill on the west side; but I apprehend that if a party could by any means come upon the rear of their encampment the powder house might very easily be surprised, as it is at a very considerable distance from any of their works, and is defended but by a small party. What quantity of gunpowder is contained in these two magazines I have not been able to learn.

* For later letters from the same, *see* p. 249 below.

"On the north-west side of Cambridge Common is the Laboratory, round which two or three companies are encamp'd, but I believe no considerable quantity of powder is ever kept in this place, nor at any other place in or near Cambridge. In Watertown, at the distance of about half a mile north from the meeting-house, is a school house, which I am told is one of their principal magazines of gunpowder. The company in Watertown furnish a guard for it, and two sentries are constantly planted here in the daytime, and four in the night. There was a house about half-way from Cambridge to Watertown in which a considerable quantity of powder was lodged about three months ago, over which a strong guard was mounted, but I believe it has since been removed to Prospect and Winter Hill magazines, tho' I am not absolutely certain of it.

"As to the quantity of powder and the situation of the magazines upon the right wing of the army, I have never been able to get any satisfactory accounts. I was lately told that a small, regular, square redoubt which has lately been erected upon a very considerable eminence in the back part of Roxbury was built to defend a grand magazine, which was to be erected there; but I rather suppose it is designed as a citadel, to command the town and their other works, which it is very well calculated to do. As to shot—I believe the rebels are in want of no kind of it, as large quantities of it of every sort have lately been cast in the country, and the furnaces are still employed in that service.

"Their cannon in general are excessively bad; many of which that are mounted and planted are intirely useless. Twelve pieces, 18 and 24 pounders, which came from the fort at Newport are really much more valuable than every piece of ordnance they have in their camp. But they are not anxious to increase the quantity of their artillery till they can have some certainty of a supply of gunpowder, which at present I believe they have not.

"Their fire-arms in general are but very indifferent, and I believe two-thirds of their pieces at least are destitute of bayonets. But there is a great number of armourers in the camp, who are constantly employed in making good these deficiencies. The pieces in general are owned by the soldiers and are refitted at the expence of the Colonies.

"Exclusive of 25 or 30 rounds of cartridge and ball which each soldier has in his cartouch box, they have lately had a pound of buck shot served out to each man, to keep loose in his pocket, and make use [of] occasionally; and I am told that every soldier in the camp is soon to be supplied with an additional quantity of 60 rounds of cartridges which are to be carried in a leathern bag made for that purpose, and hung over the right shoulder by a strap.

"The officers are universally armed with a musquet and bayonet, and some few of them have added a sword; a pike

or espantoon I have never seen in their camp, and believe they make no use at all of these weapons.

"The marks of distinction among them are as follows, viz. :— The Commander-in-Chief wears a wide blue ribbon between his coat and waistcoat, over the right shoulder and across the breast; Major Generals a pink ribbon in the same manner; Brigadier Generals a [*blank*] ribbon; and all Aids-du-camp a green one; all Field Officers wear red, pink, or scarlet cockades; Captains, yellow or buff cockades; and Subalterns, green ones.

"Their works in general are very extensive, and as strong as labour alone can make them; but engineers are very much wanted in their camp.

"The entrances or passage-way into their forts and redoubts are all defended by traverses, and in general there is a plank bridge over the ditch which is drawn up and fast'ned by chains to two posts even with the external face of the parapet, which bridge so drawn up intirely closes the passage into the fort or redoubt, and where they have no bridges, the entrances are defended by *cheveau-de-frize.*

"The army in general is not very badly accoutred, but most wretchedly clothed, and as dirty a set of mortals as ever disgraced the name of a soldier. They have had no clothes of any sort provided for them by the Congress (except the detachment of 1,133 that are gone to Canada under Col. Arnold, who had each of them a new coat and a linen frock served out to them before they set out), tho' the army in general, and the Massachusetts forces in particular, had encouragement of having coats given them by way of bounty for inlisting. And the neglect of the Congress to fulfil their promise in this respect has been the source of not a little uneasiness among the soldiers.

"They have no women in the camp to do washing for the men, and they in general not being used to doing things of this sort, and thinking it rather a disparagement to them, choose rather to let their linen, &c., rot upon their backs than to be at the trouble of cleaning 'em themselves. And to this nasty way of life, and to the change of their diet from milk, vegetables, &c., to living almost intirely upon flesh, must be attributed those putrid, malignant, and infectious disorders which broke out among them soon after their taking the field, and which have prevailed with unabating fury during the whole summer.

"The leading men among them (with their usual art and cunning), have been indefatigable in their endeavours to conceal the real state of the army in this respect, and to convince the world that the soldiers were tolerably healthy. But the contrary has been apparent, even to a demonstration, to every person that had but the smallest acquaintance with their camp. And so great was the prevalence of these disorders in the month of July that out of 4,207 men who were stationed

upon Prospect Hill no more than 2,227 were returned fit for duty.

"The mortality among them must have been very great, and to this in a great measure must be attributed the present weakness of their regiments; many of which were must [much] stronger when they came into the field. But the number of soldiers that have died in the camp is comparatively small to those vast numbers that have gone off in the interior parts of the country. For immediately upon being taken down with these disorders they have in general been carried back into the country to their own homes, where they have not only died themselves, but by spreading the infection among their relatives and friends have introduced such a general mortality throughout New England as was never known since its first planting. Great numbers have been carried off in all parts of the country. Some towns 'tis said have lost near one-third of their inhabitants; and there is scarce a village in New England but has suffered more or less from the raging virulence of these dreadful disorders.

"Perhaps the intolerable heats and continual droughts during the late summer, by inclining the blood to a putrid state, and rendering it more easily susceptible of the infection, may have contributed not a little to the spread of these diseases.

"Every article of provision that is the natural produce of the country is extremely cheap in the camp, except the article of bread, which is very far from being so, as the price of corn of every sort is much raised on account of a very great scarcity of it, occasioned by the late drought. Rye, which used commonly to be sold at 2*s*. 3*d*. and 2*s*. 6*d*. is now sold in many places at 4*s*. and 4*s*. 6*d*. per bushel, and every other sort of grain in proportion. But the army expect to be supplied from the southward.

"The best of fresh beef is now sold at one penny three farthings per pound, and good mutton from three half-pence to twopence per pound. But notwithstanding fresh provisions are thus cheap and plenty, yet I have heard of no considerable magazines that are forming.

"Many capital medicines are not to be bought in the country, and in general those that are to be had are at an advanced price of 5 or 600 per cent. The price of West India goods is raised in general from 70 to 100 per cent.; English goods about as much (notwithstanding a resolve of the Congress to the contrary), and Irish linens are not to be bought at any price.

"The great reason why fresh provisions of every sort are so remarkably plenty is the universal scarcity of hay through out the country, occasioned by the late drought; the want of which article is so great that the farmers in general cannot possibly keep more than two-thirds of their usual quantity of stock alive during the winter, and if they do not kill them this fall, many of them must unavoidably perish by famine.

But tho' this circumstance may make provisions extremely cheap and plenty this year, yet it cannot fail to have a very different effect upon the next.

The soldiers in general are most heartily sick of the service, and I believe it would be with the utmost difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to serve another campaign. The Continental Congress are very sensible of this, and have lately sent a Committee to the camp to consult with the General Officers upon some method of raising the necessary forces to serve during the winter season, as the greatest part of the army that is now in the field is to be disbanded upon the last day of December.

Whether they will be successful in their endeavours to persuade the soldiers to re-inlist or not, I cannot say, but am rather inclined to think that they will. For as they are men possessed of every species of cunning and artifice, and as their political existence depends upon the existence of the army, they will leave no stone unturn'd to accomplish their designs.

Notwithstanding the indefatigable indeavours of Mr. Washington, and the other Generals, and particularly of Adjutant General Gates, to arrange and discipline the army, yet any tolerable degree of order and subordination is what they are totally unacquainted with in the rebel camp. And the doctrines of independence and levellism have been so effectually sown throughout the country, and so universally imbibed by all ranks of men, that I apprehend it will be with the greatest difficulty that the inferior officers and soldiers will be ever brought to any tolerable degree of subjection to the commands of their superiors.

Many of their leading men are not insensible of this, and I have often heard them lament that the existence of that very spirit which induced the common people to take up arms, and resist the authority of Great Britain, should induce them to resist the authority of their own officers, and by that means effectually prevent their ever making good soldiers.

Another great reason why it is impossible to introduce a proper degree of subordination in the rebel army is the great degree of equality as to birth, fortune, and education, that universally prevails among them. For men cannot bear to be commanded by others that are their superiors in nothing but in having had the good fortune to get a superior commission, for which perhaps they stood equally fair. And in addition to this, the officers and men are not only in general very nearly upon a par as to birth, fortune, &c., but in particular regiments are most commonly neighbours and acquaintances, and as such can with less patience submit to that degree of absolute submission and subordination which is necessary to form a well-disciplined corps.

Another reason why the army can never be well united and regulated is the disagreement and jealousies between the different troops from the different Colonies ; which must never

fail to create disaffection and uneasiness among them. The Massachusetts forces already complain very loudly of the partiality of the General to the Virginians, and have even gone so far as to tax him with taking pleasure in bringing their officers to Court Martials, and having them cashiered that he may fill their places with his friends from that quarter. The gentlemen from the Southern Colonies, in their turn, complain of the enormous proportion of New England officers in the army, and particularly of those belonging to the province of Massachusetts Bay, and say, as the cause is now become a common one, and the expence is general, they ought to have an equal chance for command with their neighbours.

Thus have these jealousies and uneasiness already begun which I think cannot fail to increase, and grow every day more and more interesting, and if they do not finally destroy the very existence of the army (which I think they bid very fair to do), yet must unavoidably render it much less formidable than it otherways might have been.

Of all useless sets of men that ever incumbered an army, surely the boasted riflemen are certainly the most so. When they came to the camp they had every liberty and indulgence allow'd them that they could possibly wish for. They had more pay than any other soldiers; did no duty; were under no restraint from the commands of their officers, but went when and where they pleased, without being subject to be stopped or examined by any one, and did almost intirely as they pleased in every respect whatever. But they have not answered the end for which they were designed in any one article whatever. For instead of being the best marksmen in the world, and picking off every regular that was to be seen, there is scarsely a regiment in camp but can produce men that can beat them at shooting, and the army is now universally convinced that the continual fire which they kept up by the week and month together has had no other effect than to waste their ammunition, and convince the King's troops that they are not really so formidable adversaries as they would wish to be thought.

Mr. Washington is very sensible of this, and has not only strictly forbid their passing the advanced sentries to fire at the King's troops, without particular orders for that purpose, but has lately obliged them to do duty as other troops. And to be sure there never was a more mutinous and undisciplined set of villains that bred disturbance in any camp.

The whole number of these men in the camp may be somewhere about 650; and I believe the total number of troops of every denomination in the army, including officers is very near upon 15,000." [Docquetted as No. 5.]

Lord George Germain.

1775, Nov. 10. St. James's.—King's warrant to authorize "Lord George Sackville Germaine" to countersign commissions. *Sign Manual. Countersigned by Lord Suffolk.*

SIR GEORGE RODNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1775, Nov. 12. Paris.—Congratulating him upon his recent appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies, which recognition of his merit will in some degree make amends for the "gross, cruel, base, unjustifiable persecution" which he underwent in the late reign.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to EARL CORNWALLIS.

1775, Nov. 26. Pall Mall.—The King has been pleased to accede to his Lordship's request that he might be employed as Major-General upon the expedition then preparing, and that his own regiment, the 33rd, might embark with him. The King expressed himself in a very obliging and gracious manner in respect of Lord Cornwallis.

JONATHAN BOUCHER.

1775, Nov. 27.—[The letter commences "Sir."] A long letter on the subject of America. The writer offers a short view of all the Colonies "from New York downwards." New York City, he states, is particularly fitted both by situation and the sentiments of its people to be made a place of arms, and 10,000 men should be sent thither. If there be any Colony which might yet be brought back to its allegiance without force of arms, it is New York.

The people of Pensylvania seem desirous to serve two masters and flatter themselves that they have equally avoided "the imputation of toryism and any ouvert act of treason." They have not yet raised one mounted man; but should be well watched, and kept in constant fear by the Navy. The two Carolinas, Virginia and Maryland will not be more than equal to their own internal enemies, and may be kept in apprehension of having their slaves armed against them, or their savage neighbours let loose on their frontiers, though the embodying of either is a policy which policy, as well as humanity, forbids. Their boast of arming is mere bravado, and they will most easily be subdued by embargoes on their trade. The two tobacco provinces have in their bowels another enemy, viz., their white servants, who are decoyed thither by romantic promises, and on landing in America "are sold for their passages, and for three, four or five years are to all intents and purposes slaves." These men, if enlisted, would be peculiarly valuable, for they would bring with them "an ill humour and prejudice against the country which it will not be unuseful to have propagated amongst those with whom they may be incorporated; they have some knowledge of the country, the manners and mode of living of the people, and above all, they have been seasoned to the climate. . . A gentleman of Baltimore, not addicted to random declarations, is positive that five hundred may be got in that town and its environs; it is certain the richest harvest of them may be

gleaned there, at Elk-ridge, the iron works, and Annapolis. . . North Carolina is in general the poorest country on the Continent, Nova Scotia excepted, and one of the Floridas. With a few very honourable exceptions, much the same character may be given of the people. The bulk of them are renegadoes from the other Colonies," and they are only just emerging into notice and consideration. At the beginning of the troubles it was affirmed that thousands would repair to the Royal Standard, could they but see it erected, but now even the most loyal could hardly declare themselves, for they live so dispersed that they would be an easy prey to the Committees and the Independent Companies, who, on the first suspicion of defection, would fall upon them. The writer continues .—" I know Washington well, and can say of him what I can of few of his compeers, that I believe him to be an honest man. In the military line it is not possible his merit can be considerable. He will, however, atone for many demerits by the extraordinary coolness and caution which distinguish his character. With but very little personal experence, and still less reading, a thousand difficulties must daily occur to him. He should be plied with these ; I mean he should be perplexed and confounded with stratagems. In a regular action, he may, by his steadiness and extreme care, acquit himself well ; but against the manœuvres of art, I am satisfied he is defenceless."

Lord Sandwich* to Lord George Germain.

1775, Dec. 28. Hinchingbrook.—Lieut. Pringle's opinion gives me great hopes that Quebec will hold out till succours arrive. Commissioner Arbuthnot sends me an account of the state of things at Quebec which I must beg you to lay before his Majesty. " The loss of the ordnance store ship is a fatal event, and by what Mr. Pringle tells me, has been most probably owing to the treachery of the master, who went out under convoy which he parted from on his passage, and tho' a frigate on the coast of America, which he met at sea, took him under her protection, he parted from her also, and continued to be beating backwards and forwards near the shore till he was picked up by the enemy's whaleboats. I think it will be advisable that these valuable ships should have a sea lieutenant in them to keep the masters in order, and I write to Sir Hugh Palliser by this conveyance to that purpose." Capt. Hamilton's conduct will entitle him to every favour. He is a very deserving man, and is related to Lord Abercorn.

Apollos Morris, late Major 27th Regiment, to Lord George Germain.

[1775 ?] Dec. 29.—Enclosing a memoir entitled " Reflections on the dispute with the Colonies," which the writer states were " given six years ago in a letter to a friend," and which are dated " Chester, 1769."

* Then at the head of the Admiralty.

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN, Solicitor General, to LORD G. GERMAIN.

1776, Jan. 2. Mitcham.—Declares it to be his opinion and that of the Attorney-General that the clause tacked to the Irish Money Bill for empowering His Majesty to employ 4,000 men, part of his Irish army, in America, is equally unnecessary and improper; unnecessary, because the Constitution vests in the King the command and disposition of his troops in every part of his dominions, and improper because it is an admission that an Irish act (or even a recital in an Irish Act) may by implication repeal a fundamental law of the British Parliament.

LORD ELIBANK to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Jan. 12. Balancrief, near Haddington.—As some considerable portion of his fortune is situated in Canada, it is with great pleasure that he learns of his Lordship's taking the direction of affairs in that part of the world, although he fears that things have been suffered to go to too great a length for human skill to redress. Believes that if Canada were given back to the French on condition of their assisting to reduce the rebellious Colonies, it might put an end to the rebellion, and secure the future submission of the obstreperous Colonies. For the English Generals to subdue America, is, he believes, beyond the reach of humanity.

A PHILADELPHIA MERCHANT to SIR R[OBERT] H[ERRIES].*

1776, Feb. 15.—"It seems almost too late in the present unhappy dispute to trouble you with political opinions, especially as the determination in the Parliament now sitting will probably fix the whole complexion of the war; but we can assure you thus much: If any terms of reconciliation are offer'd, that the Congress ought to accept, they will be embraced. None but terms fit for freemen will be thought admissible either by the Congress, committees, or people at large, and should Great Britain prefer the destructive war she has plunged herself and this country into for the sake of the shadow when she possessed the substance, to the idea of doing justice to her colonial subjects, we really dread the consequences to both countries. In this event she will most undoubtedly lose this territory, and probably fall a prey hereafter to some of her powerful neighbours and rivals. America has long been charged by her enemys in England with aiming at independency. The charge was unjust, but we now plainly see that the burning of towns, seizing our ships, with numerous acts of wanton barbarity and cruelty perpetrated by the British forces has prepared men's mind for an independency, that were shock'd at the idea a few weeks ago. This you may depend on, and should this cam-

*Enclosed by Sir Robert Herries to Lord Geo. Germain, in a letter dated 27th June, 1776.

paign open with furious Acts of Parliament, you may bid adieu to the American Colonies. They will then assuredly declare for independency, and if they once make such pretensions they have no doubt of being able to support them, even without the assistance of foreigners; but it can hardly be imagined that the Court of France will refuse assistance and protection to the trade of America if a pre-emption of that trade is offer'd as a consideration. Surely the people of England are infatuated, that they permit such arbitrary and tyranical measures to be pursued by their rulers as must in their consequences destroy their immediate interests, and in the end ruin the nation;—for our part we do most sincerely pray that such terms of reconciliation may be held out as can be accepted on this side. We are happy to know there is a disposition to receive such, and we believe this to be the only line that can possibly save the two countries from the most ruinous consequences.

"We have formerly told you early in this dispute that the people of America would sacrifice their trade and abandon their towns sooner than submitt to arbitrary taxation. Events have proved our opinions to be well founded, and they will persist to the last. They are not dismayed at the news of twenty-six thousand men being voted for this service, but are preparing a warm reception for them.

"We have made such preparations for the preservation of this city, that we are pretty confident that neither your fleet nor army can ever get before it; however, if this and every other city and town on the coast of America was destroyed it would do more injury to Great Britain than America, and would totally put submission, reconciliation, terms, and treaties out of the question. In short, nothing can save or serve the true interest of Great Britain but holding out just and equitable terms before it is too late.

"We have often repeated to you that, let public matters take what course they might, we should prescrve inviolate our private connection, faith, and friendship with you and others, this we hope has been fully manifested to all our friends; we persevere in the same disposition and ever shall so, hoping however to meet with the like attachment and attention from those we so much esteem. Under this persuasion we cannot help mentioning to you in *confidence* that we have been much solicited by gentlemen of Virginia and Maryland to form a contract for supplying the farmers general of France with tobacco; this we have hitherto declined on the supposition and in hopes of reconciliation soon taking place, but as this now seems, alas! but too doubtful, and as such a contract will sooner or later be made, we give you this early hint, that you may think of it, and improve it into such advantages as you can contrive for yourselves. Hitherto we have taken no steps, neither will we while there is a hope of that reconciliation we so ardently wish for, but when that is cut off we will make immediate application either to contract or

to act as factors, and if we refer them to you for our characters we flatter ourselves it will not be to our disadvantage."

General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain.

1776, March 3. Kensington Palace.—"The extraordinary calamities which have fallen upon my family will, I am sure, be deemed by your Lordship a full justification for the trouble I am giving you. . . . The news of Lord Derby's death, which though long expected a good deal affected Lady Charlotte's weak state of spirits, was in two days followed by the loss of her mother. . . . This morning, by the mistake of a servant in the delivery of a note, she received suddenly and totally unprepared, the shock of Lady Margaret Stanley's death and of the probability that Lady Mary would not survive a week. Lady Margaret was the sister to whom from the earliest infancy Lady Charlotte was united by the tenderest affection. . . . Her piety, resignation and fortitude, of which no woman ever had more, are not proof at once, and her body not at all, against these combined sorrows, and in my soul I believe that my immediate separation, against which, however, she would not say a word, would convey her to the family grave before it is closed.

In this situation, my Lord, were the common duty of foreign war only concerned, I should think myself justified in petitioning his Majesty to withdraw from the campaign. I would even relinquish all I hold or could ever hold from the Crown, rather than forsake the duty I owe to a wife who through the space of twenty-four years has never given me a moment's pain, except upon a bed of sickness or in an hour of parting.

"But distressed as I am, I have, thank God, yet strength of mind to feel the present service as I ought; and a sense of duty to the King and of attachment to the cause in which he is so gloriously exerting himself, supersedes every private consideration. All I mean to ask of his Majesty's grace and compassion is a respite from embarkation as long as his service will admit." Major General Cunningham is at Cork to superintend the embarkation, and if one of the frigates might be detained at Plymouth to receive me on board when the news comes of the Cork fleet putting to sea, I should reach my destination full as soon, even if I did not fall in with it on the way.

Lord Suffolk to Lord George Germain.

1776, March 7. Duke Street, Westminster.—"I have just received your letter. Your regard for your friends, for the King, for your country, for your own honour, forbids and will prevent you taking any hasty resolution on the point that letter alludes to. You have a right to an ingenuous

exposition of what I think upon all occasions, but I cannot be guilty of the impertinence of giving it you under the name of advice, nor can I form an opinion till I see the alterations which Lord North has proposed. But by whatever appellation you are pleased to consider my sentiments, they can never contain an idea that it becomes your Lordship to forget or forsake the principles which you have sincerely adopted. If Lord North can ever insist upon anything derogatory to the authority of Parliament, I shall be against him. If he can mean to make a *paix plâtrée*, I shall be against him. If to get out of the war at any rate can be his object, he will find a very different intention mine; but if the substance of what we are contending for is obtained, if submission is shown by the laying down of arms, the dissolution of Congresses, and the restoration of legal Government, and Lord North should deem this a virtual acknowledgment of their disobedience and our pretensions, may it not deserve your Lordship's full and fair consideration whether it is worth opiniatring (*sic*) the Declaration he objects to? especially as I do not recollect that you have publickly talked of other terms for the opening a negotiation than those which he admits. I think if they go so far as Lord North acquiesces in, they will be easily prevailed upon to go as far as your Lordship has thought of. I think if they were to do so the busyness would be more complete. But I find Lord North is not singular. The wisest men think against us and really are convinced that the Declaration is a matter of words which may produce difficulty and no good, which they expect alone from the actual submission of the colonies and not from their extorted professions. Once more let me conjure you to take no hasty resolution."

Alexander Wedderburn to Lord George Germain.

[1776, March 7?], Thursday evening.—"I should feel myself exceedingly affected by any change in your situation both in a publick and private consideration, if I could suppose it possible to happen in the present conjuncture. The immediate effect of such an event would, I think, be fatal to that plan of coercion which is the only possible method of disengaging the State from the pressure of the present rebellion; I trust, however, that the necessity of your withdrawing from that situation will not arise if the mischief that must attend it is duely weighed, and I am certain nothing but the most decided and evident necessity could induce you to take such a step, or justify it to the publick.

"Lord Suffolk seemed to me to approve the Instructions in all respects, and to deem the article you allude to a very essential part of them, and in my own poor judgment, if that or some similar preliminary article is not made on the part of this offended country, it will import on the side of Great Britain an unconditional acquiescence in every pretension that the American Assembly has advanced, and the

future discussion of the relation of the Colonys to the Mother Country will never be attempted. I know nothing of the opinion Lord Mansfield entertains on this subject, and I rather believe Eden has not seen him lately; but I think your Lordship should know his opinion, and I dare to say you will find it very consistent with your own. If the objection is only pointed at a *verbal declaration* as contrasted to *actual submission,* I feel a disposition to adopt it. But then what is the test of actual submission, and to what is that submission applied. To lay down their arms, to accept pardon, are proofs of a submission to the force, but not to the authority of Great Britain. The revival of legal government is the consequence of the destruction of that force which maintained Congresses and Committees and the other usurped authoritys, but it affords no inference of a submission to the laws of England nor would it be so understood amongst the Americans or their adherents here. If instead of a verbal declaration any actual measure of submission could be suggested, or even if any penalty or mark of punishment for the treasons committed were to subsist, which it would hereafter be the interest of the colonys by a more ample submission to remove, I could understand the propriety of leaving to future discussion some of the causes of the present insurrection; but to end the war without finishing the dispute is much worse than to have given up the point without a struggle.

"I am convinced this business of the Commission (which I always foresaw would prove a very troublesome one) cannot proceed without some assurance to this country that its essential rights are not to be sacrificed; your opinion on that point is too general to be overturned, and all that is requisite is a cool and steady discussion of the question, which I am persuaded you will give it.

LORD HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, March 26, Grafton Street.—"Lord Howe has the honor to return to Lord George Germain the drafts of the Commission and Instructions he was favoured with last Saturday evening, and begs leave to submit at the same time the difficulties that have occurred to him in the consideration of them. He observes that the first step he is directed to take on his arrival in America is to publish the preliminary conditions upon which only the Colonies or any part of them, are to expect the King's grace and mercy, and to be declared at his Majesty's peace, from which, however, Connecticut and Rhode Island are, by the 11th art. of the Instructions, excepted; but he is restrained from entering into any treaty until those conditions are absolutely complied with. Whence he conceives that the military operations must necessarily be continued until the Americans have been compelled to retire to the back settlements, or are reduced to a situation that would render their subjection of no benefit to this country.

" With regard to pardons and the power of declaring parts and districts at the King's peace, he begs leave to mention that the limitations in the 4th art. of the Instructions do not appear to extend so far as the descriptions prescribed by the Commission.

" Should the Americans submit to the preliminary conditions, and afterwards comply with the terms specified in the 4th article, which authorises their being declared (Rhode Island and Connecticut excepted) at the King's peace, he begs to submit to his Lordship's consideration whether the Governors of the respective provinces would not be more proper than the General and himself to frame the subsequent arrangements alluded to in the Instructions, and for settling the compensations required in the next article, which he conceives will be attended with very great obstacles and embarassment.

" He always flattered himself the intentions of Government were that he should be authorised upon his arrival to hold forth to the Americans, in the mildest tho' firmest manner, the most favourable terms that Government mean to grant, in order to induce them to lay down their arms and return to their duty.

" But observing that a method directly the reverse is now ordered to be pursued, it is with infinite concern he finds himself obliged to confess that he is disqualified from engaging as a commissioner in the execution of Instructions framed on that plan.

" He might still be happy enough to see renewed his hope of having his humble services accepted in that capacity, should it be thought fitt to vary the intended propositions to the delinquent Colonies, to the following effect, viz., if they will agree to offer a contribution in lieu of taxation, lay down their arms, restore the civil Government, and by their assemblies declare their obedience to the authority of the British Legislature, and apply to be relieved from the restrictions upon their trade, in such manner as shall be deemed a satisfactory evidence of their future good intentions, they shall then be declared at the King's peace, and any complaints made in a dutiful manner shall be received and favourably considered."

Maj.-Gen. Burgoyne to Lord George Germain.

1776, March 31, " ½ past seven," Portsmouth.—Stating that he arrived at Portsmouth last night, and giving details of the state of things relative to the embarkation under his command. Is waiting very anxiously for the arrival of the ship containing the hospital stores.

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, April 1, Grafton Street.—" Lord Howe has the honour to acknowledge the great obligations he is under to Lord

George Germain for the regard and indulgence shewn to his difficulties on the draft of the Instructions, by having obviated some of his former objections, but he begs leave to observe that there still remains one material article upon which he finds himself under the necessity of giving his Lordship this farther trouble.

"Connecticut and Rhode Island are totally excluded from the advantages of peace until some measure be agreed to respecting alterations in their charters. Lord Howe understands that the Commissioners are to receive propositions upon that head, and to transmit them to England, where they are to be decided upon, but that in the meantime, those Colonies, however well disposed they may be and whatever submissions they may profess themselves ready to make, are proscribed and must remain under all the restraints and sufferings of the prohibitory Act. He therefore takes the liberty to submit to Lord George whether the precise alterations intended to be made in their charters (if that point is still to be insisted on) might not be specified in the Instructions, and the Commissioners empowered to declare those Colonies at the peace of the King, upon their consenting to such alterations, and to the general preliminary conditions.

"He farther begs leave to submit a doubt he entertains whether the prohibitory Act is not compulsory with regard to the declaring of Connecticut and Rhode Island, as well as all the other Colonies, at peace, whenever they shall be disposed to return to their duty.

"He conceives that the declaring of peace (with an exception to Connecticut and Rhode Island) and the granting of pardons, are the only decisive measures which the Commissioners are empowered to take. And that all the other articles of the Instructions convey merely an authority to confer or treat upon propositions offered, and to transmit them to England. But he humbly submits whether the desired accommodation would not be facilitated, if the Commissioners conferring upon the point of taxation were at liberty to enter upon some explanation of the conciliatory proposition of the House of Commons, so far at least as to intimate what ideas of contribution they can with any hope of success transmit to his Majesty's Ministers for the consideration of Parliament.

"He had the honor to mention these objections to Lord George Germain, when he returned the first draft of the Instructions, and would not have taken the liberty to repeat them if he had not thought them very substantial and important."

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, April 2.—Concerning the Instructions given to Lord Howe for the execution of his powers as Commissioner appointed to treat with the revolted Colonies for their return to allegiance.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to LORD HOWE.

[1776, April 2.]—"Lord George Germain presents his compliments to Lord Howe; he is very sorry that the alterations which were made in the Instructions have only in part obviated the objections made to them. Lord George is very ready to explain verbally his ideas upon the construction of any of the articles, but he cannot take upon himself to make any material alterations in them without the previous concurrence of the Ministers, as this last draft was settled with and approved by them, in hopes that it would have been satisfactory. Lord George cannot understand that Rhode Island and Connecticut are so proscribed as Lord Howe imagines them to be, for if they consented to a proper alteration in their charter, and to acknowledge the legislative authority of Great Britain, he does not see that the following words in the Instructions—viz., that you do not declare those Colonies to be at our peace until some measure is agreed to for rendering those Governments more immediately subject to the authority of Great Britain—can preclude his Lordship from putting them upon the same footing with the other provinces without sending to England for any farther powers. As to the matter of taxation, it is very proper that Lord Howe should be acquainted with the expectations of the Ministers, and particularly of Lord North, upon that subject, though the Instructions can be only general; the idea that the Restraining Act is compulsory Lord George believes that upon reconsidering it Lord Howe will find that the Commissioners are only empowered but not required in any case to declare the rebellious provinces at peace.

"Lord George wishes to show every mark of regard and attention to Lord Howe upon this and every other occssiaon, and shall be happy to hear that he is willing to undertake being one of the Commissioners."

LORD HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, April 3, Grafton Street.—"Lord Howe presents his respects, and is highly sensible of Lord George Germain's condecension expressed in the note he had the honor to receive from his Lordship last night. He is sorry to have been obliged so often to trouble his Lordship upon the subject of the Instructions. Lord George having already honoured him with his verbal ideas upon the construction of the articles, he cannot think of breaking in again upon his Lordship's time, and deeming the matter to be of the greatest moment, is unwilling to commit his Lordship in declarations of his private sentiments."

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1776, April 24,] Wednesday, 11 o'cl. p.m.—"The obstacles that have arisen in the American Commission employed my

thoughts from Palace Yard to Lincoln's Inn, and tho' nothing new has occurred to me upon the subject I cannot help sending you the result of my reflections upon it.

"I am persuaded Lord Howe will have the Commission for this reason if there were no other, because at this moment, the 24th April, no other person has been thought of. I believe, too, that he wishes to have it, and the difficulty of breaking with him upon it is at least more pressing, if it is not as great, as the danger of entrusting the Commission to his judgment. Except the point of being sole commissioner, in which he has prevailed, every other point that he has contended for affords some reaons for relying upon his honour in the discharge of it, for he would not be very anxious about the terms of his Instructions if he did not mean to be guided by them; on the other hand if he were to break off, I should not have the same reliance upon his discretion and reserve as to the terms upon which the difference arose, and the article upon which it now turns is not the most favourable point to contend for, because it is a new topic in the American question, and the public opinion concerning it is yet untried. If Lord Howe means to execute as far as he can the intentions of Government, it is the best measure to place confidence in him, especially as a restraint which he disliked would bind him no further than he chose to be bound by it; supposing, therefore, he were to open himself *en ami* to your Lordship, might it not be proper to ask him to state the terms in which he would wish to have the separate article expressed. I presume he would desire to have a discretionary power as to Rhode Island and Connecticut, but would admit that it would be improper to use that power in their favour, unless it should become of absolute necessity to the submission of the other Colonys. Could that necessity really arise, it would justify his assuming the power tho' his Instructions did not permit it, and there seems to be no greater danger from an article directing him not to execute the power vested in him by the Commission as to Rhode Island and Connecticut without further proofs of submission than are required of the other Colonys, unless in the case of such absolute necessity as will not even admit of a reference to Government, than there is in entrusting him with the other powers of the Commission. I am far from thinking there is no danger in trusting to Lord Howe's unexplained intentions, but I should think the whole business much safer if he expressed a desire to execute the intentions of the Instruction in regard to these two Colonys provided his powers were not totally restrained, than from any limitation that could be penned in an Instruction which he accepted reluctantly. Upon the supposition that he is to execute the Commission, I really think the best security for the good execution of it will be the idea that he is confided in, which more than anything will induce him to endeavour to pursue your ideas.

"The present difficulty has raised a new doubt in my mind. The Instructions were fairly drawn with a prospect only to the success of the business. It is very necessary before they are signed and sealed to revise them with a very different view and to consider how they would appear if they should become the subject of discussion under less fortunate circumstances. In that light I think there is a fairness in Lord H.'s objection, for many men in his situation would wish to keep an article that they did not like as a shield to themselves.

"I have troubled you much too long with my impertinent zeal upon this subject. I need not add that my private as well as publick sentiments are the cause and the excuse for it."

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, April 26, Halifax.—"Private. I have the honor of your Lordship's two private letters of the 18th November and 5th of January received by the *Milford* frigate on the 26th March.

"Being conscious I cannot find words to express how sensibly I feel your goodness to me, permit me to say that in my pursuits for carrying your Lordship's plans into execution, every nerve will be stretched to attain the accomplishment of them; and I beg leave to add that the whole army rejoices in the idea of acting under your Lordship's auspices, having the fullest conviction that every assistance that can be afforded to us in the present arduous business will be effected by your Lordship's unvariable attention to the publick service, in which you have stepped forth at a time when most other men would shrink from the conflict. My sincere wish is that every prosperity may attend so noble an effort, and that your Lordship may in the end enjoy the honours waiting upon you from the most gratefull of princes.

"The scene here at present wears a lowering aspect, there not being the least prospect of conciliating this Continent until its armies shall have been roughly dealt with; and I confess my apprehensions that such an event will not be readily brought about; the rebels get on apace, and knowing their advantages in having the whole country, as it were, at their disposal, they will not be readily brought into a situation where the King's troops can meet them upon equal terms. Their armies retiring a few miles back from the navigable rivers, ours cannot follow them from the difficulties I expect to meet with in procuring land carriage. It cannot be denied that there are many inhabitants in every province well affected to Government, from whom no doubt we shall have assistance, but not until his Majesty's arms have a clear superiority by a decisive victory.

"It may be advisable that your Lordship should promise the commander of the foreign forces certain gratuities from the King, according to the report of his particular attachment

to his Majesty's service from the Commander of the British troops here ; I do not presume to give your Lordship reasons for addressing you upon this point, hoping to stand excused for any impropriety in this step ; it may remove many difficulties that we may have to encounter in the course of the campaign, and I beg to be informed of the characters and dispositions of the senior officers sent with those troops.

" The stroke intended against Cape Ann in the winter could not take place, the weather was so exceedingly severe and stormy, and upon the evacuation of Boston we were so scanty in the article of provisions, I could not hazard any delay in our way to this port, nor would the destruction of that place, the army having quitted Boston, be of any utility.

" I hope your Lordship will forgive my troubling you in this place respecting the powers taken from me of filling up vacancies of field officers, which have ever been granted, from the best information, to my predecessors in time of war. Allow me to add without farther explanation than as mentioned in my publick letter, that his Majesty's service will necessarily suffer if the powers in question are not restored to their former channel agreable to the commission with which I am honored on this service, regiments and artillery excepted.

" Should his Majesty be graciously pleased to grant this most humble request, may I at the same time submit to your Lordship the powers of filling up regiments held by Lieut. colonels, commandants, as in the case of Lieut. Colonel Goreham's Corps.

" I fear the trial of your Lordship's patience in the length of this letter, but being big with anxiety respecting the King's determination upon this point, and which may at once deprive me of the honour of taking a part in his Majesty's service in this country, I am led to hope for your indulgence for this presumption."

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, May 12, Halifax.—" In the midst of a multiplicity of business with which your Lordship is surrounded of the most intricate nature, the honor of your Lordship's private letter of the 29th of March is the highest flattery to me, and allow me to express my joy that your mind is not upon a constant stretch from the entertaining account your Lordship gives of my friend General Howard's situation.

" When I consider the event of being under the cruel necessity of quitting Boston before our time from a variety of combined circumstances not to be foreseen, I look back with much concern, from the idea that the effect of it may have worse consequences in the imaginations of them than in reality it deserves. But your Lordship's indefatigable pains and resources in the prosecution of this complicated war, will, I flatter myself, the foreigners willing, produce the success to his Majesty's arms from whence you must reap the highest

honor and the nation a complete satisfaction for the great expences necessarily incurred from these distant operations.

"From the very extensive situation of the posts to be occupied for the defence of the town of Boston, not less than five or six thousand men must have been set aside for it, in which calculation the usual sickness among troops must be taken into the consideration, which number is far beyond what we could have spared consistent with the more material operations for the campaign on the side of Rhode Island, from whence we must have the greatest part of our subsistence, particularly in the article of forage, exclusive of the many other principal advantages. The collector of the Customs of that province, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Rome, a merchant from thence, can give your Lordship the best information upon these heads. Your Lordship pointed out the consequence of this post long since, and I believe every one is now convinced of its utility. Still, from the reasons given in a former letter, I propose to begin at New York, and as soon as an establishment is made there, to make a detachment sufficient for that quarter if we should not find ourselves strong in numbers sufficient to undertake both at once, but we have seen so much of a defensive situation, that we must avoid another of the same nature, and hope by the offensive to see the northern and southern armies united upon the Hudson's River this campaign, if the Canadians are hearty.

"We are still waiting for provisions, tho' not idly, yet our works do not proceed with that expedition I could wish, from a want of tools, which the engineer here tells me he could not make or procure in the winter.

"I beg leave to inform your Lordship of my having a letter by this packet from Mr. Fenton, of the Massachusetts Bay, who makes use of your Lordship's name; but I have understood his character is doubtful with respect to his attachment for Government, but of this your Lordship may be well informed from Chief Justice Oliver, who I am persuaded is to be trusted with the utmost confidence.

"In my public letter of this date I could not avoid making mention of Brigadier General Robertson, who, I am bold to say, is not unworthy of his Majesty's favour. He is truly zealous and very active for the King's service, and to relieve him from the most miserable state of anxiety, I have ventured to trespass beyond the powers of my instructions, but hope for your Lordship's kind indulgence to set this step in its proper light to the King.

"The hurry in which this has been wrote, the packet being ready to sail, I hope may plead with your Lordship for the inaccuracies contained in it."

News from Montreal.

1776, May 22.—"Paper of intelligence from Montreal by a person whose veracity may be depended upon," containing an account of the movements of the army in Canada and

of the fleet. "Si les soldats du Congrés sont repoussés jusqu'a St. Jean avant le 25 Mai, il n'y a aucun doute que les troupes du Roi ne peuvent aisément s'emparer du Fort La Pointe, Carillon, et Fort George. Les troupes du Congrés sont frappés d'une terreur panique et dans la plus grande confusion." *French.*

SIR GUY CARLETON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, May 25.—On board the *Maria*, opposite St. Ann's.—Announcing the capture, on the 19th inst, of a fort at the Cedars with two pieces of cannon and 390 rebels by Captain Forster. On the day following a party of 120 rebels crossing from the island of Montreal to Kinchin was defeated and taken by Messrs. Lorimer and Montigny.

GENERAL BURGOYNE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, June 1, Quebec.—Announces his safe arrival with the troops under his command in the river St. Lawrence. He much regrets that he did not arrive in time to follow up the success occasioned by the enemy having raised the siege of Quebec. On finding that the fleet was likely to have a very slow passage by waiting for the "worst going ships," he had applied to the commanding officer of the convoy to allow him to push on with the fastest ships, but Capt. Dalrymple believed that his orders would not allow this, and refused. Had he given permission, it would probably have been possible to push past Quebec and take a post behind, in which case not one of the enemy would have escaped.

GENERAL HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, June 7, Halifax.—On the 11th May I had the honour of your Lordship's dispatches of the 28th March, by the *Despencer* packet, with duplicates of the 1st and 7th February, the originals of which were delivered by Captain Dickson, commanding the *Greyhound* frigate, on the 16th following.

I have suffered the most sensible mortification by being so long detained at this place, but the late arrivals of the provision ships, and the repairing of those included in the number requisite for transporting the troops, a return of which was forwarded to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in my dispatch of 8th May, have made an earlier removal impracticable. The troops, however, are at length embarked, waiting only for favourable weather to proceed to Sandy Hook. In the early operations there, I shall have the closest attention to the reinforcements daily expected, and not hazard any disadvantageous attacks; in this idea I at present think it will be most advisable to make a landing upon Long Island in order to secure the passage of the shipping into the harbour, which can only be effected by the possession of a commanding height near Brooklyn said to be fortified; should the enemy offer battle in the open field, we must not

decline it, and from the high order the troops are now in, I have every reason to flatter myself with success, which once obtained and prosecuted immediately upon the arrival of the reinforcements, would not fail to have the most intimidating effects upon the minds of those deluded people.

When General Clinton joins the army, to which purpose I have wrote to him, consonant to the orders he will have received from your Lordship, a copy of which you were pleased to transmit to me, if we should not find our strength sufficient to afford a division of the army previous to the arrival of the Hessians, we may, nevertheless, proceed to force the rebels from the island of New York, or to such other operation as may be deemed most conducive to his Majesty's service. But as General Clinton must have a part of the Hessians with him on the side of Rhode Island, and a personal communication with General de Heister will arrange this business more to the satisfaction of all parties than could be done separately or by letter to meet him upon the coast; the Admiral, therefore, at my request, has sent orders to the cruizers, not only off Rhode Island, but to all others on the northern coast, to direct the troops from Europe to proceed to New York, from whence they may more d'stinctly be ordered to their several destinations for the operations of the campaign; and that no time may be lost in disposing the troops for action after the arrival of the fleet at New York, I intend to proceed in a frigate to Sandy Hook, that I may have the advantage of communicating with Governor Tryon for obtaining the best information of the state of the rebel army in the environs of that place, and that I may be ready to receive the Hessians in case of their arrival before the fleet from hence.

As some difficulties may arise in General Carleton's mind from a delicacy of interfering with my command, by passing the frontiers of Canada into the province of New York, I beg leave with submission to refer to your Lordship's consideration whether it may not be advisable to write to the General on this head, that he may be assured no difficulties can arise on my part, respecting his command upon a junction of the two armies; at the same time I apprehend, altho' we should encamp together, such situation will not preclude me, as youngest in rank, from the operation of my command in the same manner as in an allied army, respecting promotions, and every other internal order relative to the troops entrusted to my care; nor would the powers of the elder, I presume, extend to any change of troops allotted from home for the two districts, without the consent of the younger officer. I beg leave further to observe that in the case of General Carleton advancing into the province of New York, the two armies by forming separate encampments may co-operate under his direction, perhaps with the same efficacy as if encamped without distinction. I am led to this representation by accounts received of the early arrival of the 29th Regiment,

and of the 47th from hence at Quebec, and of General Burgoyne being in the river with the troops from Europe, having a quantity of materials necessary for passing the lakes, which must greatly forward his motions.

"My best endeavours shall be employed to engage the assistance of the Indians of the six nations, and, I hope, by the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, to make them useful.

"Admiral Shuldham having sent me the copy of a letter he has lately received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty relative to the transports being taken from under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the land forces, I beg leave to represent to your lordship that I apprehend such a disposal of them will greatly impede the service, from the necessity the land officer must be under of making applications to the Admiral on every movement, for the convenience of the troops, and for a variety of services needless to point out to your lordship, wherefore I am hopeful I may not receive any order for a change in the present command over them.

"The advanced rank which the King has been graciously pleased to confer upon the General Officers serving in this country, is received by those here with the highest sense of the most dutiful respect for his Majesty's royal attention, and by no one more gratefully than myself. I shall not fail to communicate to Lieut.-General Clinton his Majesty's particular regard to the senority of his rank, which would have placed him second in command in Canada had he not been previously employed to the southward. My last intelligence from that quarter was dated the 28th April, and as five or six transports had then arrived, I must conclude the whole force is collected there before this time.

"The 47th Regiment not being included in your lordship's distribution of the troops destined for Canada, I shall presume it may now remain in the place of the 33rd, but shall pay due obedience to the order for Lord Cornwallis's serving in that army. The 6th Regiment cannot be employed early in the campaign, as I shall not have it in my power to send transports for them until after my arrival at New York.

"The rebel prisoners are returned in the *Greyhound*, and I shall use my endeavours to follow your lordship's directions respecting them and others in the same predicament.

"It is with concern I am to advise your lordship of another ordnance store ship, named the *Hope*, being taken in Boston Bay. She had a large proportion of entrenching tools on board, and, it is said, 1,500 barrels of powder. I understand the master was suspected of treachery before the ship left England, and that Captain Dickson, commanding the *Greyhound*, gave information of the suspicion to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, sometime before she sailed under his convoy.

"The appointment of Lord Howe to the chief command in the Naval Department upon this extensive coast is a circumstance that could not fail to give me the highest satisfaction, and I promise myself from his experience every assistance that can be given in the prosecution of the conjunct war we are now entering upon." *Copy.*

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, June 8, Halifax, Nova Scotia.—Acknowledges receipt of dispatches of 27th April, duplicate 28th March, copy 25th April to Lt.-General De Heister and other papers, copy 26th April to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and 1st April to Sir William Erskine, and copy letter of 9th April from Colonel Faucitt to the Earl of Suffolk—which were delivered by Capt. Emmerick. Attention shall be given to the experience and great abilities of Sir William Erskine in the military line. Some transports with the Highlanders are arrived at the entrance of the harbour. Expresses his utter amazement at the decisive and masterly strokes for carrying such extensive plans into immediate execution as have been effected since his Lordship has assumed the conducting of the war, and trusts he may in some degree contribute to the completion of measures so vigorously concerted. *Copy.*

Lord George Germain to General Howe.

1776, June 9, Pall Mall.—Acknowledging the General's letters congratulating him on his appointment to be Secretary of State. Has every reason to think that the foreign generals will act agreeably to General Howe. *Copy.*

Declaration by Lord Howe.

1776, June 20, H.M.S. *Eagle*, off the coasts of the province of Massachuset's Bay.—Declaring that Lord Howe and General Howe having been appointed Commissioners for restoring peace to the Colonies and plantations in North America, due consideration shall be had to the meritorious services of all persons assisting in restoring public tranquility in the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusets Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; and pardons shall be granted to all who, having deviated from their allegiance, are now willing to return to their duty. *Endorsed:*—"Copy of Lord Howe's Declaration, No. 2, in Lord Howe's, 11 August, 1776."

There is another copy of this amongst the papers, dated July 14, 1776, Staten Island.

General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain.

1776, June 22. Montreal.—Congratulates his Lordship on the rapid success of the King's arms in Canada. He has found

General Carleton (commanding-in-chief) very satisfied with all the arrangements made by the Government, the only inharmonious part of the corps being the disagreement between the General and Col. Christie consequent on the refusal of the former to cancel his appointment of Major Carleton as Quarter-Master-General in favour of Christie. It is to be hoped that for the sake of the general cordiality so essential for conducting the service with spirit that the two may be separated. The spirit and enthusiasm of the troops is extraordinary, and forced marches have been undertaken cheerfully in the hope of coming up with Arnold. Some of his men nearly caught Arnold prisoner. He had come forward to reconnoitre, and was seen and pursued, but escaped, and embarked instantly with his force, leaving all his stores, boats, guns, &c., behind him. The Canadians appear overjoyed at the British successes, but there are said to be several concealed traitors among them. Is nevertheless of opinion that with careful management Canada is now the King's for ever, "a quiet, tractable, rising province."

Capt. Thomas Pringle to Lord George Germain.

1776, June 24, "Martin, 3 leagues below Montreal."—There are no rebels nearer than the Ile au Noix. Having been sent up the river by Capt. Douglas to superintend the disembarkation of troops, he is now preparing to follow the rebels across Lake Champlain, and if the boat frames from England arrive soon, hopes there will be no reason to be displeased with the campaign.

Intelligence.

1776, June 24.—A bundle of copies of despatches docketted "Intelligence from Quebec," containing, *inter alia*, the letters of May 22 and 25, above.

The American Declaration of Independence.

1776, July 4.—A copy.

Lord George Germain to Admiral Arbuthnot.

1776, July 21, Pall Mall.—Expressing his gratification on the Admiral's appointment as Governor of Nova Scotia, and assuring him of the King's approbation of his conduct. *Copy.*

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, August 10. Staten Island.—"It is a great mortification to me to inform your Lordship of the army being still upon this island, but from unavoidable circumstances having been the cause of it, I am hopeful the delay may not be imputed to inactivity on my part. The daily expectation of

Commodore Hotham's fleet and the want of camp equipage for a great part of the army has enduced me to wait his arrival, upon which event I have determined from various reasons to proceed by way of Long Island with the main body of the army to gain the heights of Brooklyn, which I conclude will lead us shortly after to the possession of New York; at the same time I hope to get a respectable detachment up the river above New York Island to watch the enemy's motions on that side, and to endeavour to cut off the communication by land with the upper country. But I am to observe that passing the town with transports will be attended with great hazard from the enemy's batteries, yet this object is so desirable, I shall hope we may succeed for a small number of ships. The rebels are using their endeavours to stop the passage by sinking vessels and machines in the channel, but as it is deep and broad I flatter myself their efforts may prove ineffectual. I propose also to leave a detachment of troops upon this island, the preservation of which being absolutely necessary at this juncture from the complicated strength of the enemy's situation, I cannot at this important crisis detach for the attack of Rhode Island, but your Lordship may be assured that I shall not lose sight of that essential object as soon as a force can be spared adequate to the undertaking.

Were I to give an opinion upon the advantages to be gained over the enemy in the course of this short campaign, I should not presume to say we can flatter ourselves much upon the prospect, the season being so far advanced. The extent of my expectations are bounded by the possession of New York and Rhode Island, and a junction with the northern army. In this idea another campaign must succeed before a conclusion is put to this rebellion; upon that supposition, it will be advisable that the camp equipage for the regular army, with a proportion for eight or ten thousand provincials, should be sent from England early in February in ships of sufficient force to defend themselves. Clothing for the provincials will also be much wanted. The extra camp equipage may be of consequence to us in case of a winter campaign, should more arrive than is wanted for provincials.

"Not being so sanguine in my expectations as some of the friends of Government here are for our getting recruits in this country for the army, I trust they will be sent out by every opportunity from Europe, which may save the disciplined soldier by their assistance in duties of fatigue.

I do not apprehend it will be expedient to undertake any winter operations to the southward this year, supposing our efforts on this side may be called for early in the spring, and I think we shall have full employment for our whole force in the disposition of the winter cantonments, in which I hope part of Jersey may be included."

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, Aug. 13, Staten Island.—Private. My mind is set at rest by the explanation of the change in the powers of my commission. Commodore Hotham's fleet with the Guards and Hessians and the fleet under convoy of the *Repulse* came in together yesterday. The Hessians under General de Heister will land upon this island, according to his desire, for refreshment, but as the season is far advanced we shall proceed with the British to land upon Long Island to the amount of near 11,000 men, exclusive of cavalry and artillery. As some time will be spent in the necessary detail attending the movement, the Hessians will probably join us before any stroke is made, part of them remaining for the defence of this island. The Guards being perfectly ready and desirous to proceed upon service with us, they will go with the army.

[Lord George Germain] to General Burgoyne.

1776, August 23, Kew Lane.—" This is the first opportunity I have had of writing to you since I received your letter of the 22nd of June from Montreal [*see above*]. May this find you superior to every private misfortune, after exerting every effort which reason, judgment and above all resignation to the will of Providence could suggest. You have no friend who has felt more sincerely for you than I have done.*

" The success you have met with is the more pleasing as Canada has been regained with the loss of so few men. It proves that the measures adopted here with regard to the number of the forces were right, and the willingness which the soldiers shewed, fully justifies all you have said in Parliament about their zeal and spirit in acting in the present contest. I am sorry Arnold escaped, not that I believe his military knowledge will distress you, though I think he has shown himself the most enterprising man among the rebels. I am glad you commanded the column which drove the provincials from the Sorel to the Lakes. Everybody does justice to your conduct upon that occasion. The King expressed himself upon that subject in a manner that gave one great pleasure, as it did you so much honour. . . . . Every attention will be shown to General Carleton, and his services will be amply rewarded, but the settling of Canada will require all his application. The Red Ribbon which the King conferred upon him was against my opinion. My wish was that such a mark of favour should have been deferred till the province of Canada had been regained. I then imagined it would have done the General more honour, but I suppose the King could not forbear granting so agreeable a commission to Lady Maria as the carrying such a mark of his royal approbation to her husband." Lieut.-Col. Christie has met with the treatment I expected. His experience in the department of the Quarter-Master-General was of great use to me

* Lady Charlotte Burgoyne died only a few weeks after her husband left England.

when I was making preparations for the recovery of the province. "As he is disagreeable to the General, it is impossible they should remain together, but when an officer has been employed by me for the benefit of the public, I cannot consent to his disgrace to gratify the humour of any individual, and the King is too just to condemn upon accusation only," therefore, although he is confirming Major Carleton's appointment, he means to take an early opportunity of giving Col. Christie a battalion in the Royal Americans. . . . .

"I hope every precaution has been taken to secure the Indians to our interest. The Congress is exerting all their influence to debauch them from you, presents are preparing, deputies appointing and all arts practised to gain their affections. The dread the people of New England, &c., have of a war with the savages, proves the expediency of our holding that scourge over them. The Indians report that had Gen. Carleton permitted them to act last year, Canada would not have been in the hands of the rebels, but he kept them so long idle that they were resolved to return home. In the last war, the Indians, by remaining faithful to us, prevented the French from marching to Albany by Oswego, and so down the Mohak River, a plan which had been formed by Mr. Montcalm, and, had it been executed, would have distressed our army, and prevented their operations towards Crown Point, &c. . ." *Copy.*

LORD PERCY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Sept. 2, New Town, Long Island.—"Amidst the various congratulations which your Lordship will receive on account of the victory gained over the rebels by his Majesty's troops on the 27th of last month,* together with its subsequent effects, permit me to add my tribute. Nor should I have presumed to trouble your Lordship even now had not my father acquainted me with the very flattering manner in which you have been pleased to mention my conduct. Praise from your Lordship I own I am proud of, and be assured I shall always be happy to lend my aid and assistance in support of Government under an honest and able Minister. The affair of the 27th, my Lord, was ably planned and nobly executed. The behaviour of both officers and men on that occasion did honour to the country they came from and to the cause in which they are engaged. The rebels have severely felt the blow, and I think I may venture to foretell that this business is pretty near over. I hope sincerely it is, and that your Lordship will soon enjoy the blessings of your country for having delivered it from the most dangerous and unprovoked rebellion that ever existed, by your very proper and spirited measures."

DECLARATION by the COMMISSIONERS for RESTORING PEACE to AMERICA.

1776, Sept. 19, New York.—Although the Congress have disavowed every purpose of reconciliation not consonant

* The battle of Brooklyn or Long Island.

with their extravagant and inadmissible claim of independency, the King's Commissioners are desirous of conferring with well affected subjects upon the means of restoring the public tranquility and establishing a permanent union with every Colony as a part of the British Empire. The King being disposed to direct a revision of such instructions as may be construed to lay an improper restraint upon the freedom of legislation in the Colonies, and to concur in the revisal of all Acts by which his subjects there may think themselves aggrieved, recommends the inhabitants to reflect on their present condition and expectations, and to judge whether it be more consistent with their honor and happiness to offer their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged or to return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties. *Printed. Endorsed :*—"In letter from the Commissioners for restoring peace of 20 Sept., 1776." [*Printed in extenso in Force's* American Archives, ii, 398.]

General Sir W. Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, Sep. 25, Headquarters, New York Island.—"From the present appearance of things I look upon the farther progress of this army for the campaign to be rather precarious, an attack upon Rhode Island excepted, which I would willingly defer for a short time in case it should be thought advisable to employ our whole force together. The duration of the campaign must be short, and the second division of Hessians not arrived, nor have I any dependance upon General Carleton's approach to act with influence this year upon the main rebel army opposed to us, tho' it is reported to-day by deserters that Gen. Burgoyne with a corps of troops and Indians is advancing fast to Albany by way of the Mohawk River. If he gets possession of Albany, it will no doubt facilitate General Carleton's movements to that place and will be attended with favourable consequences. But in my situation, I presume I must not risk, as a check at this time would be of infinite detriment to us.

"The enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in our way of turning him on either side, tho' his army is much dispirited from the late successes of his Majesty's arms ; yet have I not the smallest prospect of finishing the contest this campaign, nor until the rebels see preparations in the spring that may preclude all thoughts of farther resistance. To this end I would propose eight or ten line of battle ships to be with us in February with a number of supernumerary seamen for manning boats, having fully experienced the want of them in every movement we have made. We must also have recruits from Europe, not finding the Americans disposed to serve with arms, notwithstanding the hopes held out to me upon my arrival at this port.

"Finding the Hessians averse to having their accompts methodized in the manner observed by the British Regiments, I have given them money on account, taking care that the sums advanced are sufficiently within the whole pay due to them by treaty, to answer for their stoppages of provisions.

"An exchange of prisoners has taken place, and Major Gen. Prescott in consequence of it is with me, being exchanged for Major Gen. Sullivan of the rebel army. Governor Montfort Brown is to be returned for Lord Sterling, and Governor Skene for an inhabitant of Boston taken into custody by General Gage."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GENERAL HOWE.

1776, Oct. 18, Pall Mall.—"I cannot omit the opportunity of accompanying my office letter with a few words, as your friend and well wisher. The service you have done this country is of the utmost consequence. The anxiety with which the account was expected, and the satisfaction with which it was received, sufficiently prove the importance of it. The attention of every power in Europe was fixed upon this event, and I trust that your success will so increase the weight and influence of his kingdom, that the peace of Europe may be preserved, which at present is in great danger from the disputes between Spain and Portugal. France is certainly preparing a naval force, with intention of taking part in that quarrel if it should end in a rupture, and for the purpose of increasing her strength in the West Indies, not thinking it prudent to remain weak in those parts, whilst we have such fleets and armies in her neighbourhood. These ostensible reasons cannot entirely satisfy us, and we are not idle on our parts in preparing the necessary means of defence, in case our situation in America should tempt them to commence hostilities. Great and decided success in your operations will be our best security.

"I cannot sufficiently admire the disposition you made, nor the manner in which it was executed in every part. It is the first military operation with which no fault could be found in the planning of it, nor in the conduct of any officer to whom you entrusted a command. The King, indeed, made one remark, I fear with too much justice, that the Commander-in-Chief was too fond of exposing his person, which he said was wrong in a man who had upon so many occasions shewn his personal bravery, and who ought now to consider how much the publick would suffer by the loss of a General who had gained the affection of the troops, and the confidence of his country. If this remark of his Majesty should have the desired effect, I shall be happy in having conveyed it to you. I was glad to hear by the private letter which Major Creed brought, that Rhode Island would be the first object of your attention, as soon as you could

with propriety separate your force. That post still appears to me so essential, that I not only wish to have it gained by conquest, but should hope to see it, at the general settlement of America, retained as the principal depot of troops, under a very different form of Government than that which it lately enjoyed. Major Cayler thinks it not improbable that if Mr. Washington's army should soon disperse, that you may pay a visit to Philadelphia before this campaign ends. The punishing that seat of the Congress would be a proper example to the rest of the Colonies, but I confess if we are to have another campaign, I trust that Boston and the Massachusets Bay will feel the distresses of that war which their detestable principles have occasioned, encouraged, and supported. The other Colonies are more to be pitied, as they have been gradually seduced into rebellion by those Independants under the specious pretext of struggling for their liberty. I doubt much whether the Red Ribbon will be the mark of royal favour which would be the most agreeable to you. I confess I took the liberty of expressing my thoughts upon it to his Majesty, and could have wished there had been any other method of shewing the high sense the King has of your merit and services, especially as the giving that distinction to General Carleton, before he had any claim to it by his operations in Canada, made it appear to me of less value. The King, however, was pleased to say that as he gave it to you *unasked*, and at this time, it would carry with it a strong mark of his approbation. I could not deny but that when you understood the intention you would receive it in that light with duty and gratitude, and he was pleased then to add, that I might assure you in my private letter that it should in no manner prevent his showing you distinguishing marks of his favour in your profession, whenever an opportunity offered. I then said, with that additional assurance I was perfectly satisfied; without it, I should have been unhappy to have seen your services and those of General Carleton put upon the same footing. I hope what passed upon this occasion will not be displeasing to you. I shall always be desirous of convincing you that I have your honour and interest at heart.

"Lord Percy and Lord Cornwallis in all their letters do you the greatest justice. You are fortunate of having men of such weight and property serving under you as general officers, and distinguishing themselves in the commands you assign to them.

"I need not say how sincerely I wish for your success, both upon public and private considerations, and how desirous I am of preserving your friendship. Governor Wentworth is still with you. His conduct appears meritorious and I wish you would give him all proper countenance and protection." *Copy.* [*Lord George's public letters of this date are printed by Force, but not this private one.*]

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to LORD HOWE.

1776, Oct. 18. Pall Mall. "I take the opportunity of Major Cayler's return to New York to assure your Lordship of my constant regard and best wishes. The glorious success of his Majesty's arms gave universal satisfaction to every good subject, as they were sensible that after your humane endeavours to restore peace had met with so unfavourable a reception, no alternative was left but the proving the superiority of the British troops over the army of the rebels. Your brother's conduct is seen in the light it deserves, and we have reason to flatter ourselves with the happiest consequences from the joint efforts of the fleet and army, since there can be no misunderstanding between the two commanders, united by friendship and affection. I have troubled the General with a long letter, the contents of which I need not repeat, as I conclude it is the same as if I had addressed them to your Lordship.

The Congress is using every possible means to induce France to espouse their cause, and the naval preparations making there must raise suspicions here as if their agent met with too much encouragement. What effect the late victory will have upon the French Councils, we have not yet heard; what we perceived here was that the Spanish Ambassador shewed the greatest satisfaction at our success, whilst the French Minister looked disappointed and dejected.

The Declaration of Independency has staggered many of the former advocates for America. Among others I hear Lord Cambden says there is no supporting the Americans upon their present ground. Indeed the leaders of the rebellion have acted as I could have wished, and I trust that the deluded people will soon have recourse to your lordship for mercy and protection, leaving their chiefs to receive the punishment they deserve.

I shall be happy if you will honour me with any commands, as I shall have the greatest satisfaction in obeying them. *Copy.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to LORD CORNWALLIS.

1776, Oct. 18, Pall Mall.—"Private." Congratulating him on his conduct in the late action. *Copy.*

LIEUT-COL. G. CHRISTIE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Oct. 26, Montreal.—The first part of the letter contains a sharp criticism on General Carleton's conduct of the war, part of which may be quoted. "After the rebels left the country much time was idly spent without concluding upon building boats, which with transports unloading, some at Quebec, some at Three Rivers and at Sorrel, the troops, baggage, &c., in one place, they in another; the stores for carrying on the preparations everywhere dispersed; the invoices and bills of lading which were in the distinctest manner

delivered to the general himself, who either lost or mislaid them, consequently they were delivered as the masters of the vessels chose, and when occasion was for them they would send fifty miles one thing for another, to remedy which, they at last unpacked the whole, and then did not know the quantity, and were too wise to inform me what had happened or to desire duplicates of the papers which I could have easily furnished. . . . Even their ordnance stores and heavy artillery were hoisted from one place to another between Chambly and Sorrel, at last a great part brought here where they should have been at first. . . . Some considerable time [was] spent in attempting to draw vessels out of the basin at Chambly and over a road with the apparatus impracticable and of no use had it been effected; those of the least service begun upon to be built or erected, those of the most consequence neglected till the last.

"The Canadians employed upon foolish and useless works, harrassed by corveys indiscriminately, for the unwilling or disaffected ran off and returned home, the good men only remained, and no punishment whatever annexed to such misbehaviour; amusing ourselves with fortifying an improper situation at St. John's because the troops who were taken there by the rebels last year had from necessity occupied the same spot. Afterwards our ideas changed, and then we began to trace out new fortifications and extensive lines at St. John's, as well as repairing the old French ones at Isle aux Noix, all which occupied artificers, men, &c., and kept them from more useful works, because I conceive the Canada army was formidable enough not to think of fortifications—it could only dispirit, besides none could be made at such times either durable or useful.

"The commissariat intolerably managed and in the utmost confusion, an injudicious arrangement to heap expense by employing too many inferior people at exaggerated appointments and new perquisites. They began too early to issue fresh meat, before the cattle of the country got into flesh, or in the usual way, so many days fresh and so many days salt, which together with a very extraordinary allowance of half a pound of meat and half a pound of flour added to the former ration brought in a consumption of provision, or more properly a waste, as no man could consume it, and the issuing to such an army and its appendages of savages, Canadians, &c., increased the expense amazingly.

"The provision left everywhere exposed without shades or cover, which might have been done had proper measures been taken or boards explored (*sic*) or made at mills unoccupied to serve that or other useful purposes. The road from Chambly to St. John's was mended and made tolerable good; that from Montreal to Chambly neglected, as well as from La Prairie to St. John's. . . . Confusion and embarrassment appeared everywhere under a commander absorbed within himself, giving answers to few and saying little, who follows

a scheme or plan absolutely incomprehensible. The merit or demerit is his own because the great assistance he might have drawn from his second in command and other spirited officers of merit I have great reason to think he despised and was his own projector. Many days often passed without any orders, and even what was intended not circulated as they ought. His immoderate ambition led him on board the fleet to command it, this *géné'd* those whose province it was, [so] that all was confusion, and an attack [made] upon the rebels without any orders, which would have proved very fatal but for accidents to the enemy's fleet under the command of a spirited fellow, Arnold, by no means ignorant of the naval department, and who committed a blunder in being surprised or waiting in such a situation, yet did everything judgment could dictate to extricate himself afterward.

. . . . .

"His (General Carleton's) not proceeding to look at Tyconderoga, within 15 miles of him and fine water carriage, where from the most authentic intelligence the enemy [was] not 5,000, sickly and dispirited, and would have abandoned it upon his appearance, is beyond all human comprehension, and if such a measure has its abettors they are enemies to their country, as it cannot be supported. . . . I shall not venture further than saying my real belief that he is totally unfit for such a command, and must ruin his Majesty's affairs and those of England either in a civil or military capacity. [The rest of the letter contains complaints of Gen. Carleton's conduct to himself in rejecting his commission, and sending misrepresentations to the Secretary of War concerning him, especially as regards his hiring of workmen on behalf of Government, to proceed to America. At the moment of embarkation at Deptford, they demanded that part of their pay should be issued to their wives or attorneys. To prevent "a base attempt of emissaries from London working with these poor people to give them a disgust to the service," he consented, and gave his own agent orders to advance the money, but now can get no returns from the General to show who are entitled to the money, or any satisfaction for what he has disbursed.]

LORD PERCY to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN ?].

1776, Oct. 30, New York.—"On General Howe's marching to the Continent I was left to defend the island with three British brigades and one Hessian. One of them encamped near New York, and the rest defended our redoubts in the north part of the island.

"The day the General left us the rebels came down with about 8,000 men and cannon, as if they meant to attack us; but I knew them too well to imagine any such thing. I let them therefore remain, as they did not chuse to come within cannon shot; and when they were tired they returned again

to their camp. Nothing happened from that time to the 27th, when in consequence of orders from General Howe I marched with six British and two Hessian regiments to feel their lines, and at the same time favor a movement of General Kniphausen's by drawing their attention this way. I approached therefore with caution, for I had not force enough to attack them. By the time I had advanced within random musquet shot, their lines (three in number) were all completely manned. These lines are from the middle to the summit of a high mountain, one behind the other with square redoubts at about a 100 yards from each other, the whole supported by Fort Washington, a large square fort with bastions and 18 pounders.

"As our moving forward did not make them evacuate their works, I tried what a few shot from six pounders and shells from two howitzers would do, but they were too well secured by their parapets. About one o'clock in the afternoon they were perceived bringing down canon from their fort into their advanced lines, I left the piquets in the former position, and retired with the main body about half way between their works and ours.

"My left (being the two Hessian regiments) occupied a height close to the North River, which commanded a plain to its right, in this plain I placed two regiments with their right to another hill, where a regiment and the howitzers were posted, the remainder of our force extended from thence across Harlaem plains towards the East River, or as there called Harlaem Creek. The rebels now began to canonade us, and as their shot went over the British regiment the most to the left, I retired a little out of reach. (The other regiments covered with a stone wall and trees were secure.) The two hills were much too strong for them to attack, and as they flanked the plains where the other regiments were, I thought my position secure. That night I began to work on the two hills, ordered the troops to send for their tents as if I proposed remaining, and talked of the most desperate intentions; it had not, however, the desired effect, for the rebels, who were at least 5,000 in number, posted in such strong lines would not stir. They sent down in the morning (as they had done the evening before), a number of their rangers to pop at our advanced posts and sentries, and now and then fired a canon shot.

"Having now fully answered the General's intentions and being indeed unable to remain longer on account of the smallness of our numbers and the consequence of the island of New York which this corps was left to guard, I determined to return to the old position in our lines as soon as the evening favored the retreat. This certainly was a very delicate operation, with a small body just under the enemy's nose, some of our advanced piquets within a hundred yards of theirs, and our sentries within 30 or 40.

"In the first place I kept my intentions quite to myself, and till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, (at 8 I intended move), I did not open my lips even to General Jones next in command; I only sent him word I would call on him; at a quarter before six I ordered the regiments under arms, and the commanding officers of the regiments to come to me; I then gave each the disposition for the retreat, and their route, ordering the piquets to be left till I sent to take them off, and settled such signals for retiring as could not be mistaken. At six o'clock the retreat was ordered. When the troops were on their march the piquets were taken off silently and in an hour's time the whole returned to their old camp, the enemy not finding we were gone till next morning.

"It is very fortunate that in this little excursion of two days not a man suffered by their canon, and only four British soldiers were killed, and three slightly wounded with their musquetry, and three Hessians wounded.

"I do assure you I am almost a little vain on this retreat, as the Hessians and all agree in calling the manœuvre a masterly one. The rebels were taken in, for whilst they were observing my manœuvres, General Kniphausen took from them their works at King's Bridge which they had left weakly guarded, bringing almost all their force to oppose me. The attention and obedience to orders in all the troops on that occasion do them the greatest honor, but their silence in getting under arms and on their return was beyond conception.

"Next day the General ordered away the 4th Brigade, so only a British and Hessian brigade guard the lines. I am not uneasy as the rebels dare not attack us." *Extract.*

MAJOR GENERAL PHILLIPS to GENERAL CARLETON.

1776, Nov. 9, St. John's.—Concerning the importance and utility of gunboats for the Canadian campaign. *Copy.*

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Nov. 28, New York.—Has received Lord George's dispatches of the 11th, 12th and 21st of June and others. Begs his humble thanks may be given to the King for his condescension. *Docquetted* "No. 30." [*Printed in Force's* Archives, iii, 893.]

LORD PERCY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Nov. 29, New York.—Enclosing a plan (not now with letter) of the rebel lines flung up to protect the north part of the island, which were forced by four weak British and two Hessian battalions under Lord Percy's command on the 16th of November.

General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, Nov. 30, New York.—"The troops being upon the eve of going into winter cantonments, I trouble your Lordship with this separate letter respecting the succeeding operations of the present campaign, and with some particulars relative to the next.

"Lieutenant Generals Clinton and Lord Percy are under orders to sail with the first fair wind to take possession of Rhode Island, having a force exceeding 6,000 rank and file, which I judge to be sufficient for the operation; and, altho' the expedition may miscarry from the late season of the year, yet, on account of the great importance of the object, I have hazarded the consequences of a disappointment from that cause; not doubting of success if the weather proves tolerably favourable. In this opinion I am strengthened by the cheerfulness with which it is undertaken by the two Generals to be employed, and from the little preparation the enemy has made to defend it, by the latest intelligence received.

"In consequence of my expectation that Lord Cornwallis will shortly be in possession of East Jersey, I propose to quarter a large body of troops in that district, without which we should be under much difficulty to find covering, forage, and supplies of fresh provisions for the army. The plan of the enemy, by their public orders, is to destroy all species of forage and stock as they retire before his Majesty's troops, which I am hopeful they will not have time to accomplish; and their further design seems to be to retreat behind the Rariton River, or, perhaps, behind the Delawar, to cover Philadelphia.

"By the best information from the northward, I learn the army from Canada was obliged by the severity of the weather to repass the lake from Crown Point on the 5th instant, from which event, and a consideration of the difficulties that army must meet with before it reaches Albany, in the course of next campaign, it is reasonable to conclude this will not be effected earlier than the month of September. In that persuasion I would humbly mention my ideas for the operations of next campaign, with the force they may require, in order, if possible, to finish the war in one year by an extensive and vigorous exertion of his Majesty's arms:—

1st. An offensive army of 10,000 rank and file to act on the side of Rhode Island, by taking possession of Providence, penetrating from thence into the country towards Boston, and, if possible, to reduce that town. Two thousand men to be left for the defence of Rhode Island, and for making small incursions, under the protection of the shipping upon the coast of Connecticut. This army to be commanded by Lieutenant General Clinton.

2nd. An offensive army in the province of New York to move up the North River to Albany, to consist of not less

than 10,000 men, and 5,000 for the defence of New York, and adjacent posts.

3rd. A defensive army of 8,000 men to cover Jersey, and to keep the southern army in check, by giving a jealousy to Philadelphia, which I would propose to attack in autumn, as well as Virginia, provided the success of other operations will admit of an adequate force to be sent against that province.

"South Carolina and Georgia must be the objects for winter, but, to complete this plan, not less than 10 ships of the line will be absolutely requisite, and a reinforcement of troops to the amount of 15,000 rank and file, which I should hope may be had from Russia or from Hanover and other German States, particularly some Hanoverian Chasseurs, who, I am well informed, are exceeding good troops.

"By this calculation the army in the southern district would consist of 35,000 effective men to oppose 50,000 that the American Congress has voted for the service of the next campaign.

"The enemy, tho' much depressed at the success of his Majesty's arms, are encouraged by the strongest assurances from their leaders of procuring assistance from foreign powers, for which end it is understood that Doctor Franklin is gone to France to solicit aid from that Court. I do not presume to point out a way of counteracting him, but, were that effected, and the force I have mentioned sent out, it would strike such terror through the country that little resistance would be made to the progress of his Majesty's arms in the provinces of New England, New York, the Jersies, and Pensylvania, after the junction of the northern and southern armies.

"As the army must, at all events, be much divided in the ensuing campaign, I beg leave earnestly to solicit your Lordship for an additional battalion of artillery, for the good effects of which I can be responsible from the great terror of the enemy on all past occasions where the artillery has appeared. A few light six and three pounders will also be wanted in this plan of operations.

"I beg leave at the same time to request an additional number of officers to the Guards, who, when complete, have only three to one hundred men, whereas in some companies there are only two, and altho' the men behave with great spirit, yet the temptations for plunder are so great, that it is not in the power of a few officers to keep the men under proper restraint.

"The date of the King's warrant for my appointment to vacant commissions being on the 22nd of June, and superseding the authority given in your Lordship's letter of the 12th of said month, I shall not presume to post to any vacancies that may happen in the detachment of Guards, neither would it be in any degree essential to the interests of his Majesty's service that I should exercise this power,

since the number of officers would not be thereby augmented.

"The remount and additional horses for the Light Dragoons I hope may be sent out early, as the good services they have performed this campaign, and the dread the enemy have of them, has been fully experienced upon every occasion. I therefore beg leave to request that 300 horses, with saddles and accoutrements, may be sent out in March for this service; and I could wish to have them from Ireland, as more hardy, and more accustomed to get over fences, than the horses from England.

"Colonel Prevost,* commanding at St. Augustine, has requested to have the rank of Brigadier General upon the American service, and knowing him to be a worthy good officer, I beg leave to recommend him to his Majesty's favor."

I also recommend Dr. Morris to be inspector of the hospitals of this army. *Copy.*

Also another copy of the same, endorsed "Rd. 30th December. First plan of operations. No. 1," and headed "Copy No. 32. Separate." [*Printed in Force's* Archives, iii, 926.]

PROCLAMATION by the COMMISSIONERS for restoring Peace to America.

1776, Nov. 30, New York.—Referring to the Declarations of 14th July and 19th September last; and commanding all persons in arms to disband, and all general and provincial congresses, committees, conventions or other associations to desist and cease from the treasonable acts of levying money, raising troops, fitting out armed ships and vessels, imprisoning or molesting the King's subjects, and to relinquish all usurped power and authority. Also offering a free pardon of all treasons and misprisions of treasons to any person who within 60 days from the date of the Proclamation claims the benefit thereof and subscribes a proper declaration testifying his obedience to the laws. *Printed. Endorsed* :—"In letter from Commissioners for restoring peace of 30th November, 1776 (1)." [*Printed in Force's* Archives, iii, 927.]

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Dec. 2, New York.—Announces the sailing of Lieut.-General Clinton on the previous day by the East River with the frigates and most of the transports, and the putting to sea of the large ships of war and transports from Sandy Hook at the same time to join the fleet off the port of destination. Has presumed, upon the General's application to return to Britain after the reduction of Rhode Island, to comply with his request, which he hopes may meet with his Majesty's approbation, as Lord Percy will remain in the command. *Copy. Docquetted* "No. 33."

* Force prints the name "Prescot," but this is a mistake, as it was Prevost who was in command at St. Augustine's.

LORD HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Dec. 18, *Eagle*, off New York.—Private. Complains of the scanty naval force at his disposal. Lord Sandwich has agreed to his desire to be furnished with fifteen sail of two-decked ships, but doubts the propriety of parting with any line of battle ships. Has again urged the need for these, being of opinion that the French and Spanish preparations alone prove the need of strengthening the fleet with some ships of force.

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1776, Dec. 20, New York.—"The time of service for which most of the enemy's troops were engaged being expired, their present strength from a review of the latest intelligence received is about 8,000 on the south side of the Delaware and in Philadelphia, 500 Militia embodied in Morris County, New Jersey, and about 3,000 at Pecks Kill, North Castle and the smaller posts in this province." *Extract. Endorsed :*—"Rd. 23rd February, 1777. No. 3. Received after No. 2 was dispatched." [*The letter printed in Force's* Archives, iii, 1317.]

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1776, Dec. 20, New York.—"In my separate letter by the *Tamar*, No. 32, I mentioned my ideas for the several operations in the course of the ensuing campaign, and proposed a defensive corps in Jersey for the early part of the year. But the opinions of people being much changed in Pensylvania, and their minds in general, from the late progress of the army, disposed to peace, in which sentiment they would be confirmed by our getting possession of Philadelphia, I am from this consideration fully persuaded the principal army should act offensively on that side where the enemy's chief strength will certainly be collected.

"By this change the offensive plan towards Boston must be deferred until the proposed reinforcements arrive from Europe, that there may be a corps to act defensively upon the lower part of Hudson's River to cover Jersey on that side, as well as to facilitate in some degree the approach of the army from Canada.

"The arrangement I would humbly propose for the execution of this plan, is, that only 2,000 men should remain at Rhode Island, with a proper number of ships : 4,000 men on York Island and posts adjacent, and 3,000 on Hudson's River, which will leave about 10,000 men for Pensylvania, concluding on a rough computation that the extent of our strength at the opening of the campaign will not exceed 19,000 men.

"But as these operations, perhaps of the last importance to the nation, may depend upon the exigencies of the moment, I request your Lordship to point out any general plans that

may be thought most advisable, both with respect to the present strength of the army, and on the event of reinforcements, remarking the periods of time in which these troops may be expected: I would further propose that every augmentation of troops should come to this port in the first instance, from whence they can be readily disposed of as may be found requisite.

"We must not look for the northern army to reach Albany before the middle of September; of course the subsequent operations of that corps will depend upon the state of things at the time.

"Clothing, tents, and every species of camp equipage will be wanted for the Hessian troops and the regiment of Waldeck. The enclosed return [*not now with the papers*] will show the number of men wanting to complete in these corps; and if two hundred were added to the Hessian quota, and thirty to that of Waldeck, I think the casualties of the winter may reasonably be computed to amount to that number.

"The 7th and 26th Regiments being mostly exchanged, and the season not admitting of their going to Canada before the spring, I beg to have his Majesty's commands for the disposal of those battalions." *Extract. Endorsed :*—"Rec. 23 February, 1777, No. 4. Second plan of operations. Received after No. 2 was despatched." [*Letter printed* ut supra, *p.* 1317.]

Governor William Tryon to Lord George Germain.

1776, Dec. 24, New York.—Proposing a method for checking the idea of future Congresses and crushing the present American Confederacy. Also suggesting that at the termination of the existing quarrel a battalion of Americans should be added to his Majesty's Foot Guards on the same footing as the Swiss Guards are in the French service. Believes that the present crisis is the opportunity for the firm establishment of episcopacy in the American Colonies, commencing with New York. Gives his views on the present form of the Oath of Allegiance to the King. [*A letter of this date printed by Force, but not the same.*]

General Howe to Lord George Germain.

1776, Dec. 31, New York.—"Permit me to beg your Lordship's acceptance of my grateful thanks for the honour of your private letter of the 18th October, in which I feel myself highly flattered by your Lordship's opinion and by your most favourable communication of the King's gracious attention to me: solely attached to his Majesty's service, where duty calls there must not be any consideration for personal safety.

"Rall's defeat has put us much out of our way. His misconduct is amazing; had he remained to defend the village

he could not have been forced, nor could the attack have been pushed to any length, as the enemy would have been too much exposed to his rear from Princetown and to Col. Donop's corps of 2,000 men with ten pieces of cannon from Bardentown. Col. Donop's conduct upon this occasion is by no means commendable. Retiring from his post without orders, leaving his sick behind him, rather denotes panic. Being drawn off by the rebel corps sent with that design instead of remaining at his post in readiness to succour Trentown, having had certain intelligence of the enemy's intentions of attacking Trentown that morning, cannot be defended.

"The rebels have taken fresh courage upon this event and have returned over the Delawar in force, which will give us some trouble in our cantonments, and their success will probably produce another campaign. I hear French officers flock to them fast. Our most advanced post towards the Delawar is now at Princetown, where we must endeavour to cover a strong corps to keep them hors d'insulte.

"In the plan which I have had the honour to mention in my separate letter by this conveyance, the army will be much divided, and will therefore require some active general officers to command the several corps.

"If General Clinton being senior to General Burgoyne (who I hear is gone home) should go to Canada as the prior command, I hope General Burgoyne will join this army. Lord Cornwallis is, I think, fully equal to any command, but Lord Percy not having had much experience, it cannot be expected he should be fit for a separate command.

"The two Lieut.-Generals Heister and Kniphausen are much too infirm for this war, tho' I believe the latter extremely zealous for his Majesty's service, but I tremble when I think the former may remain with us another campaign. He is exceedingly unsteady and so entirely averse to carry the Hessians into action, I must be very anxious for his removal. The three Major-Generals Stern, Smith and Mierbach are for several reasons totally out of the question and not by any means to be entrusted with a command.

"Amongst our Major Generals, Grant will, I have no doubt, acquit himself well; Jones is too inactive and infirm, and General Pigott is now so ill, there are little hopes of his ever being able to serve in the field. I would therefore take the liberty of proposing Col. Amherst, Daniel Jones, of the 3rd Guards, Charles Grey and Sir Thos. Spencer Wilson as proper officers to serve here as Major Generals if their health permits, and they cheerfully accept. Col. Phillipson is also an officer of experience, and would be an acquisition to this army. I should also wish for an active general officer or two from Hesse. In the Hanoverian service I have heard of a General Scheiter, who is well spoken of as a good partisan,

which is much wanted in this army. If the war continues it will every day take a larger field and we must have officers in proportion to command separate corps.

"The Independants are at present buoyed up by hopes of assistance from France. If that door were shut by any means and it were publicly known here, it would in my opinion put a stop to the rebellion upon the arrival of the reinforcements in the spring; such is the present eagerness of the inhabitants in general both in this and the neighbouring provinces of the Jersies, Pensilvania and Connecticutt for pardon and peace.

"I beg to repeat my sollicitation for another battalion of artillery, and I should hope the farther services of Brigadier General Cleaveland, Majors Farrington and Martin might be dispensed with in this country. They are too infirm for the active service required in this war. I conceive Col. Pattison would do well at the head of the artillery department with Captains Helin and Drummond of the 3rd battalion, having rank of major in the army, to serve under his command.

"I could wish Major Dixon, our chief engineer, who does not seem fond of this irregular service, might return home and the command of this district return to Capt. Montresor, and I would humbly request the rank of major in the army for him in case this change is approved.

"Fully sensible as I am of the King's goodness in conferring the honor of the Red Ribbon upon me, I am to confess to your Lordship my wishes to have had the opportunity of declining it without ostentation, but I shall ever retain the deepest sense of gratitude for your Lordship's friendship on that occasion."

Precis relative to the Commission.

1776.—Memorandum thus entitled. Embracing the following heads:—The Prohibitory Act; Letters Patent of 6th May, 1776; Instructions to Lord Howe and General Howe, 6th May, 1776; Recital of the conciliatory resolution of the House of Commons of 20th Feb., 1775; Additional Instructions of 6th May, 1776; Resolution of the Congress of July 19th, 1776.

Propositions by Lord George Germain.

[After 1776.]—MS. in Lord George Germain's handwriting, headed, "Propositions for the employment of his Majesty's forces now in North America, submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's confidential servants by Lord George Germain." With a bulky appendix containing a narrative of the chief events of the war from 1774 to 1776.

Lord Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

1777, Jan. 8, Brunswic.—"The unlucky affair of Raal's brigade has given me a winter campaign. Washington is with about 7,000 men in Morristown, our quarters were too

much exposed, and it was necessary to assemble our troops ; that is now done, and all is safe : he cannot subsist long where he is, I should imagine that he means to repass the Delaware at Alexandria, the season of the year will make it difficult for us to follow him, but the march alone will destroy his army."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1777, Jan. 14, Whitehall.—" Having always been of opinion that the possession of Rhode Island would be attended with the most beneficial consequences, I was extremely happy to find (by your separate letter of Nov. 30th, 1776) that you had thought proper to send an expedition to that place ; and tho' it must be confessed that winter and bad weather are formidable enemies to contend with, I cannot help being sanguine in my expectations from troops whom you have accustomed to success in all their undertakings ; and I am the less able to entertain the smallest apprehension of a miscarriage, when I reflect that you entrusted the command of those troops to men of such tried courage as Lieut.-Gen. Clinton and Lord Percy are known to possess. But be the event what it may, I shall ever think that the importance of the object was an ample justification of the attempt, even if the enemy had been better prepared for an opposition to your enterprise.

" With regard to the army under the command of Lord Cornwallis, the men have been brought into such a state of perfection, while they were under your eye, that they must unavoidably act with such rapidity when put in motion as induces me to flatter myself that his Lordship's progress in East Jersey, notwithstanding the advanced season, will be considerable. And it is the ground of much satisfaction here to know that your troops had, after the fatiguing operations of the campaign, so fair a prospect of extensive and good winter cantonments as that district can afford them.

" It was a great mortification to me to be informed that the army from Canada had thought it right to leave Crown Point unoccupied and repass the lake. I trust, however, that my expectations are likely to be gratified, when I presume the army will make more rapid advances the next campaign and reach Albany sooner than you seem to expect.

" Your well digested plan for the operations of the next campaign has been laid before his Majesty, but I must decline for the present to trouble you with any remarks upon it. For as your next letters (of which I am in daily expectation) will probably throw new light upon the subject, his Majesty thinks proper to withhold his royal sentiments thereupon, until he shall have had an opportunity of taking into his consideration the whole state of this momentous affair. When the King has so done, Major Balfour will be immediately dispatched to you with all necessary instructions.

"When I first read your requisition of a reinforcement of 15,000 rank and file, I must own to you that I was really alarmed, because I could not see the least chance of my being able to supply you with the Hanoverians, or even with the Russians in time. As soon, however, as I found from your returns that your army, if reinforced with 4,000 more Germans (which I trust will be procured for you), 800 additional Hessian Chasseurs, and about 1,800 recruits for the British, and about 1,200 for the Hessian troops under your command, will consist of very nearly 35,000 rank and file, I was satisfied that you would have an army equal to your wishes—especially when I considered that the enemy must be greatly weakened and depressed by your late successes, and that there was room to hope that you would not find it difficult to embody what number of the Provincials you might think proper for particular parts of the service, in which expectation, cloth for 3,000 additional suits and camp equipage for 8,000 are ordered, and will be sent to you. And here I must afford you the satisfaction of knowing that whatever degree of support the rebels may have been taught to expect from foreign powers, I have great reason to believe that Dr. Franklyn will not be able to procure them any open assistance.

"The artillery have, on all occasions, behaved well, and as their appearance has hitherto had so desirable effects upon the enemy, I wish it was in my power to procure you another battalion of so useful a corps, but it is not; you may, however, depend upon having as many sent to you as I can get together with some light six and three pounders. You will also have such a number of officers sent out to the Guards as will make them complete to the present establishment, independent of those employed on the staff.

"It would be impossible to procure for you in any reasonable time the 300 horses which you desire; and as the expence of sending them to so great a distance is enormous, and the hazard of their arriving safe very great, it is intended to send you only 100, which is more than will be necessary for completing the establishment of those you already have, as it appears by your returns that you want only 77, and it is hoped that, with such as you may be able to procure in the country, will answer your purpose.

"All that I need say to you at present concerning the ten ships of the line which you solicit, is, that Lord Sandwich will write fully to Lord Howe upon that subject. And as I apprehend you lay so great a stress upon that request with a view to the demand that you may have for the services of the men in the debarkation, and in otherwise assisting your troops, it gives me pleasure to acquaint you that I have reason to hope that such a force will be sent you as will be deemed sufficient by yourself and Lord Howe." *Extract. Endorsed:* "No. 2. Answer to No. 1."

MONSIEUR "GONTIER" to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Jan. 24.—"Memoire au Ministre D'Etât d'Angleterre pour le Department des Colonies." Concerning American affairs. *French, unsigned. Endorsed:* "French Intelligence sent by a French gentleman under the fictitious name of Gontier, to whom an answer was sent (and left at the bar of Old Slaughter's coffee house) thanking him for his trouble, and desiring him to transmit any further information that might happen to come to his knowledge."

GENERAL BURGOYNE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Feb. 28, Hertford St.—A MS. entitled "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GENERAL SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1777, March 3, Whitehall.—"In my dispatch of 14th January, transmitted to you by the packet, you were informed that his Majesty thought proper to defer sending you his sentiments on your plan for the next campaign, until he was enabled to take the whole into his royal consideration.

"I am now commanded to acquaint you that the King entirely approves of your proposed deviation from the plan which you formerly suggested, being of opinion that the reasons which have induced you to recommend this change in your operations are solid and decisive.

"But I must inform you that his Majesty is also of opinion that a warm diversion upon the coasts of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire would not only impede the levies for the Continental Army, but tend much to the security of our trade, and indeed it scarcely admits a doubt but that these benefits must inevitably result from such an arrangement. For as on one hand it is scarcely to be expected that those provinces will part with men when their presence must be wanted for the internal defence of their own respective districts, so on the other, a salutary check will unavoidably be put to the successes of the rebel privateers, when we have destroyed or taken possession of their ports.

"It is, therefore, the King's pleasure that Lord Howe and you take this matter into your serious consideration so far as your intended plan will admit.

"You may perhaps not think it wrong to employ on this service some of the provincial troops, in conjunction with others, together with a proper number of ships.

"Here I cannot help expressing the very great concern I feel for the loss you have had in the Hessians, and for the disappointment you will have in the 3,000 Germans mentioned in my letter of 14th January. For I begin to fear it will not be possible to send you more new forces than about 820 Hessian Chasseurs; do. Hanau about 400, [*margin:* 'A mistake, they being sent to Quebec']; two regiments of

Anspach Infantry consisting of about 1280, and four companies of Highlanders amounting to about 400.

"As the Earl of Suffolk has been very earnest in his applications to the Court of Hesse respecting the recruits for the regiments of that country, and has repeatedly requested that they may be made as complete as possible, I flatter myself they will be duly furnished in proper time, and that they (together with the others) will be ready to sail for New York as soon as the season will permit.

"As you have difficulties about bringing General Lee to a trial in America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you send him to Great Britain by the first ship of war.

"You will have received directions thro' the Secretary at War relative to the 7th and 26th Regiments; I cannot, however, omit this opportunity of expressing my earnest wishes that you may have paid them the compliment which they so justly deserve, and have determined to keep them as entire corps; especially as their firmness and attachment to their country have been particularly taken notice of by his Majesty, and which you will be pleased to let them have the satisfaction of knowing." *Extract. Endorsed:*—"No. 5. Answer to No. 3 and 4. Approving of plan of operations as altered in No. 4."

William Pulteney* to Lord George Germain.

1777, March 5. London.—Communicating the view of a correspondent from Paris (who was intimately acquainted with Doctor Franklyn) on the American question, as expressed in a letter from France written before the Trenton affair, viz., that America will agree to no terms that ministers are likely to adopt, but that all "real interests" of England might even yet be secured; and adding, "It seems to me of importance that your Lordship should know authentically that on the 16th of February no engagements had been entered into by America to prevent an agreement with this country and that such agreement was not contrary to the inclination of America. It is also of importance that you should know that in a little time it will be out of the power of America to make an agreement with us." Enquires whether it is worth finding out from Dr. Franklyn what terms would disarm America.

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, March 23, New York.—Concerning the power given to the Commissioners to grant pardons. Pleads that "the pardon declared without exceptions has been fortunate, by creating a more general confidence in the favourable disposition of Government," and that from the little success of

* William, afterwards Sir William, Johnstone Pulteney, M P. for Shrewsbury, brother to Commodore or "Governor" George Johnstone.

their prior overtures there was no reason to expect that the leaders would be induced to accept less beneficial terms.

Lord George Germain to Sir Guy Carleton.

1777, March 26, Whitehall.—"My letter of the 22nd of August, 1776, was entrusted to the care of Capt. Le Maitre, one of your aide-de-camps. After having been three times in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, he had the mortification to find it impossible to make his passage to Quebec, and therefore returned to England with my despatch, which, tho' it was prevented by that accident from reaching your hands in due time, I nevertheless think it proper to transmit it to you by this the earliest opportunity.

"You will be informed by the contents thereof that as soon as you should have driven the rebel forces from the frontiers of Canada, it was his Majesty's pleasure that you should return to Quebec, and take with you such part of your army as in your judgment and discretion appeared sufficient for the defence of the province. That you should detach Lieut.-General Burgoyne, or such other officer as you should think most proper with the remainder of the troops, and direct the officer so detached to proceed with all possible expedition to join General Howe and to put himself under his command.

"Since I wrote that letter I have had the mortification to learn that, upon your repassing Lake Champlain, a very considerable number of the insurgents, finding their presence no longer necessary near Ticonderoga, immediately marched from thence and joined the rebel forces in the provinces of New York and Jersey. That unexpected reinforcement was more particularly unfortunate for us, as it enabled the rebels to break in with some degree of success upon parts of the winter quarters that were taken up by the army under the command of Sir William Howe.

"Upon these accounts, and with a view of quelling the rebellion as soon as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy junction of the two armies should be effected, and therefore as the security and good government of Canada absolutely require your presence there, it is the King's determination to leave about 3,000 men under your command for the defence and duties of that province, and to employ the remainder of your army upon two expeditions—the one under the command of Lieut.-General Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany, and the other under the command of Lieut.-Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion on the Mohawk River.

"As this plan cannot advantageously be executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, his Majesty strongly recommends it to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men. And I am happy in

knowing that your influence amongst them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil his Majesty's expectations.

"In order that no time may be lost in entering upon these important undertakings, General Burgoyne has received orders to sail forthwith for Quebec, and that the intended operations may be maturely considered, and afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed by success, he is directed to consult with you upon the subject, and to form and adjust the plan, as you both shall think most conducive to his Majesty's service.

"I am also to acquaint you that as soon as you shall have fully regulated everything relative to these expeditions (and the King relies upon your zeal that you will be as expeditious as the nature of the business will admit) it is his Majesty's pleasure that you detain for the Canada service :—

The 8th Regiment, deducting 100 for the expedition to the Mohawk	460
Battalion companies of the 29th and 31st Regiments	896
Battalion companies of the 34th, deducting 100 for the expedition to the Mohawk	348
Eleven additional companies from Great Britain ..	616
Detachments from the two brigades	300
Detachments from the German troops	650
Royal Highland emigrants	500
	3,770

"You will naturally conclude that this allotment for Canada has not been made without properly weighing the several duties which are likely to be required. His Majesty has not only considered the several garrisons and posts which probably it may be necessary for you to have, viz. Quebec, Chaudière, the disaffected parishes of Point Levi, Montreal, and posts between that town and Oswegatchie, Trois Rivieres, St. John's, Isle aux Noix, La Prairie Vergère, and some other towns upon the south shore of St. Laurence, opposite the Isle of Montreal, with posts of communication to St. John's ; but he hath also reflected that the several operations which will be carrying on in the different parts of America must necessarily confine the attention of the rebels to the respective scenes of action, and secure Canada from external attacks, and that the internal quiet which at present prevails is not likely to be interrupted, or if interrupted will soon be restored by your influence over the inhabitants ; he therefore trusts that 3,000 men will be quite sufficient to answer every possible demand.

"It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure that you put under the command of Lieut. General Burgoyne :—

The Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army (except of the 8th Regiment) and the 24th Regt. as the advanced corps under the command of Brigadier General Fraser	1,568
1st Brigade battalion companies of the 9th, 21st, and 47th Regiments, deducting a detachment of 50 from each corps to remain in Canada	1,194
2nd Brigade, battalion companies of the 20th, 53rd, and 62nd Regiments, deducting 50 from each corps as above	1,941
All the German troops except Hanau Chasseurs and a detachment of 650	3,217
The Artillery excepting such parts as shall be necessary for the defence of Canada	
	7,173

Together with as many Canadians and Indians as may be thought necessary for this service. And after having furnished him, in the fullest and completest manner, with artillery, stores, provisions, and every other article necessary for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance which it is in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence, by the most vigorous exertion of the force under his command, to proceed with all expedition to Albany and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

"From the King's knowledge of the great preparations made by you last year to secure the command of the lakes, and your attention to this part of the service during the winter his Majesty is led to expect that everything will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the Lake by the time you and he shall have adjusted the plan of the expedition.

"It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the command of Lieut. Colonel St. Leger :—

Detachment from the 8th Regt...	100
Detachment from the 34th Regt.	100
Sir John Johnson's Regt. of New York	133
Hanau Chasseurs	342
	675

Together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians. And after having furnished him with proper artillery, stores, provisions, and every other necessary article for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk River to Albany and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

"I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first packet. But you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest intelligence of this measure, and also direct Lieut.

General Burgoyne and Lieut. Colonel St. Leger to neglect no opportunity of doing the same, that they may receive instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them that until they shall have received orders from Sir William Howe, it is his Majesty's pleasure that they act as exigencies may require and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the rebels, and bringing them to obedience, but that in so doing they must never lose view of their intended junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal objects.

"In case Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne or Lieut. Col. St. Leger should happen to die or be rendered through illness incapable of executing these great trusts, you are to nominate to the respective commands such officer or officers as you shall think to be best qualified to supply the place of those whom his Majesty has, in his wisdom, at present appointed to conduct those expeditions." *Separate letter. Copy. Endorsed* "No. 6. Copy of this letter was sent to Sir William Howe in a letter from Mr. D'Oyley, by the *Somerset* man-of-war, which arrived at New York the 24th May. Sir Wm. Howe acknowledged the receipt of it in his letter, of the 5th July, No. 9."

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, April 2, New York.—"Observing by your Lordship's dispatches the small reinforcement intended for this army for the ensuing campaign, compared with my requisition for executing the plan I had the honor of submitting to your Lordship in my letters upon that subject, I beg leave to press the additional strength of the corps of dismounted Dragoons solicited by Lieut. Col. White, of the Corps of Chasseurs proposed to be raised by Capt. Emmerick, and of the six additional companies of the 42nd and 71st Regiments.

"Had it been expedient to have sent the number of Dragoon horses I requested, we should have found great utility from them, not only for the essential service of patrolling but in opposition to a large corps of cavalry raising by the enemy.

"Your Lordship having been pleased to inform me I must not expect an additional battalion of artillery, in which I confess my disappointment, from a thorough conviction of the great service such a reinforcement would be to this army, I am constrained to supply the deficiency by an endeavour to raise 300 men from the provincials to do duty with the artillery, to be paid and clothed in the same manner as those established, and have given directions accordingly to Brigadier General Cleveland, that no time may be lost in completing them, which I hope will receive his Majesty's approbation.

"In these circumstances I find myself under the necessity of relinquishing a principal part of the plan before proposed for an offensive corps on the side of Rhode Island, etc. and to adopt one on a smaller scale, which the enclosed distribution points out.

"From the difficulties and delay that would attend the passage of the Delaware by a march through Jersey, I propose

to invade Pensylvania by sea, and from this arrangement we must probably abandon the Jerseys, which by the former plan would not have been the case. On the contrary the enemy's western and principal army would have been between the two corps destined for this service, and we should then have had the communication open for the Seneca Indians to have joined us.

"The provincial troops I propose to employ under Govr. Tryon's command upon the Hudson's River, or to enter Connecticut as circumstances may point out.

"In the former campaign the force was suitable to the operation, whereas in the ensuing one, from the several posts necessary to be preserved, the offensive army will be too weak for rapid success, tho' I shall hope for the arrival of reinforcements in time to strengthen this, as well as the other corps, but I fear they will not be sufficient to cause any material alteration in the plan now proposed.

"From these considerations, and the delays which may attend the evacuation of the Jersies from the vicinity of the enemy's principal force, it is probable the campaign will not commence so soon as your Lordship may expect, even tho' we should not undertake anything offensive in that quarter, which I mean to avoid unless some very advantageous opening should offer, but your Lordship may be assured the operations will be forwarded as expeditiously as the nature of the service will admit, and in the meanwhile I shall anxiously wait his Majesty's commands by Major Balfour.

"I have reason to expect in the case of success in Pensylvania, there will be found a considerable part of the inhabitants who may be embodied as militia and some as provincial troops for the interior defence of the province, which must be a great aid in the further progress of the war.

"My expectations of a move in the winter against the enemy in Jersey upon the arrival of the troops from Rhode Island, as mentioned in a former letter, have been frustrated by a deep fall of snow which rendered the country impassable, and since the breaking up of winter the depth of the roads forced me to relinquish the idea.

"Restricted as I am from entering upon more extensive operations by the want of force, my hopes of terminating the war this year are vanished. Still I think it probable that by the latter end of the campaign we shall be in possession of the provinces of New York, the Jersies, and Pensylvania, tho' this in some measure must depend upon the success of the northern army. For notwithstanding it is my opinion the rebels will not be able to raise their army voted last autumn, yet they will have a numerous militia in the field, in addition to their standing force, with a tolerable train of artillery.

"However, as these operations may from success become more various and extensive, and of course require in the execution a considerable assistance of seamen, which the Admiral cannot assure me he shall be able to furnish without

an additional number of ships of force, I anxiously hope, from your Lordship's assurances, we shall not be disappointed in our expectations of an aid so essential, and that they are now upon their way to join us.

"I fear the enemy mean to keep back the British and Hessian prisoners in their possession, contrary to agreement. They know their advantage by such a step, and I suspect Mr. Washington is led by those who, while their interest is in question, have little regard to his honour.

"Your Lordship will receive inclosed a copy of my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, which goes in a few days by a frigate convoying Sir John Johnson, Lieut. Colonel Maclean, and several officers, both British and Canadian, lately returned from their captivity, together with a few recruits for the several corps in Canada: and I send this letter that I may have the honor of his Majesty's commands upon it in time, if the contents should not meet with the royal approbation." *Copy. Endorsed:*—"Recd. 18th May. No. 7. Third plan of operations, written after the receipt of No. 2, but before No. 5 or 6 had reached him. Two enclosures."

Enclosing,

(1.) *Letter from Sir William Howe to Sir Guy Carleton, dated April 5. See below.*

(2.) *Distribution of troops for the campaign,* 1777:—

Pensylvania	11,000
Town of York and Island	3,200
Paulus Hook	300
Staten Island	1,200
Rhode Island	2,400
	18,100

N.B.—Prisoners with the rebels, sick, artillery and cavalry not included.

Also a corps of provincials, consisting of 3,000 *effectives under the command of his Excellency Governor Tryon.*

General Sir William Howe to General Sir Guy Carleton.

1777, April 5, New York.—"Having but little expectation that I shall be able, from the want of sufficient strength in this army, to detach a corps in the beginning of the campaign to act up Hudson's River consistent with the operations already determined upon, the force your Excellency may deem expedient to advance beyond your frontiers after taking Ticonderoga will, I fear, have little assistance from hence to facilitate their approach, and as I shall probably be in Pensylvania when that corps is ready to advance into this province, it will not be in my power to communicate with the officer commanding it so soon as I could wish; he must therefore pursue such measures as may from circumstances be

judged most conducive to the advancement of his Majesty's service consistently with your Excellency's orders for his conduct.

"The possession of Ticonderoga will naturally be the first object, and without presuming to point out to your Excellency the advantages that must arise by securing Albany and the adjacent country, I conclude they will engage the next attention, but omitting others, give me leave to suggest that this situation will open a free intercourse with the Indians, without which we are to expect little assistance from them on this side.

"The further progress of this corps depending so much upon the enemy's movements, cannot be foreseen at this distance of time, still I flatter myself and have reason to expect the friends of Government in that part of the country will be found so numerous and so ready to give every aid and assistance in their power, that it will prove no difficult task to reduce the more rebellious parts of the province. In the mean while I shall endeavour to have a corps upon the lower part of Hudson's River sufficient to open the communication for shipping thro' the Highlands, at present obstructed by several forts erected by the rebels for that purpose, which corps may afterwards act in favour of the northern army.

"Major Edmestone of the 48th Regiment having been long detained a prisoner at Albany, and having procured leave to come here to negotiate his exchange, I have sent him back with directions to inform Mr. Schuyler that if he permits him to go to Canada I shall release a major in exchange. He has information of too delicate a nature to commit to paper, and of the utmost importance in favour of the northern army advancing to Albany, which I trust he will find some means of communicating, even tho' he should not obtain leave to go to Canada in person.

"I beg your Excellency may be pleased to favour me with the earliest intelligence of your movements and flatter myself some method will be found of conveying it immediately to New York." *Copy.* (*Enclosure No.* 1, *in the previous letter.*)

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1777, May 18, Whitehall.—"Your secret letter of 2nd April, together with its two inclosures, are received, and I have had the honour of laying them before his Majesty.

"I hope that the augmentation which you will receive to your artillery will be found sufficient to answer your demands; but if it should fall short you will be in some degree reconciled to your disappointment in not having your requisition complied with, when you recollect that there is but one battalion of the Regiment of Artillery in Great Britain, and are also informed that at the time the above mentioned augmentation sailed from Europe, we had not a single matross left in the island.

"I cannot but hope that the Dragoons with which you have been furnished will be more than sufficient to supply the deficiencies. And so little doubt was entertained of your progress in the country, and of your being thereby enabled to procure horses, that I neither did nor can apprehend any material inconvenience to be likely to arise from my inability to send you the requested supply.

"As you must from your situation and military skill be a competent judge of the propriety of every plan, his Majesty does not hesitate to approve the alterations which you propose, trusting, however, that whatever you may meditate, it will be executed in time for you to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada and put itself under your command.

"I am extremely concerned to find that you do not imagine your force to be as suitable to the operations of the ensuing campaign as you confess it was to those of the last. My concern, however, is in a great degree diminished by the intelligence which we daily receive of the rebels finding the utmost difficulty in raising an army to face his Majesty's troops. And whether I confine my attention to the supposed weakness of the enemy, or reflect upon the proof which you have given of your impatience to begin the campaign by the early expedition to Peck's Kill, I freely confess that I am not under any apprehension that the execution of your plans will be less speedy than I expected.

"If we may credit the accounts which arrive from all quarters, relative to the good inclinations of the inhabitants, there is every reason to expect that your success in Pensilvania will enable you to raise from among them such a force as may be sufficient for the interior defence of the province and leave the army at liberty to proceed to offensive operations.

"I will not enter into a particular consideration of the advantages which may be expected from a successful execution of your present plan, but content myself with saying in general that the information which I have received of the disposition of the people and the high opinion which I entertain of your abilities inspire me with no small degree of hope that this campaign will put an end to the unhappy contest.

"Lord Howe will have heard that all possible attention has been paid to his demand, and tho' the number of ships be fewer than he requested, I trust that the force will be equal to his expectations, and that he will, upon their arrival, be able to afford you every necessary assistance.

"(I have the pleasure to acquaint you that his Majesty entirely approves of your letter to Sir Guy Carleton.)" *Extract.* *Endorsed :*—"No. 8, written in consequence of the receipt of No. 7. This letter was received by Sir William Howe on the 16th August on his passage up Chesepeake Bay, being the one numbered 11."

LORD HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, May 31, New York.—"Private." Acknowledging a letter received through Major Balfour. "Major Balfour informs me that your Lordship had some doubts on the propriety of the attention seemingly shewn to the accommodation of the inhabitants on the coasts in my instructions to the commanders of the detached squadrons. Our motives therein were that those people might not be forced to take arms for a subsistence. The good effect of it may be presumed, inasmuch as the rebels have been near 12 months in manning their armed ships, and appear to have been equally backward in furnishing their quota of troops from New England, being reduced to the necessity of using compulsion of the harshest kind in both instances."

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, June 3, New York.—"I have communicated to the Admiral the paragraph in your Lordship's dispatch No. 5, respecting a proposed diversion upon the coasts of Massachusetts Bay, and I have the honor to inform your Lordship we have been ever sensible of the advantages arising from that mode of distressing the enemy, but in this instance we agree in opinion it is not practicable without interfering materially with the more important operations of the campaign, that have received the royal approbation and which are already too much curtailed by the want of land force to admit of a further reduction.

"The inclosed intended distribution of the troops [*not now with the papers*] will, I hope, justify this opinion, and I trust your Lordship will conceive the uneasiness I shall suffer for not being able to fulfil his Majesty's wishes, until I am honoured with the King's approbation of my conduct in this instance." *Extract.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1777, June 5, New York.—Private. Concerning the promotion of officers in the army under his command. States that he has not yet sent General Lee to England, believing that this step might lead to the ill-treatment of the foreign officers now prisoners with the enemy. Is daily expecting an answer from Mr. Washington which will probably put an end to all intercourse with him in relation to the prisoners, and will then be at liberty to send home General Lee, who, he begs to remind his Lordship, was struck off the half pay in 1775, and therefore cannot be considered as a deserter. Asks re-inforcements for the artillery. Trusts his Lordship may expect a successful campaign to the southward, but fears little can be done to the northward more than to give security to this province, as that army will have infinite difficulty to penetrate into Massachusetts Bay with effect, unless at the same time an army could be set on foot from Rhode Island, which he has no present hopes of doing.

ADMIRAL MONTAGU to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, June 11, *Romney*, at S. John's.—"I have the honor to acquaint you that I arrived at this place the 9th May, and had the pleasure to find everything remained quiet during the winter. But since my arrival I am sorry to inform your Lordship the American privateers have been very troublesome on the banks, and have committed great depredations among the fishermen, notwithstanding I have dispatched the men-of-war, as they arrived, to the different parts of the fishing bank to cruize for their protection. It gives me great concern to be obliged to inform your Lordship that the privateers cruizing in these seas are greatly superior in number and size to the squadron under my command, and without a large force is sent out to me the bank fishery is at a stand.

"I was yesterday made very unhappy by a letter I received from Captain Fotheringham of his Majesty's ship *Fox*, acquainting me that he was taken the 7th instant by two American privateers (on the banks) one called the *Hancock* of 32 guns and 347 men, the other of 28 guns called the *Boston*, full of men, the largest commanded by Manly, the other by McNeal. They informed the master of a vessel they had taken, that they came with orders from the Congress to take, burn, sink, or destroy every English vessel they should find fishing on the banks, which orders they were determined strictly to obey.

"This has greatly alarmed the merchants not only on account of their vessels on the banks, but for fear of their property being destroyed on the shore. . . . . I am deprived of the use of the *Romney*, being obliged to keep her in port for the defence of the harbour and the merchants' property. The out harbours I daily expect to hear are attacked by some of the small privateers, as I learn from the master that has been taken that no less than twelve sail came from Boston at the same time the *Hancock* and *Boston* left that port, all bound to the banks for the destruction of the fishery."

Captain Linzee (*sic*) of H.M.S. *Surprize* has taken a schooner with 220 hogsheads of tobacco, bound from Virginia to Bordeaux. *Extracts.*

SIR GEO. COLLIER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, July 1, *Rainbow*, at Halifax.—"It is with peculiar satisfaction and the most profound respect, that I inform your Lordship of my having taken from his Majesty's rebellious subjects the finest ship in their possession; she is called the *Hancock*, mounts 32 guns (chiefly twelve pounders) and 290 men, and is said to be the largest and fastest sailing frigate ever built, and quite new off the stocks.

"But I esteem it a still greater piece of good fortune, the taking prisoner in her the *second* officer of rank in their Navy, in which the Congress place all their reliance, *Manly* :—

We have *all* long wished to get this man into our possession, from his talents and intrepidity and fortunate it is that we have done so, as he was beginning to shew the Americans what they had not been accustomed to, the seeing of one of his Majesty's ships in their possession, for he had just taken the *Fox* of 28 guns, which he had very bravely engaged within pistol shot for near two hours.

"Every body here is overjoyed at the capture of Mr. Manly, esteeming him more capable of doing mischief to the King's subjects than General Lee was.

"The detail of this affair I have the honor to enclose your Lordship herewith; and I beg leave to add, that no one could feel more happiness than I did during the time I was driving a squadron of the King's rebellious subjects before me, of more than double my force; I most ardently wish'd to have taken them *all*, but they steering different courses (at last) rendered the capture of more than the largest impossible. I chas'd her 39 hours without the men having any rest, and from being very short of compliment, the prisoners were (within a few) as numerous as ourselves, which oblig'd me to return as speedily as I cou'd to Halifax, to secure them effectually.

"Manly seem'd filled with rage and grief at finding he had so easily surrendered to a ship of only 44 guns, believing all along that it was the *Raisonable* (of 64 guns) who was chasing him. . . . Your Lordship will have the goodness to permit me to inform you that the general joy here at this event exceeded every thing before known at Halifax; as I approached the town (with my prize) I was saluted by all the merchant ships (of which there were a great number), who were adorn'd with flags and colors at their mast heads, and at night most of the houses were illuminated; I intend sending Mr. Manly's flag to the first Lord of the Admiralty by the present opportunity, in the hope that his Lordship will do me the honor of laying it in my name at His Majestys feet, with the most profound duty and submission."

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, July 5, New York.—Acknowledges receipt by the *Somerset* of copies of his Lordship's letters to Sir Guy Carleton of 26th March, and John Stuart, Esq., of 2nd April, together with the several states of the Anspach Corps, detachment of artillery, chasseurs, &c. *Extract. Endorsed* "Rd. 22nd August, No. 9."

The Same to the Same.

1777, July 7, New York.—"I beg leave to observe upon the order given to General Burgoyne for discontinuing the junior lieut.-colonels as brigadiers, that it seems only intended to take place when the two armies absolutely join, which I do not suppose can happen this campaign, as I apprehend General Burgoyne will find full employment for his army against that

of the rebels opposed to him. The disagreeable task of sending an order for their discontinuing to serve with the rank of brigadiers when under my command must then remain with me.

"I am further to observe to your Lordship that the war is now upon a far different scale with respect to the increased powers and strength of the enemy than it was last campaign, their officers being much better, with the addition of several from the French service, and a very respectable train of field artillery.

"An officer of the 71st Regiment lately arrived from Boston declares he saw 50 pieces of brass cannon landed there a short time before he came from thence, and the army in Jersey has had for some time past 40 pieces of brass ordnance. I must therefore urge the completing the British regiments here with drafts and good British recruits, or we shall soon lose our consequence by the current casualties of a campaign exclusive of a general action.

"A corps of Russians of ten thousand effective fighting men I think would ensure the success of the war to Great Britain in another campaign. But if they are not to be had, and we should succeed in the possession of Pensylvania, the Jersies, and this province in the course of the campaign, the draft of troops for the preservation of them in the next will be great, at the same time that a considerable force will be requisite for the reduction of the northern provinces, wherein three armies should be employed to make it effectual. In our present state 20 regular battalions are employed for the security of this place and Rhode Island, exclusive of the provincials, which last amount to about 3,000 men.

"Being at a loss to furnish accoutrements for the provincials, I beg leave to propose 4,000 sets of tanned leather belts with light pouches to be sent from Europe for them.

"Sir Henry Clinton arrived here the 5th instant, and as this post is of the utmost importance he will remain in New York with the command of twenty-two battalions, disposed according to the inclosed return. The instructions I have taken the liberty of leaving with Sir Henry Clinton are to be upon the defensive with power to act otherwise according to concurrent circumstances without losing sight of the principal object in the security of this place, which I hope may be approved.

"My last advices from Sir Guy Carleton and General Burgoyne were received the 28th of June in letters from them dated the 14th and 16th of May. They do not contain anything more material than that the artillery stores designed for the northern service, together with a reinforcement for that corps and the victuallers from Cork had not then arrived. Lieut. General Burgoyne was to proceed the 14th of May for Montreal to expedite measures for his operations and to exert every faculty in his power to carry them into speedy execution." *Extract. Endorsed,* "Rd. 22nd August.

No. 10. This letter was written 16 days before the fleet sailed from New York, and 8 days before he received the account of General Burgoyne's being before Ticonderoga." *Enclosing,*

1777, *July* 7.—*Distribution of the troops under the command of Lieut. General Sir Henry Clinton at New York and posts depending. Total* 665 *serjeants,* 274 *drummers, and* 7,367 *rank and file.*

GENERAL KNYPHAUSEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, July 7, Kingsbritshe.—Stating that he has been appointed by the Landgrave to the command of the Hessian troops in America, in place of Lieut. General Heister, recalled. *French.*

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, July 15, New York.—Enclosing the copy of a letter just received from Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, which confirms his being before Ticonderoga. Intelligence otherwise received leaves no room to doubt his being in possession, but does not come from authority so certain as to justify a positive declaration of the fact. *Extract. Endorsed,* "Rd. 22nd August. No. 11. This letter was written eight days before the fleet sailed from New York."
Enclosing,

Copy of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne's letter, dated 2nd of July, 1777, *from the camp before Ticonderoga.* "*I wait only some necessaries of the heavy artillery which have been retarded by contrary winds upon Lake Champlain, to open batteries upon Ticonderoga. The army is in the fullest powers of health and spirit. I have a large body of savages, and shall be joined by a larger in a few days. Ticonderoga reduced, I shall leave behind me proper engineers to put it in an impregnable state; and it will be garrisoned from Canada, where all the destined supplies are safely arrived. My force therefore will be left complete for future operations.*

"*The enemy do not appear to have the least suspicion of the King's real instructions relative to the campaign after the reduction of Ticonderoga.*

"*I shall implicitly follow the ideas I communicated to your Excellency in my letters from Plymouth and Quebec.*"

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, July 16, New York.—Private. "By the movement of the enemy's army in Jersey towards King's Ferry upon the North River since the embarkation of his Majesty's troops from Staten Island, he seems to point at preventing a junction between this and the northern army, which will no further affect my proceeding to Pensilvania than to make

a small change in the distribution of the troops. For if the enemy should cross the North River before I sail from hence or should approach it so near as to give me a prospect of reaching Philadelphia before him, I shall in either case strengthen Sir Henry Clinton still more than by the reserve which is already ordered to remain here in addition to the troops mentioned in the return under Sir Henry Clinton's command: he will then have sufficient force to act on the defensive against the whole rebel army, but as these additional troops will not be wanted here if General Washington should march to the defence of Pensilvania, I shall in such event order them to join me in that province. The enemy's movements taking this turn, I apprehend General Burgoyne will meet with little interruption otherwise than the difficulties he must encounter in transporting stores and provisions for the supply of his army.

"On the other hand, if General Washington should march with a determination to force General Burgoyne, the strength of General Burgoyne's army is such as to leave me no room to dread the event, but if Mr. Washington's intention should be only to retard the approach of General Burgoyne to Albany he may soon find himself exposed to an attack from this quarter and from General Burgoyne at the same time, from both which, I flatter myself, he would find it difficult to escape.

"Under these circumstances I propose going up the Delaware, in order to be nearer this place than I should be by taking the course of Chesapeak Bay, which I once intended and preferred to that of the Delaware, provided the enemy had discovered a disposition to defend Pensilvania."

[Lord George Germain] to Lord Howe.

1777, Aug. 4, Kew Lane.—Private. I am happy to find from your letter of May 30 [31] that the indulgence you have shown the inhabitants on the coast in not depriving them of their subsistence, has had so good an effect.

"We have lately had so many privateers upon our coasts and such encouragement given to them by the French, that I was apprehensive a few weeks ago that we should have been obliged to have declared war. The late assurances given, and the orders sent to their different ports to remedy the grievances complained of, give us now reason to hope that the operations of your campaign will not be interrupted, but if this rebellion continues much longer, I should think it improbable that a rupture with France and Spain can be avoided. The indecent joy that was expressed in France upon the report of Sir William Howe's defeat in the Jerseys shews but too plainly the sense of the nation in general, tho' I believe the King and his present Minister wish to preserve peace." *Copy.*

Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe.

1777, Aug. 6.—"It was always my wish and my constant endeavour that you should be supplied with as many men

as you could possibly stand in need of. You will have received every reinforcement of the artillery companies which could possibly be spared from this country and I am much concerned to find that you have been in the least degree disappointed in your expectation of being able to raise men for that corps." *Extract.*

SIR JOHN BURGOYNE to COL.. SKENE.

1777, Aug. 10, Headquarters near Fort Edward.—Desires him to proceed with Lieut.-Col. Baum upon an expedition of which he has the command, and which will march that evening or the following morning. "The objects of his orders are to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the regiment of Riedesel Dragoons, to complete Lieut. Col. Peters' corps and to procure a large supply of horses for the use of the troops, together with cattle and carriages. The route marked for this expedition is to Arlington and Manchester; and in case it should be found that the enemy is not in too great force upon the Connecticut River, it is intended to pass the mountains to Rockingham, and descend the river from thence to Brattlebury.

"Some hours before the corps marches for Arlington, Col. Peters with all his men are to set forward for Bennington, and afterwards are to join at Arlington."

Lieut. Col. Baum is directed to communicate to him the rest of his instructions, and to consult with him upon all matters of intelligence, negotiation with the inhabitants, roads and other means, depending upon a knowledge of the country for carrying his instructions into execution. *Copy.*

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Aug. 30, camp at the head of Elk River, Maryland.—Acknowledges receipt of duplicates of dispatches 10, 11, 12, and original of 13, by the *Eagle* packet. Not having heard from General Burgoyne, he cannot tell what credit is to be given to the successes of the rebels in that quarter, as mentioned in the enclosed newspaper [*margin*, "Bennington affair"], but as their accounts of successes are in general much exaggerated, hopes that even should these be true, the General will be able to pursue the advantages he has already gained with so much honour to himself. *Extract. Endorsed*, "Rd. 28th October. No. 12. Acknowledges the receipt of No. 8 (*sic*) and had heard of Gen. Burgoyne's misfortune at Bennington."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1777, Aug. 30, camp at the head of Elk.—Cannot hope to co-operate with the northern army.

"His Majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct of Lieut. Colonel Bird and the troops under his command at Peck's Kill has been received by them with the most dutiful respect.

"Your Lordship has been pleased to signify that my alterations in the plan of this campaign have been approved by the King, but that his Majesty trusts the operations of this army, intended for the recovery of the province of Pensilvania, will be finished in time for me to co-operate with the northern army. It is with much concern that I am to answer that I cannot flatter myself I shall be able to act up to the King's expectations in this particular, as my progress, independent of opposition from the enemy's principal army, must be greatly impeded by the prevailing disposition of the inhabitants who, I am sorry to observe, seem to be, excepting a few individuals, strongly in enmity against us; many having taken up arms, and by far the greater number deserted their dwellings, driving off at the same time their stock of cattle and horses.

"Your Lordship takes notice of my acknowledgment that the troops I had last campaign were suitable to the operations. They were no doubt adequate to act against the rebel force at New York, having then no conquests to guard. But in the present extended situation of the King's southern army, an additional strength, and such a one as I had the honour of proposing, I conceive to have been necessary for bringing the war to a conclusion this campaign, which I have not the smallest hope of effecting with my present force. At the same time your Lordship may be assured that no means will be wanting on the part of the general and other officers and soldiers of this army to attain so desirable an end." *Extract. Endorsed*, "Rd. 28th October. No. 13. This was received with No. 12."

LORD DERBY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Aug. 31, Knowsley.—Has heard that a Red Ribband is to be sent out to General Burgoyne as a mark of distinction and a reward for the service he has just performed. General Burgoyne has a strong objection to that particular honour, and Lord Derby knows that he would be greatly obliged to Lord George Germain if any other favour could be sent instead.

THE SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 2, Knowsley.—On the same subject.

The EARL OF CLARENDON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Sep. 2, The Grove. — Gratefully acknowledging the kind attention given to his request, and expressing his conviction that Governor Tryon's "experience, zeal and popularity" will continue to be of service both in the civil and in the military line during the rebellion.

ACCOUNT of the DEFEAT at BENNINGTON.

1777, Sept. 4, Montreal.—Letter so dated, but unsigned and unaddressed, written on the back of a sheet of paper

containing an account in French of the English defeat at Bennington. The whole is docketted, "Affair at Benington."

"St. Leger's retreat, as it is called, turns out to be a down-right flight, if leaving his tents, baggage, ammunition and hiding his artillery can be called so. Nor do I find that it was owing to the cowardice or bad disposition of the Indians that they came away. Nor did they plunder till the camp was abandoned. Then indeed they got drunk with the liquors they found there and afterwards as you may imagine did a great deal of mischief. In short it is a most unaccountable and strange affair. To form some idea of it, I saw a letter from an officer of artillery which mentions that Mr. St. Leger was eight miles on his retreat before he, the officer, knew anything of the matter, tho' he had the charge of the battery, guns, &c., with only twelve men to bring them off. Luckily, indeed, for them and everybody else, not a man stirred from the fort, and it is now said that the rebels in the fort excepted, not another was within forty miles of it."

The French account is as follows :—"Le 10 d'aoust le corps du General Fraser partit du fort Edward pour camper au fort Millar. Le Col. Skeene eut intelligence ce même matin, que le General Warner étoit à Bennington avec 400 rebelles. Mr. Skeene assura le General Burgoyne que s'il vouloit lui donner 500 hommes il repondoit de battre les rebelles, et de raporter baucoup de vivres et *surtout des cheveaux pour les dragons allemands*. Le General, eblouit par les connoisances que le Col. Skeene pretandoit avoir du peys, lui acorda sa demande (contre les sentimens du General Philips et Fraser qui étoit entiérement contre cette expedition) et meme la nomination des troupes. Voici celles qu'il choisit ; 200 dragons allemands du regiment de Reidhesel aux ordres du Col. Beaume, la compagnie du Capitaine Fraser composé de 40 hommes troupes d'elite, 60 Canadiens commandé par M. de la Maudière, 120 royalistes des colonies, commandés par le Col. Peters, 140 sauvages ayant des officiers Canadiens avec eux. Le Col. Beaume commandoit en chef ce detachement sous la direction du Col. Skeene. Il etoit composé vous voyez de 500 hommes qu'on pouvoit nommer troupes d'harlequin, car elle etoit composées de pieces et de morceaux et ne s'entendoient pas. Il partirent le 11 de fort Millar et furent 6 jours pour cette grande expedition. Tous les jours ils eurent des detachements des rebelles pour les attacquer. Le 14 ils entrerent à Bennington. Le Col. Beaume voyant qu'on vouloit le cemer, envoya un courier au General Burgoyne pour demander un renfort. Le General Fraser sachant cette nouvelle, demanda d'etre envoyé en personne avec les troupes legeres. Mais le General Burgoyne l'ordonna d'avancer seulement avec son corps à Sarastoga ; au meme tems il detacha 847 allemands aux ordres du Col. Breman pour soutenir le Col. Beaume. Ils partirent le 15 a 5 heures du matin et n'ariverent a Bennington qu'à 5 heures du soir le 16. Il avoit plut pandant 3 jours auparavant, par con-

sequent les chemins etoit des plus mauvais, neamoins le General Fraser avec ses troupes legeres, s'il avoit été envoyé, auroit arivé à 11 heures du matin et auroit probablement prevenue cette malheureuse affaire. Le Col. Beaume attendant ce renfort se fortifia le mieux qu'il peut. Les rebelles par leurs espions ou plutot par le moyen de faux royalistes que Mons. Skeene avoit admis dans le camp, connurent le nombre du detachement et meme les noms de ceux qui le composoit.

"A 3 heures apres midi le 16 ils commencerent leur attaque au nombre de 4,000 hommes. Mons. de Beaume, qui attandoit le renfort, soutint longtems avec opiniatreté et se defendit comme il peut. Il eut le bras cassé et tous ses dragons tués ou prisonniers. La compagnie de Fraser firent des merveilles, et furent taillies en pieces. Il ne se sauva qu'avec 4 ou 5 hommes, les Canadiens eurent 40 tant tués que prisonniers, les royalistes Americains se comporterent bravement, le Col. Peters fut tué, et presque tout son monde. Les rebelles les assassinèrent apres qu'ils etoient prisonniers !

"Les sauvages croyants qu'ils alloit etre environné se sauverent une demie heure devant le combat, et ne perdirent que 5 hommes dans leur retraite. Apres deux heures de combat le Col. Breman et le renfort arrivé hors d'haleine et fort fatigué, ses deux pieces de canons mouillies. Il attaqua et repousa quelque tems l'enemie, il falloit neamoins ceder aux nombres, et crainte d'etre cemé il battit en retraite. Son detachment se mit en debaudade, comme l'autre, par consequent il perdit boucoup de monde. Voila à peu pres le detail de cette malheureuse affaire. Les sauvages et le peu de Canadiens qui nous restoit s'en sont si decouragés qu'ils ont tous quitté l'armée. Les troupes du Roy n'en sont que plus enragés. Aussitot que nous rencontreront ces geux des rebels, soyez assuré nous en prandront ample vengeance.

"La pluie ayant enporté les ponts, le corps du General Fraser eut ordres de revenir de Sarastoga a Batterskill qui en est eloigné de 3 miles. Il y en a qui veulent attribuer cette retraite a la crainte. Rien de plus faux. L'armée passera le rivier et se mettera en marche pour Albany aussitot qu'elle aura ses vivres. De la vous aurez de mes nouvelles."

Sir George Collier to Lord George Germain.

1777, Oct. 10, "*Rainbow*, at Halifax."—Enclosing an account (not now with the letter) of his successes against the rebels, and stating that on returning from the expedition with Machias, he has been honoured with the public thanks of the Governor and Council. A strong wish has been expressed that he should be appointed governor when a vacancy occurred, and there was talk of a memorial to his Lordship, but this he has stopped, wishing, if ever it should take place, to owe it to his Lordship's goodness alone.

Lord Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, Oct. 18. *Eagle*, Delaware.—Private. Acknowledging his Lordship's letter of August 4, and stating that, not having had any open communication with his brother, he cannot form an opinion upon the decisive issue of the present campaign, which he believes must greatly influence the decisions of the Court of France.

General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain.

1777, Oct. 20, Albany.—Detailing the proceedings of the army under his command since the beginning of September in the same year. Owing to the desertion of the Indians, Canadians, and Provincials, the failure of co-operation with other armies, the reduction of the regular troops by losses to 3,500 men, of whom not 2,000 were British, and to the fact that with only three days' provisions he was invested with an army of 16,000 men, he called a Council of War, where it was unanimously decided to open a treaty with Major-General Gates.

"Your Lordship will see by the papers transmitted herewith (*not now with the letter*) the disagreeable prospect which attended the first overtures, and when the terms concluded are compared, I trust that the spirit of the councils I have mentioned which under such circumstances dictated instead of submitting, will not be refused a share of credit." The writer takes upon himself the measure of crossing the Hudson's River in order to force a passage to Albany. This was done on the 13th and 14th of September. *Copy. Extract.*

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, Oct. 21, Philadelphia.—"The inclosed copies of reports from Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, and Brigadier General Campbell will give your Lordship a particular information of the most material transactions that have passed on the side of New York.

"The very important and brilliant success set forth in No 3 does infinite honour to the General and his troops, and must be attended with the best consequences to his Majesty's service.

"The inclosures Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 have been also transmitted to me by Sir Henry Clinton and am sorry to observe by them the very critical situation of General Burgoyne's army; he no doubt had success on the 19th September, at the same time that action not being decisive would by leaving him a number of wounded to transport accumulate his difficulties in proceeding to Albany.

"I have reason to believe he had a second action on the 7th instant, in which by the enemy's report they were successful, but this remains extremely doubtful, as they are ever ready to propagate the most direct falsehoods upon every occasion.

"Considering the necessity for a strong garrison to be left in this place upon the removal of the army for further operations, after the passage of the river is free, I have desired Sir Henry Clinton to send immediately five battalions from New York for this service. There will then remain with him twelve regular and ten provincial battalions for defence of New York and adjacent ports, in which command I have requested he will continue during the winter, as I propose to fix my headquarters at Philadelphia.

"I also desired that the forts in the Highlands may be demolished, as a proper communication with New York could not be maintained in the winter.

"I beg leave to represent to your Lordship that the casualties which have already happened this campaign, and which may be still expected to increase, will require a supply of 1,500 drafts early in the spring independent of recruits raised by the additional companies, as no essential service can be expected from the latter in their first campaign.

"I am also to request that additional clothing may be sent over for 5,000 provincials, which, by including the new levies expected to be raised in this and the neighbouring provinces, will certainly be wanting." *Extract. Endorsed,* "Rd. 1st December, No. 14."

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, Oct. 22, Philadelphia.—"I am to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's private letter of the 4th of August* and beg the acceptance of my assurances that I am fully sensible of your Lordship's good intentions towards me.

"Your Lordship is pleased to mention the reasons why a mark of the royal favour was not conferred on Lieut. Col. Harcourt. I own I flattered myself and have every reason to believe the officers of this army in general expected that by the return of the packet, Lieut. Col. Harcourt would have been honoured with his Majesty's favour.

"I should not have been so pressing for the return of the senior officers of the Guards, but from the serious inconveniencies of the want of brigadiers in the line.

"This packet has been detained longer than I could have foreseen, from my not having a safe communication with the shipping until the army reached this place; the variety of occurrences since that period has prevented my present dispatches being sooner sent off. Your Lordship will permit me to add, I have never neglected sending the earliest advices that the service on which I was employed would admit of; yet as my public letters must be written with every degree of precaution, they have been sometimes less forward than my wishes for their dispatch.

"The rebels having reported that Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army has surrendered prisoners of war, will no

* Not the one calendared above.

doubt send such accounts to Europe, and I mention this circumstance to your Lordship with my opinion that it is totally false ; tho' I confess from the tenor of General Burgoyne's letters and messages to Sir H. Clinton I apprehend the account the enemy has published of his retreat to be true.

"I was surprized to find the General's declaration in his message to Sir H. Clinton by Captain Campbell, "that he would not have given up his communications with Ticonderoga had he not expected a co-operating army at Albany," since in my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, a copy of which was transmitted to your Lordship in my dispatch of 2nd April, 1777, No. 47, and of which his Majesty was pleased to approve, I positively mentioned that no direct assistance could be given by the southern army. This letter I am assured was received by Sir Guy Carleton and carried by him to Montreal before General Burgoyne's departure from thence.

"There being no prospect of terminating the war to the advantage of Great Britain without another campaign, and not then, unless ample succours are sent from Europe, I am persuaded (leaving smaller objects out of the scale and attending only to those of real magnitude) that I do not exceed when I rate the number requisite to obtain this desirable end at ten thousand men exclusive of the drafts and recruits for the British regiments as mentioned in my dispatch No. 69, and independent of the northern troops. For the armies in New England must be very powerful, and the force to act against the southern province to effect cannot be less than fifteen thousand men besides the strength necessary for the defence of this place and of New York. When your Lordship is pleased to take these opinions into consideration I flatter myself you will find them just.

"I must now beg leave to add a few words relative to my own situation in the important trust I have had the honour to hold, and in the discharge of which I can confidently affirm, that my sole view has been invariably confined to the advancement of his Majesty's interests.

"From the little attention, my Lord, given to my recommendations since the commencement of my command, I am led to hope I may be relieved from this very painful service, wherein I have not the good fortune to enjoy the necessary confidence and support of my superiors, but which I conclude will be extended to Sir H. Clinton, my presumptive successor, or to such other servant as the King may be pleased to appoint. By the return therefore of the packet I humbly request I may receive his Majesty's permission to resign the command." *Extract. Endorsed*, "Rd. 1st December, No. 15."

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, Nov. 30, Philadelphia.—Private. "In consequence of the misfortune that has fallen upon the troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne's command, a considerable

reinforcement from General Gates's corps has joined General Washington. The hopes of the people at large, as well as of the rebel army, are greatly raised from this event, and I am free to own I do not apprehend a successful termination to the war from any advantages his Majesty's troops can gain while the enemy is able to avoid, or unwilling to hazard, a decisive action, which might reduce the leaders in rebellion to make an overture for peace, or that this is to be expected, unless a respectable addition to the army is sent from Europe to act early in the ensuing year, as has been set forth in my dispatches to your Lordship by Lieutenant Colonel Cuyler, when circumstances were in some degree different. If this measure is judged to be inexpedient, or cannot be carried into execution, the event of the war will be very doubtful.

"Were any one of the three principal objects, viz., New York, Rhode Island, or Philadelphia given up, to strengthen the defence of the other two, one corps to act offensively might be found; in the meantime such a cession would operate on the minds of the people strongly against his Majesty's interests. But should your Lordship find it advisable for the army to act entirely on the defensive during the next campaign, in order to prepare a force in Europe for the succeeding one, which may be decisive, the present acquisitions will, I trust, be preserved.

"This measure would undoubtedly expose the enemy to much distress for the support of their armies, from the difficulties of obtaining exterior supplies, as also from the continuance of a very heavy expence for their subsistence; it might on the other hand, by protracting the war, produce events which it may not be prudent to risk.

"As a duty I owe to your Lordship, and in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I candidly declare my opinion, that in the apparent temper of the Americans a considerable addition to the present force will be requisite for effecting any essential change in their disposition, and the re-establishment of the King's authority; and that this army, acting on the defensive, will be fully employed to maintain its present possessions." *Duplicate.*

William Pulteney to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 6, London.—Offers to go immediately to Paris and ascertain from Dr. Franklyn the lowest terms on which America will lay down its arms. "Your lordship may easily conceive that I do not mean to impose upon Dr. Franklyn in order to discover his secrets. If I go I shall tell him that I come at my own desire but authorized to converse with him on the subject, and I shall write to my correspondent to meet me at Paris. Dr. Franklyn knows that I have always respected him when it was the fashion to entertain other opinions. He knows that I have always wished the most perfect freedom of America with respect to taxation and charters; but he knows, too, that I wished the indissoluble

union of Great Britain and America as being the interest of America as well as of Britain, and when I conversed with him he himself had no other wish."

A. Turnbull to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 8, St. Augustine.—A long letter relating to the proceedings of Governor Tonyn against the settlers at Smyrna, whose affairs, owing to his harsh and illegal treatment of the settlement, have become very much disordered.

William Pulteney to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 9, London.—"I enter fully into the difficulty which your Lordship has suggested that the person I mentioned [Dr. Franklin] may decline any explanations and claim on that account a merit with the court of France. But tho' I meant not to impose upon him, I certainly meant to feel my ground in such a manner before explaining myself as to make it impossible that any improper use could be made of my visit. I could do this very easily by means of the person I proposed as an assistant; and I should have regulated myself afterwards in every step by the dispositions which I discovered in the opposite party. I am confident that the business could have been conducted in such a manner as to avoid every risk and inconvenience, and yet might have given a chance of obtaining very important lights. If a treaty is already concluded with France every proceeding of this sort would be vain, but I hope matters are still open, tho' the late events will, I fear, hasten such a treaty if it has been hitherto retarded by the hesitation of the court of France.

"Every delay on our part is not only dangerous on that account, but also because the situation of the Americans is such at present that their demands are likely to rise every hour.

"If a declaration by Parliament upon what terms the colonys may be restored to peace is seriously thought of, it would certainly be of the last importance to know with some degree of certainty before hand that our terms are such as will satisfy them. If this knowledge cannot be come at with tolerable certainty, I admit that it will be proper to try the experiment of offering in that manner such terms as according to all probable conjecture will give satisfaction, for our situation is such that there is danger in not proceeding immediately to take some step of that sort, sufficient to counterbalance the risk of mischief from taking it. But if we should mistake what will satisfy, I am afraid our well-meant declaration may serve as a spur to France to conclude immediately with them on better terms, as merit will be claimed for having rejected your authentick public offer. I must therefore repeat that every possible means should be used to know in the first place what will satisfy.

"I cannot believe that the person in question is more inclined to unite with France than with us, but I know that he is much exasperated, and therefore a great deal of soothing from a person in whom he has some confidence may be of consequence, for great events often depend upon small circumstances.

"I am convinced that independence is not so much for the interest of the Americans as the terms which this country may safely give them. This, however, being contrary to their present prejudices, is a proposition which they will not adopt unless it is first adopted by those in whom they confide, and will require much discussion with them. But a great deal depends even upon the words used in expressing the concessions we mean to make, and I am persuaded that if the conciliatory proposition of Lord North had been canvassed with an American beforehand it would have been so expressed as to convey without ambiguity what I believe was meant by it, and the effects would have been very important.

"I own I doubt if it is our interest to treat in America rather than here. I know they thought it gave them great advantage in treating that Commissioners were sent out. Our negotiators being limited by instructions cannot qualify, soften, or explain anything that may seem harsh, and those who wish to disappoint all treaty, will by that means find openings to misrepresent the whole, whereas if the treaty were here, we should have the game much more in our own hands. Ability for negotiation is the gift of nature to very few men, and however high the Commissioners stand in the class of military and honourable men, I know it was very much doubted if they were likely to succeed in the other line.

"I am told besides that the Americans are extremely irritated at some attempts which they believe were made to corrupt and disunite some of them pending a negotiation in that country, which will make them more difficult for the future in agreeing to treat there at all.

"Your Lordship will excuse the zeal which has prompted me to throw out these loose ideas, and will permit me to add that in a matter of such magnitude and importance, and so critically circumstanced, I shall always think it my indispensable duty to postpone every consideration of what concerns myself, if I can be in the least degree useful by my services."

Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe.

1777, Dec. 11, Whitehall.—"I am to acquaint you that I had the honour of laying before the King your separate letter of the 22nd October, wherein you desire his Majesty's permission to quit your command.

"His Majesty received your request with concern. But as the particulars of Lieut. General Burgoyne's situation are

still unknown, and your own campaign is not finished, I am not authorised at present to signify his Majesty's commands upon that subject. I beg leave, however, to assure you that there will not be any avoidable delay in coming to a decision upon it, as well as on the several parts of your dispatches, and on the plan of operations for the future conduct of the war, and that decision shall be transmitted to you as soon as possible." *Copy. Endorsed,* "Recd. at Philadelphia, 27th February, 1778. No. 16."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1777, Dec. 11, Whitehall.—"It having been thought improper to detain the packet, it is determined that she shall sail with the first fair wind.

"I am, by this circumstance of her sudden departure, prevented from returning a methodical and circumstantial answer to the several letters with which you favoured me from the head of Elk, from headquarters, German Town, and Philadelphia.

"I cannot, however, permit the vessel to be sent off without acknowledging the receipt of the above dispatches, and congratulating you upon the signal successes which have attended the army under your command since the debarkation at Elk Ferry; and I shall only remark that while you so justly contend that those successes are undoubted vouchers of the good conduct of the General Officers and of the bravery of the soldiers, you ought not by any means to decline the commendations to which you yourself have evidently an indispensable claim from the judgment, ardour and military skill which you exhibited on the march, and in the several engagements.

"And I have the pleasure of being commanded to inform you that his Majesty is duly sensible of the large share of praise to which you are entitled on those accounts.

"Whether I consider the advantages that were proposed to be derived from the progress and successful operations of the Canada Army, or the effect which our disappointment will have on the minds of the rebels, I cannot but feel the most poignant concern and mortification at the strong, and, I fear, too well-grounded reports of the misfortune which has happened to Lieutenant General Burgoyne and his army. Should those reports prove true in their full extent, so heavy a misfortune will be deeply felt by his Majesty and the whole nation; and a material alteration in the plan of carrying on the war must necessarily take place. But until the effect of your operations this campaign is fully known, it is impossible for his Majesty to come to any determination, or to send you any particular instructions.

"Your zeal for his Majesty's service will have already excited you to endeavour to obviate the inconveniencies which may result from the failure of that expedition. And as your

wisdom must immediately have discovered the necessity of a particular attention being paid to the island of New York and Rhode Island, his Majesty trusts that their preservation will be effectually consulted by you.

"The attack at Red Bank reflects the greatest credit on the officers and soldiers. The death of men who behaved so gallantly, is a loss ever to be lamented, and it is to be hoped that the survivors have since had the satisfaction of seeing their courage and ardour rewarded with the deserved success.

"Sir Henry Clinton's conduct in the expedition up the North River does him the greatest honour. The plan was most judicious and it was executed with equal ability. The officers and troops merit the greatest commendations, and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that his Majesty highly approves the spirit and vigour with which they effectuated that very difficult and important service. It is only to be lamented that Sir Henry Clinton was not earlier in a condition to undertake an enterprize, the success of which must have been of the most signal advantage to General Burgoyne's operations.

"The King has been pleased to express his approbation of Major General Vaughan's conduct, and it is a very sincere happiness to me to be able to assure you that his Majesty is perfectly satisfied with the services which have been rendered him on the several occasions mentioned in your late dispatch by the officers and men, British, Foreign, and Provincial." *Copy. Endorsed,* "Recd. at Philadelphia, 27th February, 1778. No. 17."

William Pulteney to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 12, London.—Has suggested to Mr. Dempster and Sir Adam Ferguson, who are on their way to Paris, that they should converse with Dr. Franklyn. Sir Adam will write to Lord George Germain asking leave to wait upon him to-morrow. Unfortunately, neither of them have any intimacy with Dr. Franklyn, but they are men of the first class in point of integrity and honour, as well as of public spirit.

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 13, Philadelphia.—"Lord Cornwallis having applied for leave of absence to attend his private business in Europe, I take this opportunity of sending my dispatches by his lordship in the *Brilliant*, armed ship.

"Since my last, the enemy being joined by upwards of 4,000 men, with cannon, from the northern army, assembled their whole force in a strong camp at Whitemarsh, covered in part by Sandy Run, fourteen miles distant from hence, with their right to Wissahichon Creek.

'Upon a presumption that a forward move might tempt the enemy, after receiving such reinforcement, to give battle for the recovery of this place, or that a vulnerable part might be found to admit of an attack upon their camp, the army marched on the night of the 4th instant, the van commanded by Lieut. General Earl Cornwallis, the main body by Lieut. General Knyphausen, and on the next morning took post upon Chesnut Hill in front of the enemy's right. The enemy soon after detached a corps of 1,000 men to attack the Light Infantry posted in front under the command of Lieut. Col. Abercomby (*sic*), the consequence of which was that upon the first onset of the second battalion of Light Infantry, and part of the first, they were instantly defeated, with the loss of between thirty and forty men killed and wounded, and a brigadier made prisoner.

"Not judging it advisable to attack the enemy's right, the army, having remained in the same position during the 6th, marched at one o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the van and main body commanded as before, to take post on Edge Hill, one mile distant from the enemy's left. A corps of 1,000 men, composed of riflemen and other troops from the enemy's northern army, were found by the vanguard posted on this hill with cannon. Lord Cornwallis immediately attacked with the 1st Light Infantry, supported by the 33rd Regiment, and defeated this body with a considerable loss of officers and men, their cannon narrowly escaping. The thickness of the wood where the rebels were posted, concealing them from the view of the Light Infantry, occasioned a loss of one officer killed, three wounded, and between twenty and thirty men killed and wounded from their first fire.

"Major General Grey with his brigade, Light Infantry of the Guards, Queen's Rangers, Hessian and Anspach Chasseurs took post upon the left in front of the enemy's center; a detachment to harrass this corps was immediately routed by the General's advanced guard, composed of his light troops, with a loss to the enemy of fifty men killed and wounded.

"Your Lordship will see by the inclosed return the loss sustained by the King's troops in the above mentioned attacks.

"The enemy's camp being as strong on their centre and left as upon the right, their seeming determination to hold this position, and unwilling to expose the troops longer to the weather in this inclement season, without tents or baggage of any kind for officers or men, I returned on the 8th to this place. The rearguard under the command of Lord Cornwallis quitted Edge Hill on the right about four o'clock in the afternoon without the smallest appearance of the enemy; and Major General Grey retiring from his post at the same time without the least molestation, the army arrived in this camp at nine o'clock in the evening.

"On the 11th at daybreak Lord Cornwallis, with Major General Grant under his command, passed the Schuylkill

with a strong corps and the waggons of the army to collect forage for the winter supply, which his Lordship accomplished and returned yesterday evening.

"The enemy having quitted their camp at Whitemarsh some hours before Lord Cornwallis marched from hence, his Lordship met the head of their army at a bridge they had thrown over the Schuylkill near to Matson's Ford, about three miles below Swedes Ford, and fifteen miles distant from hence. Over this bridge the enemy had passed eight hundred men, who were immediately dispersed by his Lordship's advanced troops, obliging part of them to recross it, which occasioned such an alarm to their army that they broke the bridge, and his Lordship proceeded to forage without meeting with any interruption.

"The enemy's intention seems to be to take their winter quarters at Carlisle, York and Lancaster, and probably they may have a corps at Reading, and another at Burlington in Jersey.

"The 71st Regiment and Regiment of Mirbach are immediately to re-embark to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton at New York, upon his representation of a want of troops for the defence of that post, and I propose to put the army immediately into winter quarters in this town, where there is sufficient room.

"Major General Daniel Jones is arrived at New York, and orders will be sent to him to join this part of the army." *Copy* (No. 76). *Endorsed*, "Recd. 17th January, 1778."

Lord North to Lord George Germain.

1777, Dec. 25, Downing Street.—"Captain Foy, who passed half an hour with me this morning, mentioned to me an idea of which Sir Guy Carleton was very full some years ago, of raising two battalions of Canadians. He is of opinion that two battalions, consisting each of 700 men, might be raised with ease, that this measure would afford the means of attaching many of the noblesse, and be extremely agreeable and popular in the colony; that these battalions would be soon raised and would be of great service in the present troubles. He added that it was in his opinion very feasible to send a despatch to Canada during the winter by the way of Halifax. I own that I liked the proposition of raising a Canadian corps. [It] pleased me when it was first proposed, and I should imagine that the objections then made to it will be silenced by the actual situation of the colony and the necessity of our affairs in North America. I submit this proposition to your Lordship's consideration, and will, if you approve of it, mention it to his Majesty.

"I trouble your Lordship with several other letters upon the subject of new corps. The Duke of Gordon and Lord William's letters were intended to be sent to your Lordship, and will shew you that Col. Gordon's plan is likely to fail, and

I much question whether the King will consent to the Duke of Gordon's proposal in the extent he desires, but perhaps if Lord William is put at the head of the corps his Grace may willingly submit to necessary restrictions. . . . When I see your Lordship to-morrow I shall wish to have your opinion upon these letters.

Sir William Howe's Army, Campaign of 1777.

1777.—The following is a synopsis of the paper.

His return, March 20. Serjeants and drummers not included. British, 16,030, of whom 2,762 sick; Germans, 9,205, of whom 1,607 sick; recruits, 3,622: total, 28,857.

Return of May 8. British, 15,914, of whom 2,617 sick; foreign, 9,251, of whom 1,607 sick; provincials, 3,000; recruits, 2,579: total, 30,744.

July 7. States that he meant to leave at New York, 2,782 provincials and 5,524 British: total, 8,306.

Return of October 13, after battles of Brandywine and German Town. British, 11,843; foreign, 3,953; killed in the two battles, 146; therefore carried with him from New York, 15,942.

General Burgoyne.

1777 or 1778.—Observations, memoranda and evidence upon General Burgoyne's expedition in 1777.

"To withstand the communication of papers relative to the expedition under General Burgoyne would be a very difficult point after all that has already passed on that subject, and yet if General Burgoyne had not in the first instance appealed to the public, I think it would have been a right measure in administration to have opposed it.

"His conduct requires and ought to undergo an inquiry, but it should be an inquiry by officers, and it should wait his arrival.

"After what he has thought fit to lay to the charge of others, he has no right to complain if ministers do not expose themselves in his behalf even to a temporary censure; if, therefore, it seems expedient to admit the inquiry at present, it will be necessary, firstly, that it should be called for by the opposition; secondly, that it should not be begun and put off after the papers are produced; thirdly, that the communication should be complete.

"The defence of the expedition, as far as it relates to the administration, depends upon shewing that the object to be attained was important, that it was attainable with the force employed, that the necessary preparations were made, that the orders left a sufficient discretion in the commander.

"The first and second points are left very imperfect in the papers prepared for the House, and it will be necessary to add to them General Carleton's letter of the 22nd October, 1776, referring to General Burgoyne for information and General

Burgoyne's plan for the expedition on the 28th February, 1777. The last is essentially necessary, because it accounts for the conciseness of the instructions which did not require to be very ample when they only related to a plan formed by the person to whom they were addressed. It appears also from this paper that a co-operation of Howe's army was not expected, but the expedition undertaken as an independent enterprize to be executed by the force allotted for it.

"If there are any other papers which shew the utility and the practicability of the expedition, it would be proper to examine them.

"The third point is very fully made out by the correspondance, and so indeed is the fourth. But the separate letter from Albany is a more direct proof than any produced, though it contains a very strong assertion of the orders being peremptory."

General Howe.

1777 or 1778.—Paper entitled "Hints for the management of an intended enquiry." This memorandum relates to the conduct of the American campaign by General Howe, and consists of the following queries, with observations upon each :—

Campaign 1776.

1. Why did he not follow up his victory at the White Plains, and vigorously pursue Washington's scattered army through the Jersies ?

2. Why did he not cross the Delaware and take possession of the city of Philadelphia ?

3. Why did he make so injudicious a cantonment of his troops as to scatter them in different quarters at considerable distances from each other, from New York to Trentown, near 80 miles ?

4. Not to rely on the injudicious step of giving the command of the front of his cantonments to Hessians totally unacquainted with the language of the country, and therefore very improper for such a command—Why did he leave for the defence of the front, the most important and dangerous post directly opposite to and in the face of the enemy's main force, an inferior command of only 1,300 men, when there was only a river between them and he knew the enemy had boats prepared to pass it at pleasure ?

5. As he thought proper to leave so small a party at so exposed and dangerous a post, why did he not put it in some kind of defence, that it might make a resistance until it could be supported from the other posts, especially as there was a spot of ground formed by nature for the purpose commanding the town and every other spot of ground around it.

6. After this unfortunate blunder when the troops again took possession of Trentown, why did he not then fortify and retain it, and drive Washington out of the Jersey ?

7. Why did he put the nation to the expence of building pontoons, making carriages for his flat bottomed boats, transport them to Brunswick and make every preparation for crossing the Delaware, pass as far as Hillsborough and not after all go over, tho' within 20 miles of the river ?

8. Why did he not fight Washington at this time and drive him over the Delaware before him ?

9. Why did he put this fine army, both foot and cavalry, in the hottest season in the year on shipboard, committing them unnecessarily to the risks and dangers of the ocean in order to go to Pensylvania by water up the Chesapeak, near 700 miles, in the very season of the year when a direct headwind, the south-west, never fails to blow with the constancy of a trade wind ?

10. When he arrived at the mouth of the Delaware with difficulty, and after his troops and horses had been three weeks on board, and he found the south-west prevail, why did he not pass up the Delaware and land either above or below New Castle, where the ground for 50 miles was low and proper for the purpose ?

11. Why did he not pursue Washington's army after the defeat at Brandywine, when his troops were scattered in small parties flying different roads, not 4,000 in any one body ?

12. Why did he waste a fortnight in going from Brandywine to Philadelphia, when he might have gone it in two days ?

13. Why did he not suffer Col. Sterling, when he requested by letter, to take Red Bank, after he had taken Billingsport ?

14. Why did he not attack Washington at the Valley Forge ?

LORD SUFFOLK to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Jan. 15, Duke Street, Westminster.—"It is not from want of regard or respect that I intrude upon you at such a time.* On the contrary both prompt me to do it, and (if you will forgive and allow the expression) still higher considerations encourage the liberty I take. Zeal for the public welfare urges me to endeavour to rouse your attention even in the first agonies of grief. I shall confine myself at present to saying that we won't be idle during your absence ; but we can't go far without your assistance. We may make some little progress, but the execution must depend upon you. Every motive, public and private, forcibly calls upon you to bear up ! It would imply diffidence in your resolution to say more."

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Jan. 17, Philadelphia.—"I have the honour to inform your lordship that since the receipt of your dispatch No. 20, none of the general officers serving in this district of North America, excepting Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, have applied for leave of absence to return to Britain.

* Lady George Germain died January 15th, 1778.

Sir Henry Clinton remaining at my request in the important command of New York, Lord Cornwallis only has gone home. And that I may not counteract his Majesty's intentions in sending out Sir Henry Clinton last spring, to succeed to the command in case of my demise or incapacity, I am to request the King's pleasure for the rule of my conduct in case of a future application.

"Upon the supposition of my expected removal, I am to make my excuse for giving your lordship this trouble; but should that event from any unforeseen cause, not take place, I should be at a loss how to proceed in a matter of that moment without the knowledge of his Majesty's pleasure." *Extract. Endorsed :*—"Recd. 14th March. No. 21."

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1778, Jan. 19, Philadelphia.—Recommends that, as the most direct communication with the army will be in all probability by Philadelphia, all packets in future may be ordered to proceed directly to the River Delaware. *Separate letter. Duplicate.*

Lord Suffolk to Lord George Germain.

1778, Jan. 20, Duke Street, Westminster.—"I was unwilling to return an answer to your letter from Knole 'till the impressions under which it was written might be supposed to have a little subsided. Allow me now to express my hopes that calmer and maturer reflection will have convinced your lordship that it can neither be for the King's advantage or your own credit that you should retire at such a moment as the present. On the contrary, I wait with anxious expectation to hear that you mean shortly to come amongst us again, and avail yourself of the best relief from private affliction, public busyness. These are not only my sentiments and wishes but those of others who have great respect for your lordship. Their judgment may be more correct, but their consideration or your lordship cannot be greater than mine."

Mr. [James] Hutton to Lord George Germain.

1778, Jan. 25, Queen's Row, Pimlico.—I am just arrived from Paris. Last Wednesday "one of the American delegates at whose house I was, called me on one side and let me read a short paper he held in his hand which I ask'd him to give me, but he refused it, and I was interrupted in the reading it by a Continental navy officer who was just going to set out. The contents of this paper were to this strange effect:—

'That if I meant to save England, I should procure 'from the King a sign-manual declaring the independency 'of America, *but that it must be done within ten days;* 'that in that case he was not unwilling, if his Majesty

'would employ him therein, to go over to the Congress 'to labour such an alliance with England and America 'as might be very acceptable.'

"I thought there was an extravagance in this, which I verily believe came from a preferable love for England in comparison of France, and indeed a kind of love in itself. The thing that struck me was the time fixed." I fancy there is something brewing between France and America, but more of this when I see you. This gentleman advised me to "have wings." I set out next morning and was only an hour and a half at Calais. I was just 73 hours from Paris to London.

MR. [JAMES] HUTTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Jan. 26, Queen's Row, Pimlico.—Referring to his letter of the previous day. His idea is that "there is a treaty on the carpet," but that those of the American agents who wish well to England hope Congress will demur, and believe that England could even yet prevent it.

MR. J. FISHER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Feb. 2, London.—On the subject of America.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1778, Feb. 4, Whitehall.—"In my letter to you of the 11th of December I acquainted you that I had the honour to lay before the King your separate letter to me of the 22nd of October, wherein you desire his Majesty's permission to quit your command, and that his Majesty had received your request with concern; but as the particulars of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's situation were then unknown, and your campaign not finished, his Majesty had not authorized me to signify his commands upon that subject.

"I have since received and laid before the King a letter from Lieut.-General Burgoyne, dated at Albany, the 20th of October, inclosing the Articles of Convention between him and Major General Gates; and also your dispatches of the 13th of December, by which his Majesty was fully informed of the final closing of the campaign, and was therefore graciously pleased to order me to signify to you his royal acquiescence in your request of leave to resign your command, provided Sir Henry Clinton shall be in America when this letter reaches your hands, to whom you are to deliver up the command, and put him in possession of all the orders and instructions which you have received from me or any other of the King's servants respecting the troops, or the operations in which they have been or were to be employed.

"His Majesty also relies upon your furnishing him with every further information which you shall conceive may be of use, and advantageous to the King's service. But in case Sir Henry Clinton shall have received leave of absence from

you, and be already sailed from America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do remain with the army untill Sir Henry Clinton's return, or the arrival of such other officer as his Majesty shall think proper to appoint to succeed you." *Copy. Endorsed* :—" Recd. at Philadelphia the 27th March. No. 19, written after No. 18 [*not now with the letters*] was received."

LORD BATHURST to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN ?].

1778, Feb. 16.—" Having in a letter to Lord North fully explained my apprehensions of the fatal consequences of the two letters of the 4th of this month (which I did not see till the 14th) to Sir William Howe and Sir H. Clinton, I have desired him humbly to request the King's permission to have my name no longer stand in the list of his confidential servants. I am, therefore, to beg your lordship to give orders that no more green boxes be sent to my house."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

1778, Feb. 18, Whitehall.—Incloses duplicate of his letter of the 4th instant.

" I now avail myself of the opportunity of a ship of war, dispatched express for the purpose of conveying to you and Lord Howe, in the speediest manner, advice of the salutary measure under the consideration of Parliament, of which you will be fully informed by my separate letter of this day's date, to add to what I have expressed in my former letter, that his Majesty, from the experience he has had of your zeal and attachment to his service, has the fullest confidence that whilst you continue in the command, you will lay hold of every opportunity of putting an end to the rebellion, and inducing a submission to legal government, by a due exertion of the force under your orders. Every means will be employed to augment that force, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that his Majesty has received the most uncommon testimonies of affection and support in the prosecution of the war, if the obstinacy of the Colonies in rejecting the generous terms now held out to them shall make it necessary to continue it, not only from Parliament but from the people in general.

" Several noblemen and gentlemen of extensive influence and some great cities have undertaken to raise new corps, and in London, Bristol, and many other towns, considerable sums have been subscribed to be given in bounties to recruits for the old regiments ; nevertheless, as the season must be far advanced before so large a reinforcement can be sent out as might be sufficient to enable you to act at any distance from the sea coast, his Majesty's intentions are that you should begin your operations as early as possible by detaching such a number of troops as can be spared, consistent with the defensive plan you have proposed, and, in conjunction with

the fleet, may be sufficient to attack the seaports in the province of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, for the purpose of destroying their ships of war and privateers, by which the trade of this kingdom has been so greatly annoyed, and incapacitating them from fitting out others with the like intent.

"You will therefore lose no time in concerting with the Admiral the best means of effecting this very essential service." *Copy. Endorsed,* "Recd. at Philadelphia, 27th March, No. 20."

Sir William Howe.

1778, February.—Precis, in Lord George Germain's handwriting, of correspondence with Sir William Howe, from October 9, 1775, to February, 1778; giving the dates of the letters from Sir William and of Lord George's replies thereto, the last of which, dated Feb. 4, 1778, signifies the King's acceptance of Sir William's request for leave to resign the command, provided Sir Henry Clinton should be in America when the letter arrived there, and to whom Sir William Howe was to deliver up the command.

Also. Notes, by Lord George Germain, on points connected with Sir William Howe's conduct of the American campaign, during the time of his command.

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1778, March 5, Philadelphia.—"It gave me pain to learn by the honour of your Lordship's dispatch No. 23 that my application to return home had given his Majesty one moment's concern. I meant not to throw any difficulties in the way of the King's service, which I have ever been and ever shall be most zealous to promote, as far as my person and abilities can carry me. But in the present instance conceiving the confidence of his Majesty's minister to be withdrawn, which I have the presumption to believe I once possessed, I considered it a duty I owed to the King, the minister, the public and to myself humbly to request my dismission." *Separate letter. Copy. Endorsed:*—"Rd. 26th April. No. 22."

William Eden to Lord George Germain.

[1778,] March 5, Downing Street.—Concerning the proposed insertion of his name as one of the three Commissioners to be appointed by his Majesty to treat with the American Colonies together with the two Commanders-in-Chief, and agreeing to accept the post if chosen.

Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton.

1778, March 8, Whitehall.—"Most Secret." "In my last letter I informed you that the command resigned by Sir William Howe had, by the King's wish, been delivered over to

yourself, which shows in the highest degree the great confidence felt by his Majesty in your abilities. My circular letter of this day's date will inform you of what has been done by the King and Parliament towards opening the way for the return of peace, and if that be true which has been so repeatedly declared by the Colony Assemblies, and is still asserted by many persons who pretend to be well informed of the dispositions of the inhabitants, that the generality of the people desire nothing more than a full security for the enjoyment of all their rights and liberties under the British Constitution, there can be no room to doubt that the generous terms now held out to them will be gladly embraced, and that a negociation will immediately take place upon the arrival of the New Commission, and be so far advanced before the season will admit of military operations as to supersede the necessity of another campaign. So speedy and happy a termination of the war could not fail to give the greatest pleasure to the King, as the peace, prosperity, and happiness of all his subjects has ever been the most ardent wish of his royal breast, But however desirous his Majesty is of putting an end to this unhappy contest by the way of negociation, and notwithstanding the just ground there is to expect such will be the effect of the present measure, his Majesty does not think fit to slacken any preparation which has been judged necessary for carrying on the war, it being his Majesty's firm purpose to prosecute it with the utmost vigour, in case the Colonies shall obstinately persist in their refusal to return to their allegiance and pay obedience to the constitutional authority of Government. It is therefore proper that I should now acquaint you with his Majesty's intentions respecting the operations of the next campaign, should another campaign become necessary, as far as his Majesty has yet determined upon them. The unfortunate issue of the Canada expedition and the unbroken state of the rebel force would make it necessary to have at least as great an army in the field to effect anything of importance the next campaign, as that which Sir William Howe commanded in the last; at the same time the keeping possession of Philadelphia, in addition to the posts we before occupied, must occasion a considerable deduction from the force which was then employed in active service. Every possible effort will be made to send out reinforcements, and it is with great satisfaction I can inform you that his Majesty has received the most uncommon testimonies of affection and support in the prosecution of the war. Several new corps have been voted by Parliament, and many noblemen and gentlemen of extensive influence, and some great cities, have undertaken to raise them, and in London, Bristol, and many other towns, considerable sums have been contributed by voluntary subscription, to be given in counties to recruits for the old regiments, so that I am not without hopes we shall be able to send out, in the course of the summer, ten or twelve thousand British soldiers, to

which I expect will be added a regiment or two of Germans. But, considerable as such a reinforcement, if we can effect it, must be allowed to be in our present circumstances, his Majesty is nevertheless of opinion that the war must be prosecuted upon a different plan from that upon which it has hitherto been carried on. Care must be taken to provide for the security of all our American possessions, some additional force must be sent from hence to Canada, as well to secure that province as to annoy the rebellious Colonies on that side and oblige them to keep a considerable body of their troops on foot for the defence of their frontier. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia must likewise be strengthened, and the Floridas must not be left exposed to any sudden attack. The additional force intended to be sent to Canada will consist of one new raised British regiment and two German regiments, making together about 3,000 men, a detachment of artillery will be sent to Newfoundland, and it is proposed that the Governor should raise a corps in the island to remain there for its defence. Two of the new raised regiments, together with the 70th, will be sent to Halifax, and two others of the new levies will be sent to St. Augustine and Pensacola. When these detachments are made, the reinforcement, exclusive of recruits, to be sent to the army under your immediate command, will be reduced to five of the new Highland regiments, and the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments of 1,000 each.

"Three entire Highland regiments and five companies of each of the other two are under orders to embark on the 2nd April in the Clyde, and if no change happens in the situation of affairs in Europe, the other five companies of those two regiments, together with the Edinburgh and Glasgow, will follow as soon as they can be completed. It is therefore recommended to you, if you should find it impracticable to bring Mr. Washington to a general and decisive action early in the campaign, to relinquish the idea of carrying on offensive operations against the rebels within land, and as soon as the season will permit, to embark such a body of troops as can be spared from the defence of the posts you may think necessary to maintain, on board of transports under the conduct of a proper number of the King's ships, with orders to attack the posts on the coast from New York to Nova Scotia and to seize or destroy every ship or vessel in the different creeks or harbors, wherever it is found practicable to penetrate, as also to destroy all wharfs and stores and materials for ship building so as to incapacitate them from raising a marine or continuing their depredations upon the trade of this kingdom, which has been already so much annoyed by their ships of war and privateers. This service, it is imagined, will best be executed by two different armaments; the principal one to set out from New York and the other from Halifax, that while the Connecticut coast is attacked on the one side,

the like attempts may be made on the ports in the Province of Maine and New Hampshire on the other, and both armaments unite or act in concert for the attack of Boston and the other ports in the Massachusetts Bay. And it may be hoped that the troops and ships at Rhode Island will find a favorable opportunity while these operations are carrying on, to destroy the shipping in Providence River and those in the other creeks which branch out of Rhode Island Harbour. The number of troops and ships necessary for this service must be left to you and the Admiral to determine, but I am commanded to say to you that the object appears to the King of such importance, that should you be of opinion a number of troops sufficient to ensure success in the different enterprizes cannot be spared with safety to Philadelphia, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do consult with the Admiral upon the most proper situation for establishing a post upon the Delawar River, if you shall think a post upon that river necessary, capable of being defended by a small body of men and of giving protection to the ships which it may be necessary to station in that river, and that when you shall have taken such measures as you and the Admiral shall judge necessary and effectual for obstructing the navigation of the river by the rebels, you do withdraw the troops from Philadelphia, and leaving a sufficient garrison in the post you may have established, embark the rest and proceed to New York, with such part as you shall not think necessary for the service above mentioned. I would not, however, be understood to convey it to you as his Majesty's opinion that the possession of Philadelphia is an object of small importance; on the contrary, his Majesty conceives the possession of it may be attended with many advantages, and that the abandoning of it may be productive of some ill consequences, and therefore it is his Majesty's wish that you may be able to retain it, and he consents to your withdrawing from it only upon the supposition that the service I have been pointing out to you cannot, in your opinion, be effected while it is retained. When these operations on the sea coasts of the northern provinces are concluded, which it is supposed they will be before the month of October, it is the King's intention that an attack should be made upon the southern Colonies, with a view to the conquest and possession of Georgia and South Carolina. [*The various accounts we receive from those provinces (Georgia and South Carolina) concur in representing the distress of the inhabitants and their general disposition to return to their allegiance. A large supply of arms will therefore be sent out for the purpose of arming such of them as shall join the King's troops, and indeed it is the King's wish that every means were employed to raise and embody the well affected inhabitants in all the provinces where any posts are maintained, or operations carried on.

* The passages in square brackets are so enclosed in the MS. and noted in the margin, "Extract."

It cannot be expected that farmers or men of property accustomed to a life of ease will engage in the military service for an indefinite time, or expose themselves to be carried away to places remote from their own possessions, although they would readily enough take up arms as an embodied militia, officer'd by their own countrymen, and act with the King's troops throughout a campaign, or defend a post in the absence of the army; such appear to be the methods taken by the rebels for strengthening their army, and I am commanded to recommend the experiment to your consideration; and while I am upon this subject I think it proper also to suggest to you the great advantages which must follow from drawing over from the rebels the Europeans in their service. Especial encouragement should be held out to them to desert and join the King's forces, whether they bring their arms or come without them; and all apprentices and indented servants who desert to us should be assured that when the war is over, attention will be given to their circumstances, and that their loyalty will not be suffered to go unrewarded.]

"The ideas entertained here of the most effectual mode of making an attack upon the southern provinces lead to the taking possession of Georgia, as soon as the reinforcements arrive or the conclusion of the expeditions against the northern provinces will admit of your making a detachment for that purpose. A corps of 2,000 men it is supposed would be fully sufficient to take and keep possession of Savannah, and when the time of their departure is fixed, it will be proper to send orders to General Prevost at St. Augustine to march a detachment of that garrison with the Florida Rangers and a party of Indians to attack the southern frontiers, while Mr. Stuart brings down a large body of Indians towards Augusta. The submission of that province cannot fail to be the immediate consequence of these movements, and as great numbers of the back inhabitants would probably avail themselves of the communication being opened with Georgia to join the King's troops there, such a force might be collected as, when the troops destined for the attack of Charles Town should arrive, would be capable of penetrating into South Carolina between Mount Pleasant and Parisburg, to take possession of that tract of pine land which separates the plantations on the sea coasts from the back settlements, thereby dividing the province in the middle and opening an easy communication with the loyal inhabitants in North Carolina, and by cutting off all succour and retreat from the planters on the sea coast, reduce them to the necessity of abandoning or being abandoned by their slaves, or submitting to the King's authority. The number of troops that it is supposed would be sufficient to reduce Charles Town is about 5,000, for altho' the entrance of the harbour and the line of the town which fronts to it is strongly fortified, yet it is imagined that by landing on James's Island, which is accessible to ships of a small draught of water by Stone Inlet, Fort Johnson

might be reduced, and a passage secured thro' Wappoo Creek for the flat bottom'd boats to get into Ashley River without danger, or that the harbor would be so far opened that the ships, by taking advantage of a fair wind, might pass the fort on Sullivan's Island and the batteries at White Point, and land the troops behind the works, where the town is entirely open and no resistance to be expected. [Could a small corps be detached at the same time to land at Cape Fear and make an impression on North Carolina, it is not doubted that large numbers of the inhabitants would flock to the King's standard, and that his Majesty's Government would be restored in that province also. But your own knowledge of those provinces, and the information you can collect from the naval and military officers that have been upon service there, will enable you to give the officer to whom you may entrust the command better instructions than I can pretend to point out to you at this distance. I will therefore only further observe to you that the conquest of these provinces is considered by the King as an object of great importance in the scale of war, as their possession might be easily maintained, and thereby a very valuable branch of commerce would be restored to this country and the rebels deprived of a principal resource for the support of their foreign credit, and of paying for the supplies they stand in need of, as the product of these provinces make a considerable part of their remittances to Europe.

"While these operations are carrying on, every diversion should be made in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland that the remaining troops which can be spared for offensive service, in conjunction with the fleet, will admit of. The great number of deep inlets and navigable rivers in these provinces expose them in a peculiar manner to naval attacks, and must require a large force to be kept on foot for their protection, and disable them from giving any assistance to the Carolinas. The seizing or destroying their shipping would also be attended with the important consequence of preventing the Congress from availing themselves, as they have done, of their staple commodity, tobacco, on which, and the rice and indigo of Carolina and Georgia, they entirely depend for making remittances to Europe.]

"Should the success we may reasonably hope for attend these enterprizes, it might not be too much to expect that all America to the south of the Susquehannah would return to their allegiance, and in the case of so happy an event, the northern provinces might be left to their own feelings and distress to bring them back to their duty, and the operations against them confined to the cutting off all their supplies and blocking up their ports." I have thus stated the King's wishes and intentions, but he does not mean you to look upon them as orders, desiring, on the contrary, that you use your own discretion in planning as well as executing all operations which shall appear the most likely means of crushing the rebellion. [*Reproduced in Stevens' Facsimiles, No. 1062.*]

[Sir George Rodney] to Lord ————————*.

1778, March 13, [Paris].—Tho' deprived of the honour of serving my King and country at a time when every true subject ought to exert themselves to the utmost in support of the British Empire, and tho' my repeated offers of service have been refused by the present first Lord of the Admiralty [Sandwich], yet I cannot be an idle looker on when anything occurs that I think may contribute to his Majesty's service, more especially at this critical time when the Legislature have past an Act to send Commissioners in order to bring about a reconciliation with our deluded colonies, and as "I had yesterday an opportunity of dining in a company where the conversation turned upon the French squadron which lately sailed from the Bay of Quiberon, and the report of the French commander's having returned the salute of two American ships of war. Part of the company doubting the veracity of the report, a person in company, who I afterwards understood was secretary to the American Commissioners in this city, avowed it as a fact, and repeated word for word the letter of Jones, the American Commodore, to the Commissioners here, wherein he acquainted them that on the 25th of February he anchored at a distance from the French squadron and sent his boat with a letter to M. La Motte Picque signifying that he was the superior sea officer belonging to the States of America now in Europe, and that he proposed to salute the French flag provided an equal number of guns were returned. M. La Motte Picque answered that he would return the salute in the same manner the French usually do to the Dutch or any other republick, which was four guns less. This answer not satisfying Jones, (as he says in his letter,) he took some hours to consider of it, but a little time before sunset came to a resolution to salute with thirteen guns, which were immediately answered by a return of nine.

"Next morning early Jones sent another letter to the French Commander to acquaint him that the other American ship of war under his command would salute provided they were assured of a return. The answer was they might depend upon it, upon which both the American ships of war hoisted their colours, weighed anchor, and sailed round the French squadron, saluted with thirteen guns, and had the same return as in the preceding evening.

"Jones boasts in his letter, and makes use of this expression, viz., 'I am the first person who have occasioned France openly to avow the independence of America, who by returning the salute of her ships has acknowledged them as free States.'

"Upon this secretary being so communicative I asked what countryman Jones was, and what number of American vessels sailed under the convoy of Monsr. Picque and the American frigates. He answered me that Jones was a native

* Perhaps to Viscount Stormont, English ambassador at Paris.

of Scotland, and thirteen sail of vessels were bound to America under their convoy. . . . I asked Mr. Secretary whether, as Great Britain had declared her intentions of repealing all the laws America complained of, and was sending Commissioners to reconcile our differences, there might not be hopes of their returning to their duty. His answer was that had the propositions been made in October last they certainly had been received, but that now it was impossible, and that I might depend upon it that no ear would be given to the propositions of the Commissioners. He plainly gave me to understand that a treaty had been made with France in December, and without ceremony told me that Jamaica would not long belong to Great Britain. . . . Immediately upon my return home I put the conversation that had passed into writing. Your Lordship must excuse it as my hand is not perfectly recovered from the gout, and as you are going to England to-morrow, I could wish, bad as 'tis wrote, you would shew it to Lord Geo. Germain, as he may depend upon it as a matter of fact." *Not signed, but in Rodney's handwriting.*

Deserters from the Rebels.

1778, March 25, Philadelphia.—"An account of the number of deserted soldiers, gallymen, &c., from the rebel army and fleet, who have come into Philadelphia and taken the oath of allegiance, with a particular account of the places in which they were born." Total, soldiers, 1,134; galleymen, 354.

Sir John Dalrymple.

[1778, about March ?]—Paper entitled "Thoughts on instructions to the American commissioners." "I was the first who, in the beginning of the present troubles suggested the idea of a Commission to go to America. This tempts me to give the following ideas on the instructions proper for it.

"To judge aright of the greatness of the *concessions* which England may make one should consider the greatness of the *gain* on obtaining an end of the quarrel. I select onely one instance. England and foreigners pay at present near half a crown a pound for tobacco, and though they grudge it a little, yet they pay it; they used to pay onely three pence for it. From thence it follows that if they got it for a shilling a pound they would be thankful, but infinitely so if they got it for a sixpence; near 20,000 hogsheads are supposed to be consumed in Britain; near 80,000 in the rest of Europe. Suppose that upon the restitution of the peace the duties were encreased upon what was used at home and the drawbacks stopped upon what was exported abroad, so as to make the price to ourselves and foreigners only a sixpence, some millions of revenue might be raised to Britain, and if it was raised to a shilling a pound many more millions would

be got, sufficient to pay more than all the interest of the National Debt. Good God, what concessions ought not to be made for such a prize! This is not all; if we doe not get this prize France will get it and make the very use of it that I point out. So that many millions will be taken out of our scale and many millions thrown into theirs.

"Concession 1st., that the King will consent to the liquidation of the new paper money, and that it shall be made solid by being funded in America.

"The advantages of this concession are the following:—1mo, those with whom the Commissioners are to treat, to wit the Congress and Generals, either have or may have a vast quantity of this paper on their hands, and consequently they may make great fortunes by the success of the treaty. 2do., all those in America who possess the rest of this money will have an interest in the success of the treaty. 3rdly, it is for the interest of England that this debt be reared up upon America, for it will hang like a millstone upon her neck. In case of war with us it will weaken a new Empire to begin it with thirty millions of debt; and in case of peace with us it will create a perpetual war among themselves in establishing and paying a new and hateful system of taxes to pay it off. The men of virtue among them who treat will propose to have the paper money estimated at the current rate, and to fund it only at that rate, in the same manner as their countrymen have been in use to issue paper at a high rate and pay it off at the depreciated rate. But by a seemyngly liberal offer on the part of England to consent to support the whole, this may be counteracted.

"2nd concession, England should agree that St. Helena be made an *entrepot* for East India goods for American ships to resort to.

"The advantages of this concession are the following:—1mo, the American ships, instead of being obliged to come to England for East India goods, will carry them directly from St. Helena in their slave ships returning from Africa, and thereby get them far cheaper. 2do., the Navigation Act, by which I mean the quantity of English shipping will not be diminished because the East India ships which deposit part of their cargo at St. Helena must still return with the remainder to Britain, and it signifies nothing to the shipping of the nation whether they are loaded with teas or with ballast.

"When I proposed this case four years ago for the Commissioners to throw out, Mr. Dyson spoke of it to some of the East India people. They objected that from the nature of the coast goods could not be loaded at St. Helena. On my telling this to Major Russel, of the artillery, he told me he would examine the coast, and accordingly he surveyed it on the spot and made plans and estimates of the platforms and other buildings needed, which amounted only to about 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.*; the reports and plans were lodged at the India House, where Lord George may find them.

" 3rdly, Some concessions may be made to them in their trade with Ireland and of Ireland with them, which may help to end one rebellion and prevent another ; it is full time for England to awaken from the dream that by impoverishing Ireland she enriches herself. I presume Lord Nugent is the best man to draw the lines on this part of the treaty.

" 4thly, America will desire that the laws be repealed which cramp her internal manufactures for the advantages of the British manufactures. It is also full time for England to recover from her dream on this head. These laws are of no use to England, because they are not executable in America. They are unpopular, in their eyes they are unjust, and therefure the juries on whom the execution of them depends never did and never will give effect to them.

" 5thly, America will ask that the laws be repealed which have interfered in their internal police ; for example, which have declared that a tender of paper payment shall not be a legal tender. It is the busy meddling officious practmatical (*sic*) I had almost said Parliamentary turn of England which has brought the present mischief upon us ; is it worth our while to maintain a war to prevent the Americans from cheating each other or even a few of ourselves, in their modes of payments ? If our merchants are cheated, they will stop giving credits to the cheaters and then the cheaters will grow honest to recover their credits with our merchants.

" 6thly, The Americans will ask alterations in the distinction between enumerated and non-enumerated commodities, and that the last shall in sundry particulars be extended so as to give them an opportunity of extending their trade to other nations. The extent to which this concession should be yielded should be attended to in the instructions to the Commissioners, and it should be made a large one. For God's sake let the King's Ministers distinguish between revenue and commerce. If we get a great revenue by means of America, what signifys who gets advantage by their trade ? For example if we draw several millions of revenue by their tobacco, why should we grudge that France should get a few hundred thousand pounds by their trade ?

" The merchants will say that when the Americans are allowed a large trade with other nations, our manufacturers will suffer. There is an immense and untouched gulf for the manufacturer of England many times greater than they can supply if Government would make use of it. I mean the East Indies. If the same regular justice was established all over Bengal that is now established at Calcutta and a land property established in Bengal, the whole money of the East would flow into a province where there is justice and security, and if the subjects of England were under proper limitations to be allowed a free trade to Bengal and Coromandel at least, all the manufacturing towns in England could not supply one half of the demand. The American demand for half a century would be a trifle to it. If the duty upon East India raw silk

was taken off, England might run off with the silken manufactures from all Europe ; and if the free revenues of Bengal were remitted in goods without asking a penny of profit upon them, England might carry off the East Indian trade from all the world.

" 7thly, The Americans will complain that the reservation in the new Bill of taxing America for the regulation of trade is a very indefinite expression, and that they doe not thank England for appropriating such taxes to American uses. With submission the extent of this reservation should be explained either in the Bill or in the Instructions to the Commissioners.

" 8thly, The Americans will ask security that the present bounties and drawbacks be continued. This would be a concession of infinite consequence indeed, and in the way of profit and loss England had better lay out fifty millions added to the thirty that she has already laid out in the American quarrel than consent to it. The immense revenue which she may levy off foreign nations by discontinuing the drawback upon American goods exported from Britain to foreign nations is beyond imagination, and therefore the Commissioners may answer that these bounties and drawbacks are so intermixed with the system of commerce and taxation and the interests of public creditors that it is impossible to give any answers to the demand. To consent to entail the present bounties and drawbacks upon the nation is to entail ruin on posterity. The allowing a drawback upon German linens sent to America is neither more nor less than a dead weight upon the linen manufacture of the three kingdoms.

" I presume to suggest another thing. From all accounts of General Washington's character there is a resemblance between his character and General Monk's, for he is silent, keeps his mind to himself, has plain understanding, and is a man of principle. Besides this, he has no son, daughter, brother or sister, so that his ambition must be limited to himself. Charles the II. owed his kingdom to his personal application to Monk, delivered by one of Monk's own friends. Might not the Ministers treating by the King's command or the King himself write a private letter to Washington to remind him of the similarity between his situation and Monk's, desiring him to ask terms for America fair and just, and they should be granted, and that the terms for himself should be the dukedom that was given to Monk, and a revenue to support it in order to give dignity to the man who generously gave up his own power to save his country ? If the Minister has not a man he can trust with such a commission, I can find one. I mean Mr. Lloyd Delany, the bosom friend of General Washington, a man of fortune in Maryland, now in London ; two of whose family are now with General Howe, and who has given proofs of his secrecy, as he was one of those who knew of a scheme of mine relating to the paper money of America." *Unsigned, but endorsed (in a later hand), " Sir J. Dalrymple," and in Dalrymple's handwriting.*

"Secret Instructions for the Commissioners."

[1778, April.]—"If it shall so happen that notwithstanding all your endeavours, the persons appointed by the Colonies shall obstinately persist in your formally admitting them as the delegates of the Independent States, and you find it impracticable to enter into any negotiation with them upon any other footing:—It is our will and pleasure that you in such case do refer their said claim to us,* and in the meantime consent that an entire cessation of hostilities shall take place, and that all our troops shall remain in their respective posts in possession of Long Island, New York Island and Staten Island, and the islands of Rhode Island, Connanticut Province and such other places only as the inhabitants shall express a willingness to receive them, the said islands and places to be restored to our peace and the inhabitants to enjoy all the privileges of British subjects. That the Restraining Act shall be suspended, but that no trade or commercial intercourse shall be carried on between any part of our dominions and the said Colonies, except in ships belonging to Great Britain or Ireland, for that the said Colonies and all ships and commodities belonging to them shall be deemed and taken to be alien in all parts of our dominions and subject to our laws as such, the ports of New York and Rhode Island and of Beaufort in Port Royal Island (if that island shall be in possession of our forces) only excepted; it being our will and pleasure that the ships and commodities of the said colonies shall be admitted into those ports during the cessation of hostilities. That no person residing in any of the said colonies shall be restrained from disposing of any possessions therein and removing out of the same with their effects. That all confiscations shall be restored to their former owners, and all sequestrations removed and compensations for injury sustained by such confiscations or sequestrations made to the owners. That all debts due from the inhabitants of the said colonies to British subjects before August, 1775, commonly called Sterling debts, be allowed to be still duly owing unless it shall appear satisfaction hath been made in sterling value, and that all payments made in paper bills of such debts shall be deemed and taken for no more or greater value than the value which such paper bills did at the time of making such payments bear or pass for in sterling money. That the General Court of Massachusetts Bay shall renounce all claim to or property in the River Kennebeck and all the country to the north and east of the most western stream of the said river. That no let or hindrance shall be given by our ships of war to any

* *Cf* Minutes by Lord Carlisle, printed in the Report on the Earl of Carlisle's MSS., p 362. "I understand that an opinion prevails that we are enabled by our secret instructions to make more concessions than those we have already tendered. As such suspicions lead to a belief that we can admit in the last resort of the claim of independency, I think it will be necessary to declare that they are founded in extreme error."

trading ship or vessel belonging to the said colonies or belonging to any nation at peace with us in going into or coming out of any port or harbour in the said Colonies, but no ships of war or privateers shall be permitted to sail out of any of the said ports or harbours, nor shall any ships of war or privateers or armed ships belonging to any European State be received into any of the said harbours, but all such if any such there shall be within any of the said harbours or ports shall depart the same forthwith."

LORD CARLISLE and MR. EDEN, Commissioners for restoring peace to the Colonies, to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, April 11.—Complaining of the conduct of the Admiralty in compelling them to find room for Lord Cornwallis and his suite on board the *Trident*, which was to have been appropriated to them ; and also in writing separate letters to Capt. Elliot.

WILLIAM EDEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1778], April 12, Downing Street.—"You will be sick of my letters before I begin my mission under your command ; but I must say one more word for poor Clinton. I think the slight he now suffers may have decisive consequences against the success of our business, which cannot be conducted well unless we have the cordial co-operation of the actual Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's land forces for the time being.

"Lord Suffolk, to whom I found all the rest of this story quite new, agrees with me in this ; and also in the facility of the idea of passing another instrument under the Great Seal, reciting the present Commission verbatim, and then concluding with giving the powers therein delegated to Sir William Howe to Sir Henry Clinton, if Sir William Howe shall have returned to England, in that case revoking Sir William Howe's appointment.—This, if not regular, is at least right ; and we should not stick at a little legality in a case of so much expediency."—As regards "the business of the plate allowance," I made a mistake in valuing the plate at 600*l.*, as I now find it is worth at least four times that value. I do not wish to gain by my mistake, and if an order be given to the Lord Chamberlain to pay the first-named sum to each of us, we shall be quite satisfied.

SIR WILLIAM HOWE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, April 19, Philadelphia.—"The *Mercury* packet arrived 27th March, with your Lordship's commands of the 18th February, No. 26, and circular letter of 19th of said month, inclosing the drafts of two bills.

"I have sent copies to Sir Henry Clinton at New York of your Lordship's dispatches of the 4th February, No. 25, of

the 18th February, No. 26, and of the circular letter of the 19th of said month. Upon the General's arrival here I shall not fail strictly to adhere to his Majesty's commands by giving him the fullest information in my power, after which I shall immediately proceed to England.

"The drafts of the bills inclosed in your Lordship's letter of the 19th February have been published and dispersed in obedience to his Majesty's commands, and will, I have no doubt, be shortly spread over this Continent.

"The enemy's position continues to be at Valley Forge and Wilmington. Their force has been diminished during the course of the winter by desertion, and by detachments to the back settlements, where the Indians make constant inroads, but the want of green forage does not yet permit me to take the field, and their situation is too strong to hazard an attack with a prospect of success, which might put an end to the rebellion; whereas a check at this period would probably counteract his Majesty's intentions of preparing the way for the return of peace by the Bills proposed." *Extract.*

Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain.

1778, April 19, Philadelphia.—"I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with this private dispatch in consequence of his Majesty's intentions signified to me in your Lordship's letter of the 18th of February that the operations of this campaign should begin by detaching a body of troops to attack the seaports in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Upon the arrival of the Admiral, who is daily expected, and of Sir Henry Clinton, who I hope soon to see, no time shall be lost in consulting with them upon the subject of his Majesty's commands.

"I do not hesitate to confess to your Lordship that I apprehend great hazard will attend the success of this expedition, as a superior number of troops than can be spared will be requisite to carry it effectually into execution.

"Your Lordship is pleased to direct that these troops should be detached consistent with the defensive plan I have proposed, upon which I beg leave to observe that to send a considerable force from hence does not appear to me to be advisable, considering that the remainder would not be able so far to improve any successful operation in the field, or other favourable circumstances that may occur as to change the defensive into an offensive plan, which I humbly presume is an idea that the army, tho' acting on the defensive, should always entertain.

"It is my opinion that more than 2,000 men ought not to be sent from hence, and that less than 4,000 would be insufficient for the proposed service, being fully persuaded a smaller number making a descent on the coast of New England, where there may be an object in view, would very soon

be opposed by a great superiority of force consisting of such troops as were successful against the northern army, and the difficult navigation upon these coasts with a fleet, the frequent fogs that prevail, the want of a convenient port of rendezvous, the flatness of a great part of the coast, which must impede the receiving of necessary assistances from the shipping as well in landing, as in the re-embarkation of the troops, will I fear, render any effectual service extremely hazardous.

"If I thought myself authorized from the words of your Lordship's letter to dispute the expediency of such an expedition under the present circumstances of the army, I should not scruple to give my advice against it, conceiving it would be for the benefit of the King's service, and I beg your Lordship may do me the justice to believe that I am actuated by no other motive in presuming thus freely to give my opinion.

"Permit me to add that altho' advantages very beneficial may be obtained by the force now here, they may not be so decisive as to put an end to the rebellion or to induce a submission to legal government, for I am not to inform your Lordship that a defensive army may not become an offensive one, even by a stroke of good fortune happening in the course of a campaign.

"When I mentioned my idea of a defensive plan to your Lordship, I meant it in a general sense, that your Lordship might not be deceived into the hope of very essential conquests from the force then under my command, but without any design to exclude the prospect of seizing every advantage that might arise from the vicissitude of military operations." *Extract. Endorsed*, Recd. 1st June. No. 24.

MONSIEUR DE LA CHARDONIER, Councillor of State and Treasurer of Marine Affairs to ————————.

1778, April 26, Basseterre, Island of Guadaloupe.—The commerce of Guadaloupe and Grandterre is three times what it was in the time of the English, owing to the increase of planters, merchants and slaves, our having our own shipping, supreme courts, &c., and the liberty allowed by the Duke de Choiseuls in opening our ports and encouraging the Americans immediately after the peace. "How mutable is the state of human things; England in 1760, '61, '62, and '63, how great a nation and what a peace might she have effected! Your ideas were for enlarging her empire by islands and increase of navigation, and limiting to certain boundaries suitable to her government the extension of territorial dominion on the continent of North America as being destructive of her true interest as a limited monarchy, and productive in time of the confusion and rebellion we live to behold. Continental colonization may long suit France, but it is death to England, more than fixing on certain

situations for the command of commerce and navigation, which I apprehend your present ministers in England know by experience. I am struck with wonder to behold with what rapidity these new people gain ground, nor is the countenance and aid they have had from France less surprising to me. Though it is as little her interest they should be a free state or states as it is that of England, as it is her intention they never shall, however [*i.e.* yet] she wishes to see England humble through the sides of America. The farce of union and friendship between France and America is no paradox to you and me; it is no more than a display of ingenuity between two people who know each other well, endeavouring who shall excel in dissimulation while in fact they most cordially despise one another. I know you will assign the palm of excellence to my countrymen, but . . . . . American Englishmen a thousand degrees out-does them in the stupendous art of deception; Carathage and Rome were but infants to Americans in point of infidelity. . . . . They outdo any people I have ever read of in point of fixing a correspondence with their missioners and spies, many of whom pass this way for France and England. Each has their separate department and none communicate with the other. They generally appear in England as distressed loyal subjects to Government, and by some means they obtain certificates of losses and other proofs to save them from being suspected. In this manner they obtain confidence, and I am certain are often employed on your Government service. . . . . When they have finished, they slip away either to Holland or France" and thence take their passage home. [Here follows a description of the roads, fortifications, &c., in the islands of Guadaloupe, Grandterre, Desiderada, Marie Gallante and the Saints.] At Pointe a Petre, in Grandterre, which the English called Pittville, a bridge has been made over the canal "at the very spot you marked out, and exactly on your own plan given to General Dalrymple. M. Morreau paid you that compliment with many others in adopting your designs." We have now troops and militia in these islands which will enable us to defeat any force that England can bring against us, your perfect knowledge of our internal and external force notwithstanding, and the prosperity, ease and freedom we enjoy here have much abated the predilection which we entertained in your time for English liberty, "for now we know in many respects in your islands in our vicinity liberty is but a mere shadow, and your councils and assemblages are nothing more than a burlesque upon legislation, being generally composed of low-bred men of no condition, devoid of education and liberal sentiments, and at once pageants of tyranny and pride. To this kind of ill-contrived government you owe the revolt in America, and to the same you owe the miserable figure you have made in the new ceded islands. And the choice of governors you have made for these islands, excepting the present governor of

Grenada, have to a man all been poor animals, unequal to their employments, rapacious and needy." This has been thrice happy for our islands, as numbers of opulent planters have come over, who would gladly have remained subjects of England, had they not been harrassed by ill-judged policy, the result of which is that the planters in those islands "are either miserably in debt or otherwise wretched and their commerce in all these seas ruined, while ours, by the glorious management of our Ministry, are flourishing and rich." *Extract.* [*And probably a translation from the French.*]

LORD SANDWICH to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, May 2, Portsmouth.—Requests him to send a packet boat to inform Lord Howe of the fleet coming to his assistance. Wishes they could send a frigate, but it is impossible. Admiral Byron will have but one with him, while it is to be feared that M. D'Estaign has a large number of very fine ones. Has heard a report, but does not credit it, that Monsieur D'Estaing has put into Cadiz. If true, the sending so many capital ships out of Europe would be very fatal.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BURGOYNE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, May 18, Hertford Street.—Contradicting the rumour that he will not take his seat in Parliament until after the Court of Enquiry on his conduct has been held.

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 23, Hertford Street.—Enclosing official papers respecting the troops under his command.

Notes of GENERAL BURGOYNE'S speech to the House of Commons.

[1778, May 26.]—"He states his intention of elucidating the transactions of the campaign of 1777 where he commanded; the Convention of Saratoga being the principal point. He says the service was to him unsolicited and unwelcome, that his personal attachment to the minister was warm and disinterested, that he had an interest in the honor and ambition of those who are in power, and that he did not expect that they would be the men to desert him and seek his ruin. He observes that much stress has been laid on his private letter to Lord George Germain, dated the 1st January 1777, that he has been blamed for addressing that noble lord as his patron and his friend, that he had understood it seemed to convey an idea of his endeavouring to supply General Carleton's place in that command, which he denies that he ever did endeavour to do. That on the 22nd of August 1776, before he came home, it was then determined that Sir Guy Carleton should remain in Canada, as some law opinion had

been taken that he could not, under his then Commission, pass the borders; that if anybody had, at any time, questioned Sir Guy Carleton's conduct, he had always vindicated him.

"That upon the perusal of the paper entitled Thoughts, &c., it had been understood that the plan of the campaign had been formed upon that paper, whereas that was by no means the case, for two proposals, the one of turning the expedition eventually into Connecticut and the other of embarking, under certain circumstances, in the River St. Lawrence for New York, were erased by the noble Lord with his own hand; it has been believed in the world that the plan was framed by Burgoyne, and therefore he complains that the noble Lord should suffer these impressions to remain when he knows that his Lordship altered that part of the proposed plan intirely of himself. The orders became absolute in the strictest sense by these very alterations. If anybody can suppose they imply a latitude, they must examine Lord George's letter of the 26th March 1777, extracts of which were his only instructions, at the end of which there is a saving clause for the protection of the Minister. He fully contradicts that he suggested the idea of his having any such supposed latitude as that saving clause may be presumed to give, and yet the supposition that he did so is still believed. He cannot but protest, however, against the duplicity and treachery of that clause. He refers to his conduct previous to his arrival at Albany; the orders till the moment of his arrival there he maintains to have been clear and distinct; and that the clause of discretion did not relate to the main object, but to such collateral and eventual operations as might be thought advisable to make an impression on the rebels till he joined Sir William Howe. There are cases in which a general must have a certain degree of discretion, and if he hazarded his own fame it was to forward the ambition of others.

"In the year 1762, he was employed in Portugal, where the whole force of Spain was to be contended with, and the salvation of Portugal depended upon him and Count La Lippe only. The important pass of the Tagus was committed to him (General B.) with peremptory orders to maintain it to the last extremity. He received intelligence from La Lippe that the enemy was about to pass six miles above him, and to cut off his retreat and supplies. The Count ordered him, if pushed, to secure his cavalry and to retire only when it was no longer possible for him to stay; but he added, that whatever might happen, he would take the measure on himself, and General Burgoyne had only to persevere and be confident of his protection. The comparison of the conduct in that case and in the present is striking, but he maintains that no such case did now exist as could have justified him in deviating from the orders he had received.

"The subject divides itself into three periods: 1st, from his appointment to his taking Ticonderoga; 2nd, from his taking Ticonderoga to his crossing Hudson's River; 3rd, from his crossing Hudson's River to the Convention of Saratoga.

"He set out the 27th March, and arrived the 7th May. In his second letter to Sir William Howe telling him of his having that command, he expressed a wish that he had had a latitude to penetrate into Connecticut.

"On the 12th he arrived at Montreal, and he cannot do justice to the assiduity and zeal with which Sir Guy Carleton gave him all the assistance in his power. It is to be observed that certain parts of his force fell short of the numbers they had been computed at in England. For instance, the Canadians had been reckoned at 2,000, and were in fact but 1500. The corvees were not sufficient for the necessary services; drivers for provision carts could not be obtained; the weather was wet, and the roads bad. The boats that were made for the artillery caused a delay.

"On the 21st he held his conference with the Iroquois, &c. They might be in numbers about 400. He thought their cordiality sincere. The first party were successful, which encouraged him in the sanguine hopes he then entertained of them.

"His third letter to Sir William Howe states his force to be then 6,000 and 500 men, that he meant to endeavour to get Sir Guy Carleton to garrison Ticonderoga from the force which was to be left in Canada, but he feared he should not succeed—that he would attempt to keep up a jealousy in Connecticut, but would keep his junction in view. He alledged this as a proof that his construction of the orders he received were no after thought; as a further proof of which he appeals to his orders to the army, which stated that that army was not to retreat, as the army was possessed of that idea. As the first part of his conduct was approved, he will dwell only on the subsequent part. . . . Did not reduce the strength of the artillery, because a camp was to be fortified at Albany, if provisions were got as was expected, and if the winter was to be passed there. The men had not rounds sufficient for more than a day's action, and the resting on a water supply would have been too precarious. It was necessary to have the supply with the army. If the enemy had stood at Stillwater or on the Mohawk, heavy artillery would have been wanted.

"My second point is during the time past from the taking of Ticonderoga after the action of Huberton at Fort Ann to crossing Hudson's River near Stillwater. It was necessary to wait for fresh provisions, or could a rapid progress have been effected, it would have been decisive on the success of the campaign. As to the question of falling back to go by Lake George, the motives were, the impressions that a retrogade motion would make. The enemy would remain at Fort George, and their retreat could not have been cut off.

They would have destroyed the road from Fort George to Fort Edward. The troops were improved by the method we took, and seeing that we were masters of one communication there was no use in forcing another, besides which the number of boats for such an embarkation would have made us not more forward in point of time. Upon this subject, General Burgoyne adds that he received Sir Guy Carleton's approbation. The corps that he detached to the left under Redeisel, was to give jealousy to Connecticut. Redeisel thence conceived the idea, from the intelligence he procured, of mounting his dragoons, upon which Baum's expedition was first founded. At Fort Edward the transports which must have come from Fort George would have had a distance to reach of 16 miles, bad weather and delays for want of horses must have been expected ; as it was, the army could hardly be victualled from day to day. This was the cause of the design upon Bennington, where they had their deposit of corn, flour, and cattle guarded only by militia. He relied for success on the supposed loyalty of a friendly country, on the panic of his enemies, on the valour of his German troops that were the best he had, on the British light select corps of the whole army commanded by Captain Fraser,* on the instructions, which were to be cautious and to risque nothing without being sure of success.

" These cautions were not observed, nor did the reinforcement advance so fast as he had a right to expect. The manner in which the troops were partly surprised upon that occasion has been stated in the letters which were presented last year, and in those which he has presented now. From this moment, Albany was the only point to which he could look forward, no exertion was to be omitted to gain that end. The transport of magazines cannot be calculated by a map. From Fort George to Fort Edward is a distance of 16 miles. At Fort Edward the Hudson's River is navigable for a certain extent. The water carriage must be frequently resumed, or such would be the impediment from the hills that the cattle could never return to Fort George the same day. There is a carrying place six miles below the fort. The boats have to return against a rapid stream. At Fort Edward eighty boats were employed upon the navigation, each boat took eight or ten horses for one day, other boats were necessary for the bridges, and no delay was occasioned by the artillery, because the horses were supernumerary.

" The third point, from his crossing the Hudson's River, now presents itself. On the 13th September, when he crossed the river, he had 13 days' provisions. Two errors are supposed in this part of the compaign, one of delay, one of precipitation, as to the Bennington expedition. As to the delay, the second letter from Albany communicates at the end the reasons why he thought a retreat would be insecure, because

* See as to this, letter on p. 76, above.

St. Leger was retiring ; the enemy was strongly posted. He had dislodged the enemy—the army was conscious of its ascendancy and expected co-operation. The letter from Sir William Howe to Sir Guy Carleton did not weigh with him (General B.) because it was wrote before the letter from the Secretary of State could have been received at New York, and Sir William Howe's letter of the 17th July indicated an intention to co-operate. General B. did not know Sir H. Clinton's force, but he thought the reinforcements from England might have arrived at New York. That St. Leger's force might assist his retreat there was no proof from appearances, intelligence, or reasoning ; his business therefore was to advance and try a battle with the enemy. Neither General Fraser nor General Phillips offered an opinion against passing the Hudson's River.

"On the 19th September the valour of the King's troops as well indeed as those of the enemy, was conspicuous. One regiment was left with less than 60 men and with about four or five officers. The victory was obtained at the close of the day, but the night coming on no immediate advantage could be derived from it. The ground was taken up by the King's army as near to the enemy as it could, and remained so till the 7th October, employing itself in fortifying the camp and watching the enemy. But it is asked, why not retreat on the second day after the action of the 7th ? Because intelligence was received from Sir Henry Clinton of his intention to attack the Highlands, and it was expected that that circumstance would detach Gates, and would have opened the way to Albany, and leave Sir H. Clinton and Sir William Howe's army to the whole force of Gates. After this intelligence, officers were sent to inform him of General B.'s situation ; but the backwardness of the Indians, the want of intelligence of the enemy's position, would certainly have made an attack on the part of the King's army a rash measure, besides the difficulty arising from the sick and wounded. [It] was expected that St. Leger's corps would be at Ticonderoga, and that there might be a possibility of his joining in time. *Had, however, the reinforcements from England arrived in time to enable Sir H. Clinton to make his attack earlier, the King's northern army would have made its way.*

"Another disappointment proceeded from the enemy. Gates would receive the attack in his lines. Arnold chose to give instead of receiving the attack. General B. would otherwise have gained a position he could have maintained. The enemy's perseverance in the attack on his lines is well known.

"The whole of the Convention of Saratoga will, he trusts, be minutely examined by the committee. The enemy intended an attack upon him on the morning of the 11th, but that intention was prevented from intelligence they received by one of General B.'s deserters. The intelligence given by that General to the council of war was certainly true. The force

indeed was more than he stated it, as it appears by an authentic return, signed by General Gates, to be 20,000 men. This can be proved by officers who were then upon the spot, and those who disbelieve it should call other witnesses in support of their belief. One thing only should be remembered in the course of this inquiry, that these transactions should be considered as they appeared at the time." [*This speech was printed as a tract, at the time.*]

William Eden to Lord George Germain.

[1778], June 19. Aboard the *Trident*, off Newcastle.—"Having had very little claim to be honour'd with your Lordship's confidence, I cannot trouble you with any personal complaints respecting your reserve and secrecy in the extraordinary change of measures which makes the river at this moment as busy and as mortifying a spectacle as any Englishman ever saw. Your Lordship might well suppose that if I had been thought proper from any established pretensions either of friendship or official confidence to be entrusted with the purport of the instructions of the 21st of March, I might more naturally have met with that attention from Lord Suffolk and Lord North. In my private capacity, therefore, I cannot complain of your Lordship, tho' perhaps I may think, that after you had communicated to me your first dispatch to Sir Henry Clinton, which I am fully satisfied was well calculated to have assisted the Parliamentary Commission in the recovery of these colonies, you had tacitly engaged yourself to communicate also any change in your plan so extremely decisive as that which was transmitted by your Lordship on the 21st of March, and again confirmed on the 9th of April, during which interval your Lordship had several long conversations with me, and never dropped a single expression that could lead me to conjecture what was passing.

"My only complaint, therefore, is that being appointed one of his Majesty's Commissioners, I was not entrusted with a measure essential to the conduct of that Commission, but was made a sacrifice to an official charge which the Parliament intended to be important and honourable, but which the King's Ministers from subsequent motives thought proper to deprive of all the support that could add either effect or weight to it. Whether the necessity which gave the spring to those motives was real or only supposed, and whether the measure pursued in consequence of them is in itself wise and proper, are points on which I am neither the competent nor right judge in my present capacity. After stating the point in which I find myself affected, I have only to struggle as well as I can thro' the embarassments in which I never deserved to be involved, and when I have done my duty with the purest and most indefatigable zeal for the service of the King and the interests of His Majesty's kingdoms, I shall be anxious to return to a private station immediately. I will take care not

to incurr or deserve any personal disgraces, and as to those which affect my country I must bear them as well as I can with my countrymen."

DESERTERS from the REBELS and others.

1778, June.—Paper headed "An account of the number of persons who have taken the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia from the 30th September, 1777, to the 17th June, 1778, being nearly the time the British troops were in possession of Philadelphia, with an account of the number of deserters from the rebel army and fleet that came in during that time, properly distinguished." The total of persons was 4,347; the largest number in one month being in October, 1777, and the smallest in June, 1778. The British troops enter'd Philadelphia, September 26th, 1777, and evacuated it June 17th, 1778.

The COMMISSIONERS for restoring peace to the Colonies to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, July 26, New York.—Three printed papers are stated to have been enclosed, but they are not now with the despatch. Two of these were a copy of the resolution of the Congress relating to a letter from the Commissioners to that body, and some anonymous publications intended to counteract their measures. The third contained a message to the Congress from Mr. Gerard, "the supposed Resident of France at Philadelphia," calculated to confirm the rebels in their hostility to England. These papers, the writers think, will help Lord George to form an opinion of the probable result of the Commission.

"The French squadron weighed anchor and put to sea on the 22nd inst., but with what destination is unknown. If to act on this coast with the superiority they have hitherto had, all arguments and representations on our part must remain ineffectual. But if our situation should change for the better by the recovery of our superiority at sea, and could the war, in consequence of reinforcements and of an immediate change of orders from England be resumed offensively from this place, we should endeavour to pursue the object of our commission in the manner most suitable to these circumstances." *Copy, duplicate. Signed by* Lord Carlisle, Sir H. Clinton and W. Eden.

SIR H. CLINTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, July 27, New York.—General Washington's army has been greatly reinforced; the part under his own command is said to be near 16,000, the corps under General Gates about 7,000, and 5,000 men with General Sullivan. Reinforcements are still coming in. "There were some days since appearances which seemed to indicate an intention of a general attack upon this place, in order to co-operate with the French fleet; but

as they have quitted their station near Sandy Hook, and General Washington has reinforced Sullivan, it is more than probable that Rhode Island is become their object; however, as that place has been lately reinforced with Major-General Prescott and five battalions [who] with the great assistance he has met with from the navy, has had time to put the sea defences in a tolerable state, it is to be hoped that he will be able, at least for a time, to resist the attack." With respect to future operations, the smallness of the force left to himself after sending 8,000 to the West Indies and Florida and complying with what requisitions General Haldimand may make, will hardly suffice him to defend New York against attack. He will probably be under the necessity of evacuating the town and retiring to Halifax, but it is impossible as yet to determine this point. *Copy, duplicate, No.* 11.

The Commissioners to Lord George Germain.

1778, Aug. 20, New York.—Recommending Mr. Thomas Coombe, a native of Philadelphia, who has abandoned everything from loyalty to the King and affection to Great Britain. *Signed*, Carlisle, H. Clinton, Wm. Eden, Geo. Johnstone.

[The Secretary of State ?] to the Commissioners.

1778, August, Whitehall.—Letter and instructions to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting disorders subsisting in North America. Refers chiefly to negotiations to be entered into for a treaty with America. *Draft.*

Lord Howe's Fleet.

[1778, Aug. or Sept.].—Paper containing a list of Lord Howe's fleet, "the best manned that ever went to sea," and D'Estaign's squadron, "5 months at sea, sickly,"* and remarks thereon. "D'Estaign lay at anchor in the open sea for 8 days within 20 leagues of Sandy Hook. Lord Howe waited from the 17th to the 24th before he followed, tho' he had then confessedly so superior a force."

British Forces in America.

1778, Oct. 14.—Paper showing the disposition of the British forces in America. The total force was 32,441.

Lord North to Lord George Germain.

[1778, October], "Bushey Park, Tuesday evening."—"The news from Boston, Halifax, and New York is chequered. The loss of the frigates and the escape of D'Estaign into

* D'Estaign set sail from Toulon on April 13. The note which follows is not accurate: D'Estaign was 11 days at Sandy Hook, and did not leave it until July 22.

Boston* are not very agreeable events, but the raising of the siege of Rhode Island, the junction of Lord Howe and Admiral Byron, the arrival of the victuallers, the bad condition of the French fleet, and above all the resolution of Sir Henry Clinton to remain at New York give me great comfort. Both our Admiral and General seem to have acted with great zeal and spirit, and to have put our affairs in such a situation that we may be able to plan for their future conduct without being under the apprehension that all our views will be prevented by some material step being taken in the intermediate time."

LORD MACARTNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Oct. 31, St. George's.—"The reinforcement intended for the West Indies, which your Lordship expected would arrive before your despatch of the 5th August, is not yet come, nor have we any account of it. This is a disappointment of at least a month, and should a total disappointment in this respect happen, and a few French line of battle ships be able to join their squadron here, we run a great risk of losing most of our islands. I only state this as a possiblity, for I flatter myself the measures taken for our preservation will be attended with success. But allow me in a few words to give a short sketch of our late danger.

"The Admiral arrived at Barbados on the 20th of June, and he remained there without intermission till the 15th of September, on which day he sail'd for Antigua. From the 25th of July till the 12th of September not a ship of his squadron ever appeared near this island.

"The capitulation of Dominique was sign'd the 8th of September. Now, if the French had ventured (and it could have been done with safety) to push down a couple of thousand men immediately to St. Vincent's, Tobago, and Grenada, it is the general opinion that they might have taken them all one after another, for tho' the people of these islands would, I daresay, have exerted great spirit in their defence when first attack'd, yet it is to be apprehended that if not assured of immediate and effectual support they would not have resisted long, but probably have endeavoured to secure their own properties by the best capitulation they could get. This is the general system of most of the colonists. The French acted thus in the last war, and I am afraid our own subjects would act in the same manner in similar circumstances. But let their conduct be what it may, I trust that mine will never be unworthy of his Majesty's confidence or the good opinion of me which you have been pleased more than once to express.

"When the Admiral left Barbados he proceeded directly to Antigua to protect the stores and dockyard, objects undoubtedly deserving his first attention, but then all the Southern Caribbees were left open to descent and invasion. If, on the contrary,

* This was on August 20, 1778, but Admiral Byron did not reach the fleet until the end of September, after Lord Howe had left it. Howe reached England on October 25, before which date the letter must have been written.

he had come down this way the Leeward Islands would have been no less exposed; the misfortune was that he had not a sufficient force to cover both.

"A single ship of the line would have saved Dominique, but now the French have been so industrious and active in fortifying it that perhaps it might cost as much to retake it as to conquer Martinique itself.

"With a great fleet before Martinique we may certainly starve the French islands and secure our own. Martinique and Guadaloupe both are put into such a state of defence, and so well garrisoned, that it would probably be now more difficult to subdue them by arms than it was formerly. It may not be improper to observe that the Dutch men-of-war in these seas have of late given themselves unusual airs, from whence it is probable that in the course of the present war we shall have a good deal of trouble with them.

"Before I conclude this letter I beg leave to mention a report prevailing here, that Governor Morris had obtained leave to return home, and that it was intended to re-annex St. Vincents to this Government. I hope that it is without foundation, as in the present state of things it would be impossible for me to undertake the charge. Grenada and Tobago are now fully sufficient to employ my whole time and attention, and I should be sorry to see my department extended, unless I felt new abilities to discharge the duties of it."

William Cunningham to Lord George Germain.

1778, Nov. 9, Glasgow.—Concerning the pressing of several seamen from a privateer by Lieut. Perkins, of the Royal Navy. The work of the privateers in making reprisals against France has succeeded beyond expectation. Is informed by letters from New York, down to the 25th of September, that the British army was then gone in considerable force to the Jerseys; that Washington had divided his, and was gone from the White Plains, and that many conjectures had been formed of the English troops having gone into the Jerseys."

Letters to the Admirals.

[1778, March–November.]—10th March to 27 July. Precis of letters and instructions for Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Howe and notes thereon.

3 May to 6 Nov. The like for Vice Admiral Byron, and notes thereon.

25 April to 26 October. The like for Admiral Keppel, and notes thereon.

10 March to 13 November. The like for Rear-Admiral Gambier.

3 May to 29 August. The like for Rear-Admiral Barrington.

10 and 23 March and 27 July. The like for Commanders-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships in the West Indies.

2 May and 27 July. The like for Vice-Admiral Montagu.

16 May and 20 July. The like for Vice-Admiral Duff.

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain.

1778, Dec. 22, New York.—Recommending the bearer, Lieut. Col. Campbell, of the 22nd Regiment, as "the officer who commanded on a late expedition from Rhode Island, where by his good dispositions a considerable number of flat boats destined to the attack of that place were destroyed." He is obliged to sell his commission for the advantage of a numerous family left dependant upon him by his father, who died eldest captain in the same regiment.

Sir J. Dalrymple to Lord George Germain.

1778, December 25, Edinburgh.—The newspapers say Mr. Jenkinson proposed in the House to raise 14,000 men by additional companies. In that case I humbly beg your advice whether I should try to obtain one of them for my brother Samuel, captain in the Popish corps, whom Lord Barrington cheated out of a company in the Edinburgh regiment. "It is really of consequence to the public that the officers of the Popish Corps be satisfied that they are on the same foot with the rest of the King's subjects. It required all the care of my brother William in Ireland, and of my brother Samuel in Jamaica, to prevent all the officers resigning when they heard how Lord Barrington had treated them." If Mr. Jenkinson chooses to give me the subaltern commissions, I can answer for the men of the company among my Roman Catholic friends in Scotland at the peril of my head.

There are only two ways of getting the recruits:—First with regard to the regiments in America, to give the commissions chiefly to Americans who will find the men there, and so save the cost of transport; secondly, with regard to the regiments at home, "to give the companies to persons connected with the Popish interest, leaving the disposal of the subaltern commissions to the captains; and if they clap in an ensign here and there of the Popish religion without telling a Minister of it, there is no great crime. . . . . Lord Linton and the Popish Bishop of Edinburgh are now in London. . . . . The Bishop is a clever fellow, and knows his party well. The Duke of Queensberry is, I believe, to ask a small pension on the Scotch establishment for Lord Linton. That pension, and a few commissions, given without the privity of Ministers, will ensure the whole of that party to assist recruiting. I know several of these gentlemen who have stood off in letting men go from their estates till they see what this winter produces for their party. Your Lordship will see the newspapers stuffed with accounts of opposition from Scotland to the Scotch Popish Bill. That is all newspaper thunder."

Now that there is a new Secretary of War, I take the liberty of mentioning to you the shameful deficiency in numbers of the regiments, partly from its being the interest of the colonels (to get the clothing), partly from various army

tricks of the other officers. Lord Amherst's regiment in Jamaica has not 200 men in it, and my brother's not 300. He writes that he has done everything on earth that man could do to force his officers to send him recruits, but that Lord Barrington's usage had disheartened them so that they would not bestir themselves.

When recruits are to be sent to the West Indies, I believe it would save expense to give twenty or thirty to each merchant ship to serve as marines on the voyage. The merchants would need to give them only a passage and their provisions; the cost of transport would be avoided, and also the losses caused by death from being crowded together, and the danger of mutiny from their numbers when they arrive.

Postscript.—Private. Offering to write such a dispassionate, well-bred and true account of late proceedings in America as shall effectually vindicate his Lordship to the world.

Extract from a Letter from New York.

1778, Dec. 27.—On American affairs. No signature or address.

Lord Amherst to Lord George Germain.

[1778]. Whitehall, Wednesday evening.—"Lord Amherst presents his compliments to Lord George Germain, he has in obedience to the King's directions spoke to Lord Barrington, to write a proper letter to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne for his returning to America, as His Majesty considers the circumstances and situation of the troops under the Convention of Saratoga require a particular care and attention, and that it is proper and necessary Lieutenant-General Burgoyne should have a due regard and give what assistance he can to those troops. Lord Barrington mentioned to Lord Amherst his doubts whether the intended letter should not go from the Secretary of State, and said he would speak to Lord George Germain about it."

"Journal of an Excursion from New York to Philadelphia in the year 1778."

1778.—Written by Mr. John Berkenhout, Doctor of Physic, being a diary of events from August 24th to Sept. 19th, 1778, narrating what happened to him when travelling in Pennsylvania during the war, and his imprisonment and return to New York; with his reflections on General Washington and his army.

"How to secure Britain against America."

1778.—Paper endorsed as above.

William Knox to Lord George Germain.

N.D., [end of 1778 ?], half-past 10 p.m.—Giving him the information supplied by an American officer, Captain Stephenson,

of the Light Infantry, who had just arrived from America. "Sir Henry Clinton was returned from his foraging party . . . . . he had nearly caught Washington . . . Sir Henry Clinton had made a requisition of Burgoyne's army but the Congress replied that they never answered impertinent letters. The Commissioners had published a manifesto on 3rd October [1778] and proposed coming away after 40 days. They had not heard of the taking of Dominica when he came away."

Paper endorsed "*Précis* of TRANSACTIONS on the MISSISIPPI."

N.D., [after 1778].—"In December, 1776, a small party of rebels came down the Mississipi to New Orleans; Oliver Pollock, one of them, declared himself agent for the United States. He loaded a battoe with gunpowder out of the King's magazine and sent it up the river to Fort Pitt, and shipp'd 39 puncheons of gunpowder in a sloop for Philadelphia. Governor Chester complained of this to the Governor, but received no answer; another Governor arrived soon after, to whom he renew'd his complaint, who answered him, that he received all Englishmen alike and knew not who were rebels.

"In April, 1777, Lieut. Burton, commanding the *West Florida* arm'd sloop, in the Lakes Pontchartrain and Mauripas, seized some Spanish craft with timber cut upon the British side of those lakes, in resentment of which the Spanish Governor seized several British vessels in the Mississipi with their cargoes, some of which were condemned and sold at New Orleans. Governor Chester demanded their restitution in proper terms, but Capt. Lloyd of the *Atalanta*, then in the Mississipi, was rather intemperate in his correspondence with the Spanish Governor. Restitution has not been made, and the whole has been transmitted to Lord Grantham, who has not obtained redress. The Spanish Governor in the year 1777 and 1778 is represented by Col. Stuart and Governor Chester to have been particularly attentive to the Indians, that he had invited the Choctaws from the British side to conferences with them, treated them well, gave them presents, and advised them not to molest the rebels, who he told them would soon drive the King's subjects out of the country.

"Haldimand transmits accounts of the Spaniards having sent up troops to the Illinois country in 1778, that they were building forts &c., and debauching our Indians. The rebels from the Ohio had come into that country, surprised Kasmasas, seised Rochblave and Cere, and put them in irons for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, the French king, and the Congress. Willing and his party had descended the Mississipi, plundered the British inhabitants, and carried their effects to New Orleans, where they were permitted to dispose of them at public sale. They were also permitted to send out parties from thence into the British

territory and by water to Mobile Bay, where they made depredations upon the settlers and carried off some craft back to New Orleans. No complaint of any kind has been made of injuries done by the British subjects to the Spaniards in that quarter or of any annoyance being given them by the Indians in our alliance."

REASONS for taking possession of CHARLESTOWN.

N.D. (after 1778].—"Reasons humbly suggested to show that in case the endeavours of his Majesty's commissioners to restore peace and amity between Great Britain and her provinces in America should prove abortive, and it should be deemed expedient or necessary that the King's forces should take possession of either Charlestown or Savannah, in order to supply the West Indies from South Carolina or Georgia with provisions or other necessaries, the produce of those provinces, that the possession of the former would upon many accounts be much preferable and more beneficial than the latter."

SIR HENRY CLINTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, January 11, New York.—"General Washington's army is hutted and cantooned for the winter, the troops of the Southern Colonies on the west side of Hudson's River, those of the New England Government on the east side. Headquarters are at Middlebrook, and Washington in person at Philadelphia. The troops of General Burgoyne's army are probably ere this arrived at their destination near the West Mountain in the interior part of Virginia. As a proof that we have many friends in the country, I will mention that 30 men of these troops were conducted in a body eighty miles through the rebel cantoonments, and brought safe within our posts." Signs of disunion among the rebels are apparent; great discontent is said to prevail in the army owing to the insufficiency of pay, and the supply of provisions and forage is very limited. "Altho' no certain account has been received there is reason to give credit to a report of Colonel Campbell's command having landed at Savannah, and the country having shown themselves friendly, yet we perceive no movements in the troops in our neighbourhood.

"The Indians have again visited the frontier, and surprised at Fort Alden, near Cherry Valley, part of two regiments; thirty or forty were killed and sixty taken prisoners, amongst them are the names of field officers. Our accounts are from rebel papers, and probably softened, we therefore imagine they have suffered a great deal. . . ."

LORD CARLISLE and WILLIAM EDEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Feb. 1, London.—"Some respectable merchants of London having stated to us their embarrassments in obtaining such a construction at the Custom Houses of the words

'stores and provisions' in our proclamation of the 18th of November last as may enable them with safety to their property to supply the loyal inhabitants of New York and Rhode Island with the necessary articles of clothing and coals, we have referred them to his Majesty's Board of Treasury, and hope that it will be practicable to give them all proper security and encouragement."

WILLIAM EDEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1779, March 11 ?]. Thursday, Downing Street.—"The Proclamation being sent for Governor Johnston's signature last night without any letter from your Lordship, he objected to signing it, and indeed I do not wonder that he did. I wrote fully to him and immediately, and have received his answer.* He thinks the measure now explain'd perfectly right, and is to meet me at Lord Carlisle's about one o'clock, so that it may go off to Portsmouth, I hope, at two, and I hear will arrive in time.

"Allow me, if not too impertinent, to suggest that under the intelligence of the late detachment from Brest, we can afford to send a stronger squadron for North America, and ought under every possible reasoning to give an additional ship or two *or three* to Arbuthnot.

"Your Lordship will have the goodness to direct Mr. Smith's letters to be returned to us whenever you honour us with an answer," and also the enclosed (*wanting*), when you have had time to peruse them. Mr. Allen, formerly Attorney-General for Pensylvania, possesses good abilities and great connexions, and cannot bring himself to apply to the Treasury for assistance.

J. GALLOWAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, March 18,—A very long letter on the course to be pursued in any future government of America by Great Britain. The writer assumes that the Colonies are eager to return to their allegiance, and that the success of England in the war is certain.

SIR HENRY CLINTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, April 4, New York.—"Your Lordship may perhaps expect that I should give you some idea of the operations which I propose for the ensuing campaign . . . . . Our successes to the southward suggest an attempt against Charlestown, and I believe a tolerable convoy could *now* be collected; but besides that the season is far advanced and that the motions of the French fleet in the West Indies are unknown to me, I have as yet received no assurances of any favourable temper in the province of South Carolina to encourage me to an undertaking where we must expect much difficulty.

* *See* Governor Johnstone's letter of [Wednesday] March 10, in the Report on the Earl of Carlisle's MSS., p. 421.

"The small force which the *present* weakness of General Washington's army would enable me to detach, might possibly get possession of Charlestown (tho' it will certainly require a siege), but I doubt whether they could keep it, and in the present stage of the war I do not think such a desultory advantage *in that quarter* would be beneficial to our interests. It might induce a number of persons to declare for us whom we might afterwards be obliged to abandon, and thus might destroy a party on whom we may depend if circumstances will permit a more solid attempt in a proper season.

"I must also remark that the detaching so large a body of troops as would be necessary for the purpose above mentioned would reduce me to the strictest defensive in this country, and should General Haldimand at that juncture make a requisition for reinforcement, which I have reason to expect from his letter of the 10th of November, my situation will be disagreeable.

"If the Spaniards do not interfere, or the French throw troops into this country, if a sufficient fleet can be allotted, and if the state of this army at that time will admit of detaching six thousand men, I think that in the month of October our success against South Carolina would be certain and decisive. In the hope that those circumstances may concur, I shall keep the idea profoundly secret. In the meantime I believe our acquisitions in Georgia are perfectly secure."

Sir George Collier to Lord George Germain.

1779, April 19, New York.—"I had the honour of writing to your Lordship by the *Ardent*, who sailed from hence with Admiral Gambier for England on the 5th instant. The day before his departure, I received a commission as Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of the King's fleet in America.

"The weak enfeebled state of the ships both in point of numbers and of men give me the most painful sensations. I ardently wish to prove myself deserving of the great trust I am honoured with by the most *spirited exertions*, and in which I have great pleasure in finding Sir Henry Clinton so much inclined to co-operate; but my power is so little proportioned to my wishes that I am at a loss what to undertake or how to supply the convoys, guards of ports, and various other services which this extensive command necessarily has occasions for. The numbers and names of the ships and vessels which Mr. Gambier left with me upon paper appear *there* of some consequence, but it is only on paper, I am sorry to say, that they are so, for out of the number there are at least a fourth part blown off their stations, and impossible for me to say whether they are lost or not; of those which appear, the astonishing deficiency in numbers and goodness of seamen will render it (I'm afraid) a measure of necessity to lay up one half to man the other.

"Under these difficulties, my lord, I came to the command of the King's fleet in this country, and tho' the sensibility of

them has given me much pain, yet I have not been inattentive to consider how the force I am in possession of can be best employed for his Majesty's service. The result has been (assisted by intelligence) that I formed a plan of immediate enterprize which I communicated to Sir Henry Clinton, who has heartily adopted it, and I hope it will be carried into execution in the course of a few days.

"*Virginia* is the object aimed at, the province which of all others gives sinews to the rebellion from its extensive traffick. The present state of the army here would not admit of more than three or, (at most), four thousand men being now sent, which, as that number is inadequate to the great object of taking post, securing the province, and cutting off their trade entirely, we shall only proceed with about half that number under the command of General Matthews. I shall collect as many of the smaller men of war as I can together, and (with the transports) enter the Chesapeak, where I shall divide the force into detatchments, and attack various parts at the same time. I flatter myself from some particular intelligence I have lately had that we shall be able to *destroy* (at least) the magazines of provisions which has been collecting for Washington's army, an object itself of the utmost importance.

"Sir Henry Clinton will probably mention other particulars to your Lordship; and tho' from the season and want of more force it is not intended to *remain* there at present, yet if the measure shall be thought advisable towards the approach of winter of returning, the situation of the county of Norfolk is such as will require no very great force to keep possession, from its being covered by the *Dismal Swamp* and other difficulties in approaching it by land. I understand this part of Virginia carries on a great trade in tobacco and abounds in naval stores and in cattle.

"What I had the honour to mention to your Lordship in my former letter respecting a meditated attack of Falmouth, and such other ports in New England as are accessible, is still intended to be carried into execution after I return from the present enterprize, the preference being given to this on account of approaching heats. . . . ."

William Eden to Lord George Germain.

[1779], April 20, Downing Street.—Private. "Mr. De Grey* has mentioned to me your Lordship's wish to have a proclamation instantly prepared and executed for the purpose of continuing the regulations of the King's Commissioners relative to the North America trade, &c., &c. Your Lordship I hope knows me sufficiently to believe that my disposition is very far from being restiff, in any matter where the public service is concern'd, and that I am not likely to express a doubt unless it appears well founded. Now, in the present instance, pressing as it appears in point of time, I own that it seems at

* Afterwards Lord Walsingham.

least bold for so inconsiderable a being as I am in this country to make a private Act to dispense with the subsisting laws of the country tho' legally authorized to so do, except on a positive instruction from your Lordship, to whom by the Constitution I am in some degree responsible. And in a case like this, I should even think it inexpedient for your Lordship to give such a direction, except on a Cabinet meeting, to which the law servants of the Crown had been summoned and in which every part of the Act to be done both as to the legality and policy has been considered.

"For the case is much altered; in New York we had no Parliament sitting, to which we could refer, and were obliged to act from our own judgments. We had no Secretary of State to look up to.

"In the Georgia and Rhode Island businesses there was also a great difference from the present case, we were obliged in the first to act discretionally upon unknown events which could not properly be brought before Parliament; in the last we extended only to Rhode Island what had been tacitly approved so far in regard to New York.

"At the same time I am aware of the extreme embarrassments which will and must arise, for all the merchant ships will be forfeitable to an immense amount if we lose a moment, the prizes cannot come into New York, and the port regulations will cease, &c.

"I apprehend too that some parts of the proclamation might be amended with great advantage previous to extending it.

"Having said this, I shall in order to lose no time prepare the instrument in the best form that I can. . . ."

Sir William Howe.

1779, April 22.—"Some heads of Sir William Howe's speech" of this date before the Committee of Enquiry of the House of Commons. An abbreviated report, and evidently not so accurate as that printed at the time. [B.M. press mark 816 k. I(6).]

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sunday, May, 2, ten o'clock, "on board the *Europe*, Needles Point, north five leagues, steering for Jersey with very little wind, fair."—"I am this minute informed by a privateer from Jersey, sent by express to Lord Weymouth, that yesterday morning the island was attacked by five sail of French ships of war, several transports, and fifty boats, who were landing troops at eleven o'clock.

"I will therefore suspend my orders for a moment, proceed directly with all the troops to its relief, and if my Royal Master approves my conduct it will make very happy, your Lordship's," &c.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, May 6, on board the *Europe* at sea.—"The weather has been such as to baffle every attempt to go into Jersey with so large a fleet, and I have remained in the utmost anxiety for the fate of those places until last night, that I received a letter from the Lieutenant Governor of Guernsey in answer to one I sent by an officer for my information. The enemy on Saturday last made an attempt to land, but did not accomplish their design. His account comes by a boat from Jersey last Sunday to Guernsey, but as he did not receive a letter from Mr. Corbet he is not very particular, and only says that the French, after making an attempt on Saturday morning, retired, and they believe either to Cape Frehel or St. Ces. Be that as it may, a sufficient force of frigates and sloops are arrived at Guernsey for the protection of those places, in whose hands I leave them, and am proceeding to Torbay to join my convoy, who I had ordered thither that I may not have been encumbered with more than the transports with troops."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1779, May 7, on board the *Europe*, Torbay.—"Since I did myself the honour to inform your Lordship of the enemy's intention with respect to Jersey I received a letter from the Governor of Guernsey the 4th instant in consequence of my appearing on the coast, acquainting me that Jersey was safe, that the French had attempted to land but were repulsed, and retired towards St. Maloes with precipitation, as is presumed by our being seen from the French coast, as several signals were observed as soon as they discovered us from Cape La Hague, and as I had taken the precaution to send an express to Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, at the same time I despatched one to the Admiralty, who immediately sent a force of ten sail of frigates and sloops, very sufficient to baffle any future attempts of the enemy, I thought it my duty to return to this place, and join a large fleet of ships which I had ordered hither. . . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1779, May 25, on board the *Europe*, off the Dodman.—Have at last a fair wind, which he hopes will continue sufficiently to carry them into the ocean, "if it were for no other reason but to stop the mouths of those miscreants the news writers, who have been continually proclaiming our stations and force."

ADMIRAL SIR G. COLLIER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, June 15, *Raisonable*, New York.—Private. "When I had the honour of writing to your Lordship by the express I sent home from Virginia I did not imagine I should have had the mortification of being obliged to abandon a post of

so much importance to the King's service; Major-General Mathews (however) considered himself as so much bound by the letter of his instructions from Sir Henry Clinton to return by the end of May, that I could not prevail upon him to stay at Portsmouth even till an answer could be had from that General. I had then no other alternative than to quit a place whose importance and utility stood higher in my opinion than almost any other in America; destruction then succeeded; the fort was raz'd; the season'd timber for ship building burnt; the buildings and storehouses of the finest yard on this continent underwent the same fate; the sufferings of individuals I endeavoured to prevent all in my power and in general, happily succeeded, and by it I hope have procured many friends to the royal cause. The winds were as propitious to me in my return as they had been in going; little more than three days brought the large fleet I conducted back to New York. I found Sir Henry Clinton on the point of setting off on an expedition up the North River, and I immediately determin'd on assisting in it, carrying with me the *Raisonable*, *Camilla*, *Vulture*, three row galleys, and two gun boats with the transports and troops. I won't trouble your Lordship with a detail of what follow'd, as you will receive it from the pen of Sir Henry Clinton; we were fortunate, and have now possession of the great pass of King's Ferry which the rebels guarded by a small fort on the east side called La Fayette, and on the other by Stony Point, which last we are fortifying and is, I think, as strong ground as I have seen.

"Jealous of our intentions to attack another strong work higher up the North River called West Point, Washington mov'd towards it with what troops he could collect, and drew those likewise from Connecticut. My intelligence was good that New London (that thorn in our sides) was weak and unguarded, and I proposed to Sir Henry my attacking it, if he would send only a couple of thousand troops with me; the General saw the great consequences which wou'd result from a successful attempt in that quarter, but did not think himself sufficiently in force to make such a detachment till he was reinforced. I acquiesced in his reasons, knowing he wants no stimulative to promote enterprize and his country's service. . . . . I hope I may now say with some confidence that rebellion is thrown on its back, and that this campaign will be the *last* of this unnatural civil war."

C. Mitchell to Lord George Germain.

1779, June 18. 23 Berners Street.—Suggesting that half the Indian army—which now consists of 60,000 effective men, and has extirpated the only enemy in that country to be dreaded—should be employed for the capture of the Manillas or the invasion of the Spanish settlements in the South Seas; and that "the brave Col. Campbell, lately returned from Georgia," should be put in command.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1779, June 25, Whitehall.—"Before I take notice of the contents of the several preceding dispatches, give me leave to express to you his Majesty's great satisfaction in the important effects with which the spirited and able execution of the judicious plan you formed for the attack of the coast to Virginia has already been attended, as stated in the letters to you from Major-General Mathew and Sir George Collier, transmitted in your dispatch No. 56, and I am sanguine enough to expect to hear that still greater advantages have accrued to his Majesty's affairs from the success of that measure. In the mean time, I am happy in acquainting you that it is his Majesty's pleasure you should convey to Major-General Mathew his Majesty's approbation of his conduct, and of the alertness with which the troops executed his orders.

"The enterprise against the rebel forces at Shrewsbury and Middletown, though prevented by an unfavourable change of the weather from succeeding in its principal object, appears to have been conducted by Colonel Hyde with much spirit and judgment, and must have its share in keeping up the apprehensions of the rebels, and preventing the militia of the country exposed to such attacks from sending draughts to Mr. Washington's army, and I have not failed to lay before his Majesty your recommendation of that officer.

"Your own determination to take the field without waiting for the growth of green forage, is conformable to that vigour and zeal which have distinguished your operations in every instance since you were appointed to the chief command; and his Majesty has the firmest reliance that no opportunity will be lost nor any exertion omitted for the speedy reduction of the rebellion by destroying the rebel force, an event the more earnestly to be desired, as you will see by my circular letter of the 17th instant which accompanies this, that Spain is become the enemy of Great Britain in addition to those we before had to contend with.

"I can, however, with equal pleasure and truth assure you that the spirit of the nation appears to rise in proportion to the greatness of the exigence; that every effort will be made to oppose the united attempts of our numerous enemies, and to give all possible protection to every part of his Majesty's dominions; and for your particular satisfaction I am authorised to add that it is not the present intention to make any reduction of the forces under your command until the great object of the war in America, the recovery of the revolted provinces, is attained.

"It was a great concern to me to find the issue of the Congress at Amboy for the exchange of prisoners had proved as ineffectual as the former meetings for that purpose; for altho' I could not suppose the rebel leaders ignorant that an exchange would be for our advantage, I had with you entertained a hope that the remonstrances of their own troops and

the unwillingness of the militia to expose themselves to the hazard of a long confinement would prevail over their political reluctance, and oblige them to lay aside their chicane. This last trial, however, proves that some other means than negociation must be employed to force them to an exchange ; and I should think the sending the militia of the northern and middle provinces to Georgia would be a probable means of producing this effect.

"The death of Mr. Stuart is at this time a misfortune ; tho' his long ill state of health had disabled him from discharging the active duties of his office. As we have now operations to carry on, both on the side of the Mississipi and towards the Atlantic, it is judged proper to divide the southern district, and to appoint two superintendents of Indian affairs instead of one. Your appointment of Mr. Cameron has directed the King's choice to him for the superintendent of the Indians on the side of the Mississipi, and the joint testimonies of Governor Tonyn, Lieut.-Col. Campbell, and Lieut.-Col. Prevost, in favour of Colonel Browne of the Florida Rangers, have induced me to recommend him to his Majesty for the other. Their offices I consider as at present merely military, and I have, therefore, put them under your orders, or those of the general officer commanding the King's troops in their respective districts ; but the inclosed copy of my letter to them [*wanting*] will fully inform you of the instructions I have given them." (No. 41.) *Copy.*

Richard Oswald to Lord George Germain.

1779, June 26, Philpot Lane, Fenchurch Street.—Enclosing a memorandum relating to the affairs of Chesapeak Bay.

Naval Forces under Comte d'Orvilliers.

1779, June. "Armée Navale commandée par M. le Comte d'Orvilliers et sortie du port de Brest le 3e Juin 1779.

1re division Blanche. 2me division Blanche et bleue. 3me division Bleue à croix blanche." Total men, 27,891, cannon, 3,014.

William Bull to William Knox, Under Secretary of State.

1779, July 3, Bristol.—Accepting the government of South Carolina, when restored to the King's peace, but praying to be "indulged till December" before setting out, to give him time for his preparations, in consideration of a late illness and his advanced age, being some years older than Lord George Germain, whom he well remembers at Westminster School.

Sir Egerton Leigh to Lord George Germain.

1779, July 14, Laverstock, near Salisbury.—Having just heard that "the Americans propose to address the throne, and

to assure his Majesty from their own knowledge and good information that the greatest part of his subjects in the revolted Colonies are firmly attached to his person and government," he has instructed a friend to sign it for him, and, from twenty-five years' experience, can cordially confirm the grounds upon which the address is framed.

THOMAS DE GREY, Under Secretary of State for America, to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, July 19, Whitehall.—"The Quebec letters and everything you have to send are all ready. They wait only at the Admiralty for the *Æolus* to get round, and then the sailing orders will go down. The *Æolus* sailed on Saturday from Gravesend for the Downs, the wind is directly against her; from the Downs she goes to Spithead, where the *Seaford* receives her, and then proceeds with the three transports containing the Brunswick recruits and other foreign recruits, about 400 in number, to Cork, where they will be joined by the transports with provisions for the Canada army for six months. These ships have all more or less strength of their own; the *Seaford* is but a 20 gun ship. . . . . *His Excellency* informed me that private intelligence had been communicated to the office from more quarters than one, that the Spaniards mean an effort against Gibraltar and to spare only ten or twelve ships to France. I take this to be the same account I sent your Lordship from Keene on Saturday. Sir Stanier* knows nothing of it; Admiralty know nothing of it. Sir Stanier says he believes I was right about the Cadiz fleet sailing the 23rd, and of the number being 32 of the line, but he says nobody knows their destination.

"The people at Dunkirk have behaved with the greatest civility to the Duchess of Leinster, Mrs. Damer, and Lady William Campbell, and have, as Mr. Stephens tells me, set them at liberty. It was the fault of the captain of the packet that they were taken, as he might have escaped if he would have obeyed orders."

The OBJECT of the WAR of 1779.

[1779, July.]—The object of this war, on the side of France, is the dominion of the sea. With this in view, she for a time has sacrificed her trade, and checked the spirit of her people for privateering. Her aim is to establish and increase her navy. Having once parted from a British fleet on equal terms, which to her was a victory, she has abandoned to it the empty honour of parading in the bay, while she strengthens her foreign stations, and has sufficient address to keep our fleet at home by holding out the bugbear of an invasion. In consequence of her plan and our timidity, her squadron at Martinico has accumulated into a force that, with 3,000

* Sir Stanier Porten, Under Secretary of State for the southern province, 1773 to 1779.

or 4,000 land troops co-operating, has obliged our fleet of 23 two-deck ships to shelter itself in port, and takes in our colonies one after another upon summons.

Our sugar colonies, small and scattered as they were, made an annual circulation in commerce of from six to eight millions sterling, and as everything which they use must be brought by sea, and everything they produce must be sent to distant parts, the number of shipping employed among them was proportionally great. The French sugar colonies, in their present state, may be estimated at perhaps double the value of our colonies; but are improveable beyond estimation. Hispaniola alone could supply Europe with sugar. Our sugar colonies indeed are not an important accession to France, but as being in an high state of culture, and diminishing a rival's strength. Added to her scale, they carry with them the empire of the ocean. If then the command of the sea be an object to Britain, she must make a bold effort not only to regain her own but also to get possession of her enemies' islands.

In concluding on this, some particular prejudices are to be conquered; first, that the French make every place impregnable by a mere touch; secondly, that they are so numerous in the West Indies that it is impossible to overpower them. Thus Martinico, it is said, would require 30,000 men to reduce it, being strongly fortified and having a garrison of 10,000 men, and a militia still more numerous and almost as good. Now putting all the reinforcements together and including D'Estaing's marines, and allowing moderately for deaths from climate and battle, it is impossible that in this present July they can have above 12,000 men to garrison Guadaloupe, Dominica, Martinico, St. Vincent's, Grenada, and Tobago, if taken, and to serve on board their ships. Again, militia will never be brought to act against regular troops, and therefore cannot be formidable, nor are they so numerous as is supposed.

Fortifications in the West Indies are batteries towards the sea, and generally some single strong place or citadel by way of retreat, supplied for the most part by rain water and provided with salt provisions, where merely the being cooped up, for two months, would ruin the finest troops by disease and nastiness. But for a moment suppose the enterprize difficult; let us set the object against the difficulty of the undertaking, our existence as a maritime power, and say what we should do. France, could our spirit submit to it, will never allow us to enjoy peaceably a post second to her at sea; and the first post there, and the superiority of N. America, will be found to be connected with the possession of the sugar colonies. Our force, therefore, must be bent that way. An active approved commander, acquainted with the station, must have charge of the fleet. It must be well provided with frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships. A body of troops sufficient to retake Barbadoes, if fal'n, must be sent

out together, because that must be the rendezvous of all our force. Our squadron on the station must be informed both of the time and of the actual day of the sailing of the troops, that they may receive them to windward of Barbadoes. Cork should be the place of embarkation from Europe; because any wind almost will carry them thence. Barbados secured, or recovered, Martinico becomes the grand object; the other islands will fall with it. Ten or twelve thousand men will be more than sufficient to block up and reduce Fort Bourbon. The other troops may overrun the country and drive the inhabitants into the fort. Recruits should be continually arriving from N. York or Cork, so as to keep up an active army of from 20,000 to 25,000. Guadaloupe will be an easy valuable conquest. After three months spent in regular movements, it was, before, reduced in less than two weeks by a war by detachments. Dominica will not then be worth holding. St. Vincent's, Grenada, Tobago must fall for want of succours. Under active sea and land officers co-operating the whole may be finished in less than three months, especially if the Dutch at St. Eustatius be roundly dealt with. With an exception of Basseterre Fort, Guadaloupe, and Fort Bourbon for the purposes of police and security of shipping, forts in general should be demolished, and the artillery be carried off. Hispaniola is our next object; we do things by halves, and endanger our naval importance, if we leave that island in the hands of France. No fear of giving umbrage to Spain should deter us from making the attempt. Masters of the sugar colonies, we should command America (for these only have made her great), and be invulnerable by France, we shall repay ourselves the expences of the war, and recover the fortunes of many thousands of our fellow subjects, that are bound up in them, independent of sugar planters and sugar factors: lands and settlements in the French Colonies should be offered to all who embark on the expedition. Should we content ourselves with a pitiful plan to recover our own islands, we shall thereby hardly lessen our expence; and the present war has so clearly demonstrated their constant danger from the neighbourhood of the French more powerful islands, that no man will be induced to lend or risk his property in them; and they can neither be improved or supported without British money, of which there is not so little locked up in them as six millions. They must dwindle to nothing, while the French Colonies are rapidly going on to improvement, and raising up a navy that our decayed, neglected fleet dare not face. In short, justice to our fellow-subjects, the honour of the nation, our existence as a maritime state, demand our utmost exertion to possess ourselves of the sugar colonies.

On the supposition of a Spanish war the above reasoning is confirmed, only that our views must be extended to Portorico and Cuba; and to the offer of a free trade between

South America and Britain, in order to detach that Continent from Spain. There are Jesuits enough in London to open the correspondence. *Unsigned.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1779, Aug. 3, Whitehall.—Despatches Nos. 57, 58, and 59, received by Captain Fraser. The expeditious and well timed movements up the North River have received the King's highest approval, and his Majesty entertains hopes that this campaign will be productive of great advantage to the public. "Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot with his convoy will, I trust, before this be arrived with you. The ships and troops he carried out will be a seasonable reinforcement to the fleet and army, and give spirit and confidence to all the King's faithful subjects. . . . .

"I read with great pleasure in General Mathew's instructions, your equally wise and humane directions to him, to arm and embody the loyal inhabitants of the country, and put them in a condition to defend themselves. It is from such a conduct we must hope for a speedy issue to this unhappy contest; for notwithstanding the great exertions this country has made, and the prodigious force sent out for subduing the rebellion, I am convinced our utmost efforts will fail of their effect, if we cannot find means to engage the people of America in support of a cause which is equally their own and ours, and when their enemies are driven away or subdued, induce them to employ their own force to protect themselves in the enjoyment of the blessings of that constitution to which they shall have been restored.

"Upon these ideas it was that the war was first undertaken, and when the Prohibitory Act was passed Parliament thought fit to vest the Crown with power to appoint Commissioners to grant pardon and restore to peace such as should return to their allegiance; and in pursuance of this power his Majesty has judged it proper that the Commander-in-Chief of his forces in North America should be possessed of those authorities. A commission appointing you his Majesty's Commissioner for the before-mentioned purposes has therefore been prepared and passed under the great seal, and will be transmitted to you by Major-General Robertson, who takes his passage in the *Raleigh* frigate; but his Majesty conceiving that the business incident to this commission might be incommodious and embarrassing to you, has been graciously pleased to appoint a council to assist you with their advice in all matters which you shall think proper to submit to their consideration, or to desire their opinion upon, as you will find by the instructions which will accompany your commission."

THE BISHOP OF DERRY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1779], Aug. 4, Passy.—"I have seen Franklin four times. He is thoroughly dissatisfied with the Congress, and more so

with Versailles, and told me he would go to Italy, but I believe wishes for a more honourable retreat, and would gladly contribute to a reunion of the Empire. I shall remain a month here, if you think it worth while to take any notice of this information. Monsr. Turgot himself despairs; surely the iron should be well struck while it is so hot, and it is better to give too much than risque all by offering too little. I fear most for Ireland; there is a kind of Quixotism about making that country independent, and *Spain* has no Ireland to fear for. Application was made some time ago to the Irish seminary here for two missionaries who could speak Irish, French, and English, but the Superior could not find two so qualified. The bearer can tell you more. I forgot to mention that Turgot himself told me one night at Madame Blondel's that the Congress had us'd Franklin shamefully, and did not deserve him."

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Aug. 25. On board the *Europe*, New York.—Has this moment anchored before the town of New York after a tedious passage. The troops, sickly to the amount of about one thousand, principally scurvy, will soon recover.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1779, Aug. 28, Whitehall.—Your despatches have been received through Major-General Jones. "The General has since come to town, and from him I have learnt that an officer of the troops under Major-General Prevost's command had before he sailed brought you advice of his return to Beaufort, after having penetrated to the neighbourhood of Charles Town, without sustaining any considerable loss either in his march or retreat. I had also the satisfaction to hear you had made a detachment of the force with you, to act in conjunction with the navy upon the coast of Connecticut, and that you had received some advice of the troops at Nova Scotia being on their way to attack the province of Main.

"These operations cannot fail to increase that alarm and apprehension which your movement up the North River appears to have excited in the Congress and the rebel amy, which I understand has already had the good effect to occasion the recall of the troops destined to make an irruption into Canada, and will therefore, as I foresaw, leave General Haldimand at liberty not only to carry on his works for the security of the province, but to harrass the rebel frontiers throughout the campaign; and indeed much it behoves us to profit of every means and occasion which present themselves of bringing the American war to an honorable conclusion; for the powers Great Britain has to contend with in Europe are so potent as to require her utmost efforts to withstand them. The King's magnanimity is not to be shaken by the nearness of the danger, nor does the spirit of the nation shrink

from the increase of its difficulties. Our cause is just, our councils firm and decided, and we trust that the zealous and able exertions of our officers will under the Divine favour be crowned with success."

A commission has been prepared and will be sent immediately, authorizing you to grant pardon and restore to the King's peace all who return to their allegiance. The same allowance will be made to you for supporting the commission as formerly, and it is the King's pleasure that you should make such allowance as you think proper to a secretary. It has just come to my knowledge that the troops are in need of vinegar, blankets, and kettles, and that vegetables also are running short from want of seeds. Orders have been given to ship these articles immediately in the *Ceres* and *Friendship*.

James Simpson to Lord George Germain.

1779, August 28, New York.—Giving an account of his mission to ascertain the state of feeling in South Carolina. "Upon the whole I do not hesitate to declare to your Lordship that I am of opinion, whenever the King's troops move to Carolina, they will be assisted by very considerable numbers of the inhabitants; that if the respectable force proposed moves thither early in the fall, the reduction of the country without risk or much opposition will be the consequence; and I am not without sanguine expectations, that with proper conduct such a concurrence of many of the respectable inhabitants in the lower settlements may be procured, that a due submission to his Majesty's Government will be established throughout the country." Has laid the result of the information he has obtained before his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

Sir Charles Hardy's Fleet.

1779, August 17 to August 30.—An account of the transactions of the fleet of his Majesty's ships commanded by Sir Charles Hardy, Kt., comprising 60 ships, carrying 3,260 guns and 26,544 men, by Benjamin Thompson. Prefaced by a list of the ships, a note that "Count Molkt, a rear-admiral in the Danish service, Count Wedel, a midshipman in ditto and myself were serving on board the *Victory* as volunteers and were all three of us of the admiral's family," and a list of the Commander-in-Chief's family, viz.:—Richd. Kempenfelt, Admiral, Captain Henry Colins, capt. of the *Victory*, Peter Osborn, admiral's secretary.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sept. 2, *Europe*, New York.—I have already announced my arrival on the 25th. I have had much conversation with Sir Henry Clinton as to the plans of the ensuing campaign. "It is almost beyond credit how those fellows have encreased

their shipping, which I have informed Lord Sandwich in my public letter, requesting to be reinstated with the frigates, *at least that came home with Mr. Gambier.*

"Sir James Wallace is here from Georgia, I shall dispatch him back with stores and other necessaries in three or four days to be in readiness to put everything in forwardness that no time may be lost. Sir Henry is anxious for a feint upon and towards Rhode Island to take off the rebels' attention from our real design; I lay no stress upon it and shall send a small escort as it will not take up much time, but we must think of moving seriously, for by the latter end of this month we ought to be at our destination, and as large ships cannot proceed to the southward, I have proposed to Sir Henry Clinton that I could wish to cause a diversion in Virginia at the same time, to prevent their reinforceing the Carolinas, which I can do very usefully by proceeding up the Potomack with five line of battleships, provided Sir Henry does not call upon me for too many at fixed posts: in that case it must drop, for I never will put a negative to his requisitions, which I doubt not he will always accompany with his reasons. But I am confident if our force will admit it, that the idea is not a bad one."

LORD NORTH to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Sept. 10, Bushy Park.—"My dear Lord, I have long wished to have some conversation with you upon a matter of some importance, but I have hitherto deferred it, as it was not absolutely necessary to enter upon it before this time, but I must begin by acquitting myself of a seeming inattention to your commands and by assuring you that upon receiving about a twelvemonth ago a letter from your Lordship I immediately laid your letter before the King and have several times since mentioned the same subject to his Majesty. I have never yet been able to bring your Lordship any answer, his Majesty having always appeared desirous of your Lordship's continuance in your office, and having always declined to signify his pleasure with respect to the other part of your request.

"For these last three months the threatened invasion of this kingdom has so entirely and necessarily occupied our attention that it has been improper and almost impossible to take any step but what related to that very important object. The season is now so far advanced that though it is not certain yet I think it probable that no further attempts to invade us will be made in the course of this year. The present points for our consideration (besides offensive operations against the enemy, the protection of our trade, and the support of our distant garrisons) will be the acquisition if possible of foreign alliances and the formation of as strong a system of administration as we can against the ensuing session of Parliament. In this view I wish to acquire Lord Stormont and my friend Lord Hillsborough, and to give at the same time every

satisfaction possible to Lord Gower and his friends. No system can, in my opinion, be firm and desirable which leaves uneasiness in the minds of any part of the Ministry. I believe that Lord Gower has it at heart to introduce Lord Carlisle into public business, and no way of doing it occurs to me so proper and convenient as the separation of the Board of Trade from the American Seals, and the appointment of Lord Carlisle to be First Commissioner of Trade. This must, however, be done entirely with your good will or not at all, and it must not even be mentioned to any other person till it has been submitted to your consideration and decision. If I thought that this separation would in any degree diminish the emolument, credit, power, or dignity of your Lordship's present situation I would be the last man in the world to propose it, and I now do it in the fullest conviction that no such consequence can arise from it. I confide entirely in your justice and candour that you will see that nothing is meant by this proposal unfriendly towards you, and that when I suggest a measure for strengthening administration, I do not recommend what is calculated solely for my own benefit, but for that of every other person embarked in the same cause. To acquire strength from without, and to preserve not only unanimity but cordial good humour and satisfaction amongst ourselves, are two points that must be constantly in our view. They alone can, and they most probably will carry us through every difficulty we have to encounter. To the accomplishment of these objects nothing can more essentially contribute than your Lordship's compliance with the proposal I have taken the liberty to suggest."

The Bishop of Derry to Lord George Germain.

[1779], Sept. 10, Ostend.—The writer has a paper to communicate to Lord George of real importance. "It contains a diary of the three campains, '76, '77 and '78 in North America, in which the excellency of your Lordship's plans are so well illustrated, and the unhappy execution or rather mutilation of them is so plainly set forth, even by an adversary, that no Parliamentary vote could do you so much justice as this plain military tale. I have seen Monsr. La Fayette's, Major Gen. Conway's and Monsr. Cranis's accounts as deliver'd to their respective protectors in the French ministry, and all concur in making more than a justification of your Lordship's admirable plan for reducing the male-contents of America. I have likewise seen Monsr. de Cranis for several hours in private company, where I have reason to believe he was introduced on purpose that I might hear his sentiments on the reduction of America, and I have the pleasure to assure your Lordship that his opinion concurs thoroughly with those of the other two gentlemen, and has convinc'd both Monsr. de M[auripas] and Monsr. de Verg[ennes] that the French interest is desperate in that country. . . . . I know from the very best as

well as most private information that the two persons I nam'd above have no idea of insisting on the independency of America; that the first is perfectly asham'd and the last heartily tir'd of it—'*que l'objet de la guerre est changé*' and that provided no mention were made of Dunkirk on our side, none would be made of America on theirs, '*car il faut que chacun reste le maitre chez lui*' . . . . T.D."

The Bishop of Derry to Lord George Germain.

[1779, Sept. 12]. "Dover, Sunday morn." "Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to your Lordship to know the contents of Monsr. de Sartine's letter to my friend Monsr. Chabot le Balafré on the subject of the engagement near the Grenadas; it was very short, receiv'd on the field the day of a review and immediately read aloud. The purport was brought to me by a person I shall name to your Lordship, together with some proposals which I flatter myself you will deem of the greatest consequence, but on which I must intreat the most perfect silence.

"Monsr. de Sartine acknowledged the defence of Grenada to have been very gallant, but that the naval engagement had been very bloody, Monsr. d'Estaign having lost besides his wounded near 1,200 killed, '*mais qu'à la fin les Anglais s'etoient retirés avec perte.*' It was added in a postscript that the French would find the greatest difficulty in refitting their ships, which were almost a wreck.

"I have receiv'd within these two days such intimate and reiterated assurances of Monsr. de Maurepas' determination not to insist on the independency of America and of Monsr. de Verg[enne's] confusion on the subject, that I must intreat your Lordship not to credit any ostensible protestations to the contrary. My information comes thro' such a channel as leaves no doubt of his real sentiments on this matter. What influence this unfortunate affair in the W. Indies may have had on others I know not, but Franklin is in the greatest discredit with them, and yet matters are in so fluctuating a state in America that yesterday at Ostende private letters were brought to me *by my friend* in which it appear'd that Lee's party was again obtaining the ascendancy over Franklin's and were the object of publick scurrility. Monsr. de Cranis, the protégé of Monsr. Turgot, had left the Lee faction in the month of May last predominant over that of Franklin, and Franklin's intimates both at Paris and Passy had confess'd it. I intreat that what I have the honor of writing to your Lordship on this subject may remain in perfect secrecy and the matter only of your Lordship's superior reflexion and more enlighten'd consideration.

"If it be possible to raise Roman Catholick regiments in Ireland there may be a supply of *such* officers as would be no indifferent acquisition towards the speedy reduction of America. I throw out this for your Lordship's attention before I have

the honor of seeing you, and hope you will forgive the importunity of one who feels deeply for the misfortunes of his country and the miscarriages of some of the noblest plans that ever were concerted, and which seem'd to have every title to success except the indolence of those appointed to execute them."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to LORD NORTH.

1779, Sept. 13, Stoneland Lodge.—"When I had the honour of writing to your Lordship last year I was really apprehensive that I should not have been able to have undergone the fatigue of the attendance in the House of Commons added to the business of my office. I by no means wished to convey the most distant idea of declining the King's service as long as I was able to discharge the duty of it to his Majesty's satisfaction, but I must not forget that at my time of life I cannot expect long to enjoy that state of health which might enable me to be as active and as diligent in the execution of his Majesty's commands as the critical situation of this country requires from every servant of the Crown.

"It was natural for me to hope that I might have deserved some mark of his Majesty's favour. As that is not the case, I can only lament it as a misfortune, but I shall never presume to complain of it as the least injustice.

"I entered into the King's service when affairs in America appeared desperate, and few I believe *then* envied the honour I received. I acted upon the principle of endeavouring to be of some use to his Majesty, always desiring when I could be no longer so, to return to that private situation from whence I was invited.

"The plan your Lordship proposes is no surprize to me. I have known it had been thought upon many months ago by those who have the honour of being consulted by you. All I can say to it is that when the King tells me it is his pleasure that such an arrangement should take place I have no reply to make but humbly to submit to what he may think most for his service, though I must feel it as degrading to me, but if my inclinations were consulted I had much rather that Lord Gower and Lord Carlisle should be fully gratified by Lord Carlisle's receiving the Seals with the Board of Trade. There is, however, one public objection which I must state to your Lordship against that arrangement. I fear the expectations and demands of the rebellious colonies will be raised when they perceive one of the late Commissioners will have the settling of any future treaty with them. The proposals made by their Excellencys will be considered as approved and adopted by his Majesty, and if that was the case I should think it a most alarming and fatal blow to this kingdom. I beg pardon for writing my mind so freely to your Lordship, but these are times when men ought to speak out.

"The situation of this kingdom cannot be too soon the object of most serious consideration. Foreign alliances I

shall not despair of, as there are many states which cannot see with indifference the depression of Great Britain, but then those alliances must be sought for, we must not expect that they will be voluntarily offered. The objects of the war both for offence and defence are so important and so extensive that they will require the utmost attention of your Lordship and the rest of his Majesty's servants, but I flatter myself the resources of this country will still enable us to withstand all our enemies and even to act offensively against them. But we must proceed upon plan and system and we must remember that whatever is undertaken will be attended with great risk, but I am certain exertions must be made, for no measure can be so fatal as a tame defensive war, which must end in the destruction of this country. As long as I remain in office your Lordship may command my best endeavours for promoting what you may think for the honour and safety of this empire, and when I cease to be in his Majesty's Council my most earnest prayers will ever be offered for his Majesty's happiness and prosperity." *Copy.*

Henry Caldwell to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sept. 19, Quebec.— . . . "As to our situation in this province, I look upon it that we are perfectly secure from any thing that can be effected from the Colonies. Our Governor has military abilities, and I am sure the whole of them will be exerted in [the] King's service, for which nobody can be more anxious. In respect to the police of this country or any resources to be drawn from the Canadians, things are exactly in the same state they were in two years ago; the same councils as yet in *those matters* only seem to prevail, and the same causes will naturally produce the same effects. I may be wrong, but in my opinion those Councils have been productive of much evil, but never of any good to this province. I hope, however, a little time will give our Governor a clearer idea of the resources that I think may be drawn from this country, which would give us a great addition of strength in case of accidents.

"An attack was threatened the beginning of the summer on Detroit from a General McIntosh; by intelligence and letters from my nephew there, I find they are perfectly secure just now, but that the greatest apprehensions are for Niagara. General Sullivan, it is said, is on his march from the Sesquahanna with three or four thousand men, but whether for that place or to take possession of the Indian country is uncertain; I should think the latter, the former he can't come sufficiently prepared for. Col. Butler is, however, watching his motions with his Rangers, some of the 8th Regiment, and a large body of Indians. We expect daily accounts from him; by my nephew's letter from Detroit, five men of the 8th Regiment, that had been taken on Mr. Hamilton's unfortunate expedition, made their escape; they say the Indians are much

exasperated against the rebels and have lately killed and scalped several at St. Vincennes; prisoners and scalps are also daily brought in at Detroit."

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, September 19, New York. *Roebuck.*—Stating that their design has had to be postponed, owing to Governor Dalling's representations of the dangers to which Jamaica is exposed from the great armament now preparing by Count d'Estaign. Lord Cornwallis has gone to the island with all the troops that can be spared, embarked in the *Russel*, *Europe* and *Raisonable*. Is himself going to Rhode Island, a port which has locked up four or five thousand men and five or six ships at enormous expence, and hitherto of no use. Thinks it was foolish to take it, though whether it would be proper to abandon it he cannot determine.

Enclosing:

1. 1779, *Aug.* 12, Bristol. *Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica —Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, enclosing a copy of his letter to Vice-Admiral Byron, which will explain the very alarming situation of Jamaica. Copy.*
2. 1779, *Aug.* 10, Bristol, *Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica. —Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker to Vice-Admiral Byron. The letter referred to in enclosure No.* 1. *Hopes that a respectable squadron is on its way to join him, "otherwise this valuable island and his Majesty's ships upon this station will be in imminent danger of being overpowered." Expects the approach of the enemy in three or four days, as on the 29th and 30th of July part of his fleet was seen by a privateer off the N.E. of Hispaniola. Count d'Estaign's squadron consists of* 120 *sail, including eighteen sail of the line.*
3. 1779, *Sep.* 19.—*Orders from Vice-Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot to Commodore Drake for his conduct of the squadron under his command to relieve Jamaica.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1779, Sept. 27, Whitehall.—"Secret." Enclosing duplicates of former letters, which will probably arrive sooner than the originals. "Since those letters were written, I have had the mortification to hear of the loss of the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada, and that our affairs in the West Indies were so changed, that the commanders of the King's troops and ships there judged it unsafe to send back any part of the troops to North America, or to spare any naval force to convoy them. The uneasiness which this disappointment must give you is a great concern to me, but I trust you will do me the justice to believe I sincerely intended you should have received a considerable part of those troops before the hurricane season came on. The arrival of Mr. D'Estaing with thirteen sail of

the line, as it is said, at Port L'Orient a few days since, if true, has again given us the superiority of naval force in the Leeward Islands; but after such heavy misfortunes as we have experienced, supposed to have been occasioned by the want of sufficient garrisons to defend the islands, which were attacked in the absence of the fleet, it is impossible to think of withdrawing any part of what Major-General Grant has judged necessary to distribute among those which remain to us. On the contrary, the apprehensions for their safety are so great, both here and in the West Indies, that it were exceedingly to be wished our circumstances were such as to admit of sending a further body of land forces thither, not only to strengthen still further our possessions, but to attack the enemy in our turn, or at least endeavour to recover what we have lost. The very important service you propose to employ a part of the troops under your command in effecting, in the month of October, is an object of such vast importance, that I would not, on any account, suggest the most distant idea of changing it for any other. The feeble resistance Major-General Prevost met with in his march and retreat through so great a part of South Carolina, is an indubitable proof of the indisposition of the inhabitants to support the rebel government. The possession of Charles Town would, therefore, I flatter myself, be attended with the recovery of the whole of that province, and probably North Carolina would soon follow, and present you with a pleasing occasion of exercising the powers his Majesty has invested you with, of granting pardon and restoring to the king's peace those valuable countries. The other enterprise you meditate on the side of the Chesapeak Bay, cannot, I am persuaded, fail of accelerating the great end of all the King's American measures, the suppression of the rebellion; and I shall hear with particular pleasure that you have found means to establish a post at Portsmouth, in Virginia, as that situation appears to be so well cicumstanced as a station for the men-of-war and privateers to intercept the trade of that province and Maryland whilst they persist in rebellion, which, with that of Carolina and Georgia, have furnished the Congress with the chief means of purchasing supplies for carrying on the war. The severe blow Sir George Collier has given to the rebel force at Penobscot, by entirely destroying the shipping employed in the attempt to dislodge Col. Maclean, must deprive the people of the New England provinces of their great resource from privateering, and prove a considerable security to the navigation of the King's faithful subjects. . . . . I have heard with great pleasure, from Capt. Dixon, that the dissentions and jealousies among the members of the Congress continue to increase, and that the people's repugnance to serve in their army becomes every day greater. . . . . As it may be expected that France and Spain will immediately detach some ships to the West Indies, in the room of those brought home by Mr. D'Estaing, and as

in the winter season our large ships can be of no use in North America, orders are sent out by this conveyance to Admiral Arbuthnot to send three of the line to join the Leeward Island squadron; but they will be replaced early in the spring, when we hope to be better able to spare ships of the line from hence than at present. . . . . The combined fleets of France and Spain are returned to Brest to recruit their seamen, which were very sickly, and supply themselves with water and provisions, of which they were in great want. They still profess to cover a body of troops to invade this country or Ireland, and a number of transports are collected at St. Maloes and Havre for the purpose. Our fleet is now greatly reinforced and in most excellent condition; and so great a military spirit has lately diffused itself throughout the people, that the internal defence of this country was, I believe, at no time so well provided for. *Copy*.

Lord North to Thomas de Grey.

1779, Sept. 28, Marsh Gate.—"There can be no doubt but the ship taken in the North Sea by Paul Jones is Atkinson's, and there is no means of supplying the loss this year. I do not believe the intelligence respecting d'Estaign's squadron but I think that if you are going to send off any dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton you had better enclose the intelligence received from Mr. Stephens just as you have received it, and leave it to him to judge of it. I would enquire, however, whether there is any truth in the report of M. d'Estaign's being returned to Europe, and would accompany this intelligence with any information I might receive upon that subject. . . . . I am sorry Capt. Pearson, after beating off Paul Jones, found himself obliged to strike to the *Alliance*.

Lord North to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sept. 29, Bushy Park.—"Having laid the contents of your Lordship's letter before the King, I am commanded by his Majesty to signify to your Lordship his high approbation of the disposition you have shewn to facilitate any arrangement which can strengthen his administration. His Majesty has ordered me at the same time to say to your Lordship that he does not consider the separation of the offices as in the least degree degrading, and certainly would not wish to see it take place if he did, but that he wishes to introduce Lord Carlisle into his service without placing him immediately in one of the most efficient offices of the State and without removing the principal direction of the American affairs from those hands where it now is and where he is most desirous of seeing it continue. . . . . The kind part your Lordship has taken upon this occasion will be ever gratefully remembered by me, who am deeply interested in everything that can benefit the present system of Government.

I have long been of opinion and have often represented that a change in my department would strengthen rather than weaken his Majesty's Government, but as this is not his Majesty's opinion, I have determined to go on cheerfully, in full confidence of an able and cordial support, of which indeed I stand in the greatest need. This instance of your Lordship's friendship to me and zeal for the common cause will, I trust, operate by the force of the example upon the attachment of the rest of the friends of Government, and contribute essentially to carry us well through our present embarassed situation." *Seal of arms in garter, surmounted by coronet.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to LORD NORTH.

1779, Oct. 1, Pall Mall.—I beg you to inform me whether the King read your letter to me and my answer to it, and if his Majesty "upon that state of the business" approves of the proposed arrangement. "Whatever I may think of the separation of the offices I shall most readily and cheerfully submit to his Majesty's pleasure, trusting, however, that he will give me an opportunity this day of personally assuring him that upon this and every other occasion I shall ever wish to act in that manner which may best prove my duty and attachment towards his Majesty." *Copy.*

LORD NORTH to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Oct. 1, Friday, noon.—"The King read both your Lordship's letter to me and mine to you before he gave me those commands which I executed in the letter I wrote to your Lordship on Wednesday, and I doubt not but his Majesty will desire to hear your Lordship's sentiments fully before any step is taken in the proposed arrangement."

VICE-ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Oct. 10, *Europe*, Sandy Hook.—"Lord Cornwallis embarqued and the ships all over the bar and under sail at 11 o'clock at night, when my express arrived to the *Russel* in the only moment to stop them, on the 25th following, in consequence of intelligence received by a Spanish ship from the Havana. . . . . This man relates that on the first of September in latt. 28 N. and longitude 74 W. 30 leagues from the land he was in the midle of Count d'Estaing's fleet, consisting of 24 sail of the line and 14 frigates with six or eight large ships, but does not know whether they were transports or prizes; they were steering west and one of the frigates' boats boarded him, examined his papers and was very inquisitive respecting St. Augustine. That he has been upon this coast is undoubted, and has been confirmed from a variety of reports, as an extract from the rebel paper herewith will inform.

"In consequence of this account it will naturally follow that every consideration gave way to that of our security here, and I immediately set about collecting every proper vessel for the purpose of sinking on the inner barr, where I intended to oppose the enemy, which your Lordship will observe differs from Lord Howe's, because his Lordship's force approached much nearer to his antagonists than mine, if they should pay us a visit, and if I cannot stake them on the barr I am apprehensive our resistance afterwards will avail but little. However, I flatter myself if this gentleman does bend his course this way, he will find it more difficult to assault than perhaps the account he may have received of our force prompts him to expect; I have great reason to believe he has had his share of the severe winds which we have lately experienced all round us, which I am in hopes may have frustrated his future designs against us at this advanced season, for I am sorry to say that the *Renown* and *Camilla*, who sailed the 11th September with transports containing 2,000 troops for Quebec, the former is returned with her main and mizen mast gone, with two transports, one dismasted; the *Camilla* and the rest, viz. nine, separated, and have not since been heard of.

"Yesterday the late master of the *Lord Sandwich* packet arrived here from his captivity at Boston and brought me an account of the rebels working without intermission in equipping four frigates, lately arrived to proceed on a secret expedition, which I am convinced is against Penobscot, in consequence of which, *weak as I am*, I have not hesitated to dispatch Sir And. Hamond in the *Roebuck*, and *Romulus*, Capt. Gayton, each of 40 guns, for the preservation of this port, which is of more consequence than people are inclined to believe. Indeed, my Lord, if we cannot properly maintain posts after we have got possession, we had better not attack them, for I believe it will not be possible to persuade that the people will give any assistance. . . . . Nothing can be more unpleasant than the parting with those two ships. I am now reduced to five only to defend a pass of near a mile, barracaded (or will be) against 20 sail and 14 frigates, if they come, and I am convinced they did intend it."

Enclosing:

(A.) *Extract from an American paper dated from Charlestown, South Carolina, Sep. 4th, stating that Count D'Estaign's fleet, consisting of* 26 *sail of the line,* 20 *frigates and* 3 *courvettes or sloops, and having on board* 5,000 *land forces, was at anchor off Tybee.* "*This great and unexpected aid cannot fail giving the highest satisfaction to every real friend of America, and affords the happy prospect of soon seeing the virtuous few of our sister state of Georgia reinstated in their possessions, and a speedy stop being put to the ravages of our haughty invaders.*"

(1.) 1779, *Sep.* 8, *New York.—Mr. Charles Patten to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot.—Stating that* "*On the* 26*th of*

August he fell in with and took the schooner Salisbury *of Salem, William Herrick commander, from whom he collected the following intelligence, viz.: That Count D'Estaing with a fleet of* 25 *sail of the line,* 12 *frigates, and* 60 *transports with* 3,000 *troops on board arrived from the Carribbe Islands at the Cape on the* 31*st July. The* 3*rd of August* 3 *or* 4 *sail of the line with about as many frigates sailed again and stood to leeward toward Cape Nichola, in consequence of which it was reported some days afterwards that the* Ruby *and a frigate which were cruizing off Cape Nichola had been taken by that squadron and carried into Port au Prince. That a few days after Count D'Estaing's arrival at the Cape, an English frigate coming down along the coast of Hispaniola stood close in and could very well see the force the French had collected there. From the time of his arrival great preparations had been making for an expedition,* 3,000 *troops including* 600 *molattos had been embarked, in addition to the land forces he had brought with him, a large quantity of trenching tools, etc., had been put on board, and an embargo had been laid on all the shipping.*

"*The destination of this armament was kept a profound secret, but the general conjectures were that it must either be intended against Jamaica or some of the British possessions in America ; the measures publicly adopted by the Count seem'd rather intended to favour the former opinion, as he had impressed Jamaica pilots, etc. Yet it must be granted that the season of the year is extreemly improper for such an undertaking, and it is well known that Mons. D'Estaing impressed Barbadoes pilots at Martinica before he went on his expedition against Grenada. The Rhode Island pilot still retain'd on board the* Langueda, *gave it as his opinion to the captain of the schooner that the expedition was intended against that place. From the* 15*th to the* 19*th of August the French fleet were employed in getting out of the harbour of Cape François ; they consisted of the same men-of-war he had brought with him, that part of his squadron already mentioned to have sail'd a few days after his arrival excepted, besides which there were* 60 *transports with troops and about* 40 *sail of loaded merchant ships, seven or eight of which were American, the remainder French that carried from* 16 *to* 40 *guns and many of them well man'd. Count D'Estaing kept the whole with him (the schooner taken by this ship excepted) and stood to leeward toward Cape Nichola where it was reported he was to be joined by the remaining part of his squadron and about* 3,000 *land forces.*

Our prize fell astern of the fleet and stood thro' the Cacos passage in the night, the captain does not think that any other vessel whatever parted company, and believes he should have been stopped had he been discovered." *Copy.*

2. *A sketch of the disposition of the force at New York for the defence of the port, showing the squadrons under command of Lord Howe and Admiral Arbuthnot stationed at the outer and inner bars respectively.*
3. 1779, *Sept.* 18, *New York. Thomas Goldthwait to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot. Concerning the importance of a post at Penobscot or at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Copy. Endorsed :—" ? Expedient, but incompatible with the present plan of operations."*

William Pulteney to Lord George Germain.

1779, Oct. 10, London.—Giving the heads of a discussion he has had with a person of great military knowledge and experience as to the present mode of conducting the American war, and suggesting plans for its better conduct in future.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Sir Henry Clinton.

1779, Oct. 18, *Europe*, Sandy Hook.—In a former letter, I suggested the evacuation of Rhode Island, but if Count D'Estaing has occupied Halifax it would be better to defer it, as New York is not a place for large ships. "I hope, sir, you understand that I conceive while we possess Halifax that I considered Rhode Island as not worth, for any utility to the King's fleet, either the expense of the garrison or the ships of war that have been employed in keeping possession; but without Halifax it becomes another question, which at the time the idea of abandoning it took place neither you nor I could foresee." *Copy.*

Lord North to Lord George Germain.

1779, Oct. 28, Downing Street.—"His Majesty seems desirous that Lord Carlisle should kiss hands to-morrow, but I will not appoint his Lordship till I have heard from you, and will not, unless it is perfectly agreeable to you, fix the performance of that ceremony till Wednesday next. His Majesty, notwithstanding the wish he has expressed, will, I am sure, approve of the delay."

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1779, Dec. 16, *Europe*, Sandy Hook.—"As I presume Sir Henry Clinton has transmitted to your Lordship the particulars of the siege of Savanah, I shall not trouble you with a repetition, but I cannot conceal my shagrine at the uncertain state we remain [in] with respect to the enemies' fleet, after they were beaten from before that city, and had withdrawn from the coast. Some say that the Count is returned to France with twelve sail of the line, and Monsr. Le Motte Piquet to the Cape with three ships and some frigates: Monsr. De Grasse repaired into the Chessapeake with the rest, but on what errand we are yet to learn, notwithstanding

I have used every means to be informed. . . . . I have at last dispatched a small boat with a trusty person to land to the southward of the Delaware and proceed by land. I am very sorry I did not do it sooner, but as I came here determined to act with much caution in certain particulars, to avoid jealousy, I have deferred this step until the middle of December, and the King's ships and transports in the utmost danger of being interrupted by the ice, and if we should be so unfortunate as to lose this winter I am apprehensive the enemy may interrupt us in the spring by a superior fleet. As to anything else, be assured, Sir, the Americans long to see an end put to their distresses and return to their wonted happiness, and are in general tired of their new governors and most sincerely detest their allies the French.

"I think after all I have suggested a plan to the General that will confound our enemies, secure as they may think themselfs of our intentions: it is to request that he will embarque his army and I will conduct them to a safe harbour but a very little way from this, capable of securing us from the ice and putting to sea at all seasons, and opposite to Connecticut Province, so as to make them suspect the reality of what they have so often heard of, operations to the southward, and induce them to believe that Boston is our real object as we have been so long disappointed in going to the southward. Be that as it may, the General must acquiesce in this requisition, because the risk to the King's ships and transports are too great to be longer trifled with, when it is to be avoided so easily, and not 30 leagues, and the troops at this season better provided for in ships than in huts, and from whence we can proceed to sea in a moment at all seasons, as soon as we certainly know the intention of the French in the Chessapeake.

"Lord Cornwallis is so good as to undertake those messages and to prepare the General, not but we are upon the most strict cordial agreement, and the commander is very good and listens to me with patience. I am this instant informed by his Lordship that he is extremely pleased with my proposal and to-morrow the embarkation will be in orders; I feel myself much happier than I have been for a month past, because I am sure if we can get to the south without interruption the business will soon be ended, and I shall have the heartfelt satisfaction in doing my utmost not to disappoint you after all your goodness to a perfect stranger."

Sir George Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1779, Dec. 25, "St. Hellen's, getting under sail."—"'Tis now with a certainty I can have the honour of acquainting you that the wind is fair and that I shall proceed without a moment's loss of time to put his Majesty's commands into execution. The delays that have been at this port and the almost total loss of naval discipline is almost beyond com-

prehension. It shall be mine to restore it. I will most assiduously do my duty and have spirit to make those under my command do theirs. I am sure of your Lordship's, and the support of all who wish well to their King and country. The favour and friendship you have honoured me with will be a spur to my activity, and point out to me that the only way for me to deserve a continuance of it will be by doing my duty. Whether in administration or out of it, the honour yon have done me by admitting my correspondence, I shall avail myself of it (*sic*) and acquaint you from time to time of every transaction whatever during my command."

— Hutton to Lord George Germain.

[1779, December ?].—Has just seen a letter from Paris, of December 11th, [1779], which he thinks can be depended on, and which is as follows :

" Hier arriva au matin un courier de Brest à Versailles, qui annonce le retour de M. D'Estaign, qui a fait une descente en Georgie et Carolina, a eu une action avec le Gen. Prevost, [ou] il a perdu, dit on, 400 hommes, luimeme blessé au bras. Il s'est emparé d'un vaisseau de 50 et d'un de 40. Il entra à Brest le 7. Il s'est separé d'avec sa flotte."

Sir Henry Clinton.

1778, 1779.—Paper endorsed " Précis of orders," being orders sent to Sir Henry Clinton in these years. The first given are those of March 8, 1778, for which see p. 94 above.

" The French declaration occasioned a deviation from the preceding plan [*i.e.*, that given in the despatch of March 8] by ordering, on the 21st March, [1778], five thousand men to attack St. Lucie, and three thousand to the Floridas ; Philadelphia to be evacuated and the remaining force to be collected at New York, Rhode Island and Halifax ; and he was told these orders would necessarily supersede the former plan, but that it was hoped he would still be able to keep up an alarm on the coasts of the rebellious provinces.

" The letter of the 5th of August, [1778], recurred to that of the 8th of March, pointed out particularly the recovery of Georgia and Carolina, or at least Georgia, if he could not spare a sufficient force for Carolina, and informed him it was the King's pleasure he should, in his future operations, adopt such parts of the plan in the letter of the 8th of March, as in the present circumstances he should think might be executed with success. The taking post at Penobscot was pointed out in the letter of the 2nd of September to be executed by a detachment from the troops at Halifax.

" The letter of the 23rd of January, 1779, which contains the plan for the operations of the year, directs him to endeavour

to bring Washington to an engagement at the opening of the campaign, or force him to seek safety in the Highlands of the Jersies or New York, and leave the low countries open, in which case the objection to restoring New York to peace and holding an assembly, would be obviated: for this purpose to keep with him an army of about 12,000, to detach two corps of 4,000 each to act on the sea coasts, one on the side of New England, and the other in the Chesapeak; and it was hoped, from the coming in of the Loyalists, this last corps might be so strengthened as to prove sufficient to protect the inhabitants of Jersey and the Lower Countries, in any attempts they might make to oppose the Congress. He was to draw a corps of 1,000 men from Nova Scotia, but not to reduce the force sent to Georgia, as great expectations were formed of Col. Campbell's success.

"In a letter of the 3rd of March, [1779], he was directed to open a communication with the people of Vermont and make them offers to return to the King's obedience.

"In one of the 31st of March he was told that the recovery of Carolina is so great an object that it is hoped, if Lieut.-Col. Campbell has not effected it, he will detach such a force in the winter as shall be sufficient to reduce Charles Town.

"The letter of the 1st of April tells him of the orders given to General Grant to send back the troops from the West Indies; but that the idea of carrying on offensive operations in that quarter was not relinquished, on the contrary it was the intention, when the southern provinces were recovered, to transport the troops which could be spared in the winter to the West Indies, and bring back all but garrisons in the summer, and that the admirals on both stations would have orders to co-operate and assist in the business, and to consider both squadrons as only one."

[The letter of September 27, next mentioned, will be found on p. 143 above.]

"The letter of the 4th of December expresses the strongest expectations of hearing that he has sent off the detachments to Carolina and the Chesapeak, upon the success of which all our hopes of a happy termination of the American war depend; and as he had withdrawn the troops from Rhode Island and the posts on the North River, it was hoped he could so strengthen his detachment to the Chesapeak, as that it should be sufficient to give protection to the Loyalists and the discontented followers of the Congress, who all private accounts represent to be eager to take up arms in great numbers; that if the recovery of the southern provinces this winter be the consequence of evacuating Rhode Island the wisdom of that measure would be fully manifested and the authors universally applauded."

English Forces in America.

1779. State of the forces in North America and the West Indies.

Total forces, British and German, under Sir Henry Clinton	35,921
Ditto, under Lieut.-Gen. Haldimand.. ..	7,469
Ditto, under the Convention of Saratoga..	4,108
Total forces in the West Indies	7,796

Sir George B. Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1780, Jan. 27, Gibraltar Bay.—"After returning you my most grateful thanks for the marks of friendship I have received at your hands, and through which I have been made the happy instrument of putting his Majesty's commands into execution, permit me most sincerely to congratulate you on the success of his arms.* The joy I must naturally feel on this occasion is greatly heightened by reflecting that it may be serviceable to those friends in Administration to whom I am so much endebted and whose permanency it is so much the interest of the State to continue.

"My stay here shall be as short as possible. I am eager to put his Majesty's further commands into execution and to make Spain receive a much severer blow than that she has already felt; but I own myself a little disappointed in finding I am to take but four of the copper bottom ships with me. I had flattered myself that the six sail from Plymouth were to be added to the four I took with me from Portsmouth. That force would have been fully sufficient, and I could have sent an equal number home who might have been refitted before the season for acting in the British Channel had taken place. To bring the enemy to action, copper bottom ships are absolutely necessary. Without them we should not have taken one Spanish ship. I hope Lord Sandwich will consider this and send me at least six, which, added to the four with me, will enable me to force the enemy to come to action whether they will or not.

"The best account I can give your Lordship of the action is my public one. Had the weather been moderate, or the battle been in the day, not one could have escaped. I shall take the liberty to correspond with your Lordship frequently, and beg you will believe me to be with truth, gratitude, and respect," &c.

Sir John Dalrymple to Lord George Germain.

1780, Feb. 1, Lisbon.—"Here is news come in that Admiral Rodney off Cadiz has taken three, destroyed two, and sent into Cadiz crippled two, out of eight of Langeara's squadron, and Captain Ford of the *Brilliant* says that three days ago he fell in with 17 Spanish ships of war going south from Ferrol, but sailing so miserably that he had more than once a thought

* The battle off Cape St. Vincent.

to throw a shot into a stern. So that that squadron is probably going to its destruction off Cadiz. Capt. Robison of the *Shrewsbury* sailed some days ago and carried with him to Admiral Rodney a copy of the letter which I had written to your Lordship with the information of the state of Cadiz and the circumjacent grounds.

" Even what has passed already within these few weeks changes entirely the face of the war. From defence we may now turn to offence, and for that reason I humbly submit four things to your Lordship's consideration in this letter, of which I shall send a copy of Lord North.

1. " When the Spaniards above a year ago threw open all their American trade except that to Vera Cruz and the Caruccas, the merchants sent their cargoes and ships into the River Plate beyond all other places. This fact I have from many English merchants here lately driven from Spain. The returns of these adventures are still on board in the River Plate waiting for convoy. Three of these merchants who left Cadiz in September say that not one of the ships from Plate has entered Cadiz since that time, and this I can confirm by my own observation so far as the Spanish *Gazette* can give it, that not one has entered since the 10th November, when I came here. The proprietours of a Liverpooll privateer which took a Plate ship with 80,000 hides in her and brought her into Liverpooll in October last can give your Lordship still more information of the prizes lying in the Plate. The booty must be immense. These ships have only two routes to come home, one by the West Indies, the other by the coast of Africk ; it is not probable that they will venture by the West Indies, because they will see the danger of passing between Jamaica and Honduras now that the last is in our hands, and they will not come by Africk without a convoy, which convoy our late success will prevent their getting. So that they must remain where they are till we send to bring them off.

" Such being the facts, I submit to your Lordship whether an attack upon the River Plate should not be made. From the charts and soundings and Captain Roberts' journal which I had the honour to send your Lordship last pacquet, the sizes of the ships to be sent will be discovered. I presume frigates or 40 gun ships would be the best and above all they should carry with them pinnaces in frames ready to be put together in order to pursue the prizes over the shallows.

" If money and ships cannot be spared by the public, this service may be performed by merchants on the same terms which our Glasgow friends offer or even by those Glasgow friends.

" But if it be too late to wait for them and your Lordship thinks the service should rather be trusted to the King's ships, then I humbly submit whether 1,000 troops should not make part of the armament in order to make an establishment on the river. If you make it on the north

side of the river, and let Portugal understand it is done to serve her, you will attach her to Britain during the war by the surest of all ties, her own interest. The only defect in Lord Bute's peace [was] that he did not remove the Spaniards entirely from the north side of that river. If the Portuguese had it, it would be a continual source of wealth to England in time of peace by enabling her to smuggle to the Spanish side of the river, and in time of war make the River Plate not worth one sixpence to Spain. If the present troops cannot be spared, my brother under the name of an additional battalion to his own, or under pretence of recruiting his present one, could have 500 men ready at Corke before your transports will be there to receive them. An attack on the Plate has this advantage, that the latitude being the same with that of Lisbon, the men will not die of diseases.

2. "All attacks in the south seas have hitherto been a matter of momentary depredation. The ships have gone, burned three fourths of the prizes they took, because they had no market for them, and at the end of the season have returned with the little silver they have found in the prizes which they had burned. Instead of that the war should have regularity and continuance. The ships should carry their prizes to China and India, sell their cargoes there, and return with the vessels to the South Seas with new men, new stores and provisions. The run from the South Seas with the trade winds across the Pacifick Ocean is two months, the return by latitude 40 which makes the west wind almost a trade wind to the coast of Mexico in order to get the common coast wind from thence, makes the run not above a week or two more than the two months. It is notorious that men, stores and provisions can be got at Macao Batavia and our own settlements, indeed, all the adventurers of that eastern part of the world would press into our ships if they knew that the plunder of the South Seas was to be their reward.

"Instead of sending the King's ships on this service, this mode of distressing Spain should be committed to merchants, because it is a mixture of war and trade, and they will find markets and supplies when captains of men-of-war cannot. This kind of war has another advantage; that no troops will be needed except marines. If the business is trusted to merchants, their officers must have the King's commissions, because otherwise they cannot sell in the East India Company's bounds, and they should carry letters of protection from the King's ministers to the Councils in India.

3. "In co-operation with this kind of war an attempt should be made to penetrate into the South Seas from the Bay of Honduras by means of the Musquito Indians formed into bands, West Indian adventurers, and North American refugees. Without all doubt my brother is the person for this attempt, and if he be in London will give your Lordship the facts. The History of the Buccaneers will be a better instructor, and so far as books go, is, I am sorry to say, the

only one. If such a harum-scarum army carrying carronades on its shoulders by way of artillery should make a settlement in the South Seas for English vessels to refit, it would bring Spain to peace in half an hour. Your Lordship will apply in vain to the Admiralty for information about the passages from the one sea to the other through the middle parts of America. They are to be got from traders alone, and from the History of the Buccaneers, and I hope from my two brothers, for I have often told them that acquaintance with those passages would sooner or later make their fortunes.

4. "If we keep the Gut of Gibraltar open, the sea towns of Spain in the Mediterranean should be laid under contribution. Malaga and Alicant are completely open on the land side, and lie on the sea; Valentia is open, and within two leagues of the sea. Maturo, Villa Nuova are open. Highlanders should be employed on these expeditions, because their dress strikes terror and their speed gives them a superiority. These expeditions give spirits to the soldiers and seamen. Men should distinguish between the coasts of France and of Spain. The first are lined with troops and fortresses and the coasts are shallow, but the last have no troops, no fortresses, and the coasts are bold, so that the troops can act under cover of the ships.

"Any expedition that goes either to the River Plate, or to the South Seas, or to the Bay of Honduras should take the Island of Teneriffe in its way, not only for the chance of prizes, but for a large contribution which would hearten the men on going out, and even if an expedition goes to the coasts of Spain, it should finish with laying Teneriffe and particularly Santa Cruz under contribution.

"When I mentioned the facility of finding crews in the east to man prizes brought from the South Seas, I forgot to state a proof that I have now under my eyes. There is here a Scotch Captain Pattallo, who brought from India a ship in the Emperor's service upon Bolts's adventure. The English and Dutch East India Companies having sent orders to distress that adventure, Pattallo could not have returned to Europe from want of a crew. But at Macao he made up a crew of all nations, with which he brought a ship of 600 tons burden to Europe. Of that crew there are 17 Chinese here at this hour.

"Knowing as I doe Lord North's parsimony of public treasure, I have submitted these four projects as things that may be executed (all of them except the attack from Honduras Bay) by private persons, and upon private expense, with such triffling public encouragement as your Lordship knows our Glasgow friends asked.

"My distance makes me afraid of every mischance. One of these friends writes me they are to ask half their charges. I know they doe not mean to ask one penny of charges if their expedition pays itself, and that they mean to ask half their charges only in the event of their being losers by the

expedition, which last event in all human probability cannot happen, and if they have not explained themselves aright, I pray of your Lordship to understand them in that light."

"Lisbon, Feb. 3.—A delay in the pacquet sailing makes me trouble your Lordship with a few lines more. Your Lordship may remember that in a war in the South Seas, in case it should be thought too great a project to send the prizes to India or China, I proposed that the invaders should deposite them either in one of the desert Gallipago Islands, or in a spot in New Zealand which Captain Cook says might be made impregnable ; and that from thence the invaders might return to the coast to renew the pillage. Captain Wallis of the *Dublin*, who first discovered Otaheite, and who is here now, tells me that he proposed to Lord Sandwich to send ships to pillage the South Seas, and to deposit the plunder at Otaheite, and from thence to return to plunder again. So great an authority proves that my project is no chimera. But had I told him that my project went further and proposed that new armaments should return in the prize ships whose loadings had been sold in India and China, I fancy he would have yielded to my opinion.

"I have further to inform your Lordship that I have seen letters to merchants here, that 87 days ago a Lima ship came to Rion Janeiro, having passed the Plate and taken refuge at Rion de Janeiro only because she did not sooner know of the quarrel with Spain. From whence I form this conclusion, that more of the Lima ships may be in the River Plate, and that therefore our ships on taking the Canarys in their way, and thence keeping straight in the route to the River Plate, may find those Lima ships either at Teneriffe, or in their route, or in the River Plate. And if no ships can be got ready sooner for this expedition it will not even be too late to make the outward bound East India spring convoy doe it, after quitting the convoy, as I had the honour to mention to your Lordship in the letter that went by last pacquet.

"An establishment made on the River Plate would not onely stop one third of the Spanish trade, but keep open during the war an immeasurable gulf for the manufacture of England ; all of which would be paid in hard dollars or ingots.

"In a letter by last pacquet I had the honour to enclose a letter which I had taken the liberty to write to the Governor of Gibraltar containing information which I had received from Monsr. Hillfried, whom I told your Lordship was *Conseiller de l'Ambassade* of the Danish King. But I now find that his title is higher and I enclose it in his own hand-writing, resident to all the Italian Courts but one. He is this day gone to Cadiz by order of his Court to reclaim some Danish ships seized at Cadiz. He says that from thence he will, if he can get a sure hand, write a state of the troops, forts, roads, bridges, etc., at Cadiz to the Governor of Gibraltar with a double of the letter to be forwarded to your Lordship.

Both letters are to be signed A.A.A., and I shall write so to the Governor of Gibraltar. He says his reason for taking these strong steps is his belief that by serving England he will please his own Court, and that they are enraged at the seizing of their vessels by the Spaniards. My connexion with him was as a man of letters and conversation, and I thoroughly believe him to be a man that acts from principle.

"He has given me drawings of the Spanish seaports in the Mediterranean, which he made in December last. These I shall transmit to the Governor of Gibraltar.

"We hear there is danger of a Dutch war. I take the liberty to repeat a thing which I mentioned to your Lordship from Scotland. When I left Scotland in October last, the Dutch were on terms with the Carron Company for the guns of 12 ships of war then fitting out. If the guns be not delivered it is easy for your Lordship by means of Gascoyne and Miller to get them to amuse the Dutch with delay in the delivery, and when they can delay no longer, an order of Privy Council may stop the guns altogether, and this will disarm the Dutch for six months at least."

Sir John Dalrymple to Lord George Germain.

1780, March 1, Lisbon.—"The news here is that the Gibraltar fleet is off Cadiz. If this be true its success is infallible, and the maritime power of a great nation will have been destroyed in the short space of six weeks.

"In a fortnight I leave this place on my journey home through Spain and France. On the speculation that the news off Cadiz is true I cannot resist writing what follows.

"There are three ways of getting into the South Seas; by the Isthmus of America, Nicoragua Lake, the Chagre and the Darien. There is only ten miles of land to march by the first, not so much by the second and not much more by the third. The forts are weak. By Nicoragua the Musquito Indians and by Darien the Darien Indians are hostile to Spain and both are brave; add to these highlanders and all the madmen whom my brother could carry at his heels from Jamaica. Two hundred of them could carry a train of artillery of 50 six-pounder carronades on their shoulders with all their carriages, powder and shot, the weight of a six-pounder carronade being only 250 pounds. Three-fourths of the passage would be by water. The History of the Buccaneers shows with [what] facility large detachments can make these passages, winter is the time, to avoid the rainy season.

"The country between any of these three lines would be easily kept, because it is small in extent, and because the boundaries are the sea on two sides and river or lake on the other two sides, with the exception of the necks of land above them, which is so short a space that few forts would be required. This dominion should be kept more as a passage than as a colony, and be kept by troops not by colonists.

"Could such a thing be effectuated, England might very well put up with the loss of America, for she would then exchange an empire of dominion which is very difficult to be kept for an empire of trade which keeps itself. Instead of going round by the Cape of Good Hope her East India trade would then be conducted by that isthmus, which would be another sort of passage in point of advantage than the north-west passage that we are all agog about. The run from England to the isthmus with the trade wind is six weeks; from the other side of the isthmus to the East Indies is two months. The present East India trade is loaded with a passage in which there is no stop and consequently no intermediate profit. But if their passage was by the isthmus their ships would take the West Indies and North America in their way and give an intermediate profit. Such a communication would connect the trade of England completely together. In time of war there would be required only two great convoys, one to carry the whole trade between England and this side of the isthmus and the other to convoy the whole trade between the other side of the isthmus and the East Indies.

"If the matter was rightly understood and the lure of it thrown out to the Americans, perhaps it might bring them to their senses more than all they have heard.

"I have sent a copy of this letter to Lord North."

Sir George Rodney.

1780, April 16.—"Sir George B. Rodney's line of battle on the 16th April in the Leeward Islands," for the next day's battle. Names of the ships, with their captains, guns, etc.

Hon. G. Damer* to [Lord George Germain].

1780, April 23, *Intrepid*, off Dominique.—Respecting "the engagement of the 17th instant." "I can only speak as to my own feelings, and ignorant as I am and must be of sea matters I could not help entertaining the most sanguine hopes of success, from the good order and regularity of our line at the time when the signal for close action was made by our Admiral. We were to windward of the enemy; they could not avoid the engagement, at that time indeed they did not seem inclined to attempt it. We were not above one mile and a half distant from each other, and I had always been taught to consider their having two or three ships more than ourselves as a very trifling superiority. However, we gained the victory; we beat them out of their line, they ran from us the same evening and all that night, and have shown their determined resolution of not engaging us a second time. They had an opportunity of so doing off Guadaloupe the 19th. But notwithstanding the good disposition made by our Admiral, notwithstanding the gallantry with which he fought

* Afterwards Earl of Dorchester. Son of Lord Milton by Lady Caroline Sackville.

his own ship, both which points, as far as I can learn, are allowed by every individual in the fleet, we have not only not destroyed the French fleet, but we have not sunk or taken any one of their ships. Conceiving, therefore, as I do, that there never was a fairer opportunity of giving our enemy a most severe, and possibly respecting this part of the world a decisive blow, I cannot help feeling vexed even in the midst of victory. The ship I had the honour to be on board (the *Intrepid*) did, I trust, do her duty, at least she suffered severely in the loss of her captain, Mr. St. John, her first and second lieutenant, and another officer in the Danish service, a volunteer in ours, Mr. Dam.

"Your Lordship will excuse my mentioning the 87th Regiment on this occasion, but it did give me very great pleasure to find on going on board the different ships where they were quartered by companies, that they had done their duty in such a manner as to give general satisfaction. We have lost ten men and very much fear we shall lose one officer, Captain Ogle, a very gallant young man, desperately wounded on board the *Montague*.

"We are now going to cruize off Fort Royal, Martinico, in full hopes that the French fleet will never be able to regain that harbour without coming to another engagement with us. If they do, I trust we shall do their business completely. If they do not, and choose to run away to St. Domingo, General Vaughan will then have an opportunity of employing us in our own line to the dispossessing the French of some of their islands hereabouts, or at least to the recovery of our own. Walsingham is daily expected at St Lucia with what was called the second embarkation, the scattered parts of the first, and with from six to eleven ships of the line."

William Eden to Lord George Germain.

1780, April 30, Downing Street.—I received a great number of private letters and rebel papers by the New York packet which arrived this week; but they contain little or nothing worth transmitting to your Lordship. It is possible, however, that your Lordship may like to see the two inclosures herewith sent. The first (from off Charlestown) may serve to compare with other intelligence received. The other shows beyond a doubt that the credit of the rebel Congress is at its utmost stretch and actually breaking. They now call upon the colonies to furnish fifteen millions of dollars per month, which amount to above 70,000,000*l.* a year currency or near 40,000,000*l.* sterling. They offer too by this proclamation to receive one hard dollar in lieu of forty paper dollars.

My private letters from New York are fill'd with hopes of a termination of the war, if Sir H. Clinton succeeds to the southward. They also speak highly of General Knyphausen, General Pattison, and others commanding in New York, and are written in general with an appearance of alacrity and confidence.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, May 2, Charlestown.—I was in haste to despatch by the *Perseus* frigate news of the surrender of Charles Town, and therefore wrote hastily. I must repeat my acknowledgments for the commission with which the King has been pleased to honor me, and shall endeavour to deserve the royal confidence in the discharge of my important trust. "To that end I conceive that no time ought to be delayed in promulging to the public his Majesty's most gracious intention to the people of those provinces that will return to their allegiance and give reciprocal security that they will abide by and defend those principles and their property against all invaders; immediately after which I would establish a militia in every district, and give the commissions to gentlemen of approved principles, which by this time must be known if we are not fools. The encouragement I would propose should be rations when on service and a promise of hope of future reward, *hereafter*, of such estates as the flagrancy of particulars may render them exceptionable, and of such in their vicinity as may have been deserted by their neighbours, taking care not to be too liberal of those promises for obvious reasons.

"If, after all, the obstinacy of the people cannot be removed (which with proper management I do not believe) but in that case my wishes are to confiscate all delinquents' estates and invite the refugees and other loyal subjects to possess them. After punishing the most obnoxious, disarming and dispersing the rest until they shall have been fully convinced of their crimes, establish the British Constitution in its fullest extent immediately as an example for the sister colony to embrace. At all events if it is practicable I could wish to have one colony filled with the suffering loyalists as a deposit to depend on in future, and the manner that it ought to be increased (*if emigration is permitted*) will be a subject for your consideration when matters are settled. Those are the outlines of my ideas respecting the execution of the commission wherewith I am entrusted, and if they do not correspond with your Lordship's superior judgment, they will serve for a smile at sea politics.

"If your Lordship approves of that part of this account that respects the establishment of the civil government, I cannot conceal from you the absolute necessity of seriously insisting the offering to the people the terms upon which their liberty will be established. Peremptory orders must be transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief upon that head, or the commission must remain blank paper, and the people continue obstinate from the dread of remaining under military law, for these gentlemen have been so long accustomed to the *Ego et Rex meus* that positive instructions from home can only do the business, and the sooner the better, because I can do nothing on my part without quarrelling with the whole.

"Thus, my Lord, have I given you most unreservedly my opinion of our situation and committed myself for your private judgment, and if this liberty may be thought too presuming, I beg you will excuse it from the dutifulness of the intention.

"I pronounce with strongest assurance that the province with common prudence will submit and esteem it happiness to enjoy that freedom they once possessed, if Lord Cornwallis can restrain the rapacity of the troops in their march up the country. It is in very good hands in his Lordship's, but before I dismiss this subject I must inform you that a very awkward insinuation is going forth, viz., that the gentlemen of the army have proposed to those of the navy a division of such effects as may be found in the country in certain proportions. My Lord, if this is permitted the confusion that it will create is beyond description, and such a handle will be made of it by Congress and the whole Continent that I tremble for the consequence, and notwithstanding this I cannot do business on this head with the Commander-in-Chief to the purpose. He is at times so warm that I cannot find the moment to introduce this matter properly. I have washed my hands of it as far as depends upon the sea, and have given them to understand nothing can be disposed of, because it is in Majesty alone to adopt the property hereafter. If Sir Henry asks me, I will so clearly convince him of the impropriety of the measure, and indeed the indecency to the King, that I doubt not he will acquiesce, because he is not avaricious. Your Lordship may trust that I will to my utmost exert every faculty for to answer the end of my coming hither.

"If we had not been interrupted by the alarm of the French to disturb us, I have no doubt but to have transmitted pleasing accounts from Virginia, my plan having been heartily concurred in by Sir Henry Clinton. At present I am busy in collecting the stores and ammunition to proceed to New York, where I am anxious to be. The troops that are destined to return will be escorted as soon as the general can perform his part. The Canada convoy shall not be delayed a moment after I can get the *Rainbow* ready, who is in hand for that purpose, and will be finished in three or four days.

"Thus, my Lord, have I given you with most unreserved confidence my hopes and fears, relying on your goodness to pardon me if I have said too much, and to pray that you will be pleased to consider it as the private sentiments of a man who has little pretentions to anything but his ambition in dedicating the remainder of his life with a grateful remembrance of the honour wherewith your Lordship has been pleased to distinguish your most faithful," &c.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1780, May 15, *Roebuck*, Charlestown.—Your Lordship has no doubt all particulars of the surrender of Charleston on the

11th from the General. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the operations of the fleet. "The place is difficult of access, being situated between two rivers on a very narrow neck, encompassed on a considerable part of the western approach by an unpassable swamp, in so much that the front that way is very limited. The army having brought no more ordnance from New York for this siege than two 24-pounders and three 18-pounders, I have been under the necessity of taking out of the two deck ships 45 pieces of heavy artillery with a proportion of ammunition; also five post captains, two masters and commanders, with a proper proportion of lieutenants and petty officers, and 750 seamen and marines have been employed in different departments during the siege. I will not take up your Lordship's time with particularizing our several difficulties, but proceed to say after the squadron had passed Fort Sullivan and anchored above the ruins of Fort Johnson, we found ourselves within long shot of the town. They at times teazed us, and I begun to be apprehensive they might be troublesome if they did erect a battery on Mount Pleasant, which it appeared to me they were meditating, because they had taken post there, begun a small work, and fired on our boats that were employed in sounding the Hog Island Channel which they prevented, and at last brought forward an 18-pounder.

"The General having received a reinforcement from New York, which enabled him to send Lord Cornwallis over the Cooper with a proper force to occupy the country about the forks of the Wande to prevent an escape, and at the same time a frigate and other armed vessels was detached to guard the bays and inlets fronting the sea for the same purpose, the business was effectually done with respect to the retreat of the enemy. A little before this the rebels were discovered to be very busy in constructing a work on Lampries Point, very commodiously situated for strength on the termination of the Cooper and Wande, opposite the north part of the town. It also commanded the entrance of Cooper's river by the Hog Island channel, if we could have found it practicable.

"On the [*blank in MS.*] Lord Cornwallis came down to Mount Pleasant, driving the rebels before him into Sullivan's Fort, took possession of the post Mount Pleasant and one 18-pounder. I went on shore and waited on his Lordship, who in the afternoon reconnoitred Lampries Point, and not thinking it advisable to attempt the place by a coup, he informed me that he was under the necessity of returning to his former post, and accordingly left us about 12 at night. This place was of too much consequence to the fleet for me to suffer it to be repossessed by them, and [I] lost no time in ordering a force from the shipping to land at daylight under the command of the Captains Hudson, Orde, and Gambier, conducted by my Captain Sir Andrew Hammonde and 500 seamen and marines, with a few light four-pound cannon to

occupy a small work which the enemy had been driven from by Lord Cornwallis.

"This order was punctually obeyed, and immediately on taking possession we had intelligence of the enemy evacuating their post on Lampries Point and retiring to the town. No time was lost in pushing forward to prevent them from destroying the work and guns, and we arrived in time to effect it, consisting of four 18-pounders and two six. This event was communicated to the General, and Lord Cornwallis sent Colonel Ferguson to take possession of the post, which was delivered over accordingly to him the next day, and the sea brigade returned to possess Mount Pleasant.

"About this time it appeared to me that the enemy were contracting all their outposts to strengthen the defences of the city, and among others I had great reason to believe they had withdrawn much of their force from the garrison of Fort Sullivan, and this emboldened me to turn my thoughts on the attempt of attacking it, previous to which I detached Captain Hudson and Gambier round the island in boats in the night with 170 men to take possession of a post on the north-east part of the island opposite Long Island, where Sir Henry Clinton formerly landed, which was effected without the knowledge of the rebels in the fort, as I expected, it being upwards of two miles distant. The next day the enemy sent a detachment from their garrison of a captain, two subs, and 18 privates, to drive us away, being ignorant of our force and who we were. All those but two were made prisoners, except one killed. By two of those people I was more particularly informed of the enemy's strength, and on the return of the boats with an account that the landing was accomplished I gave orders to Captain Orde, who commanded on the opposite side with 250 seamen and marines at Mount Pleasant, to be provided with scaling ladders and every necessary implement for cutting down pickets, &c., that stood in our way to prevent getting over the works in the fortress, the ships in the meantime waiting only for the tide to repair to encrease the confusion of the enemy, because I well knew I could make no impression by battering. When we were in all respects ready for the assault Captain Hudson summonsed the garrison, and they, doubting their security, after some altercation surrendered the strongest fortress for its size I ever beheld, prisoners of war the continental troops, and the militia on parole until exchanged, consisting in the whole of 218, together with all sorts of military stores and 48 pieces of ordnance, consisting chiefly of 32, 24, and 18-pound shot. This event happened on the 7th instant, four days before the surrender of Charles Town.

"Thus, my Lord, have I given you a faithful detail of my proceedings, and can only add that the business of my life will be to thank you for your almost unexampled goodness to a stranger. Indeed, my Lord, it is not bestowed on an

unfeeling heart, and I confess I feel a pride in the hopes of repaying you in some degree by putting an end to this business, and repaid (*sic*) you for the trouble you have had in altering the Commission. I would have gone into the Chesapeake if General Dalrymple had not put a damp to the idea for the present. Your Lordship's ideas have been very just with respect to the management of this rebellion from the first. Could gentlemen have been prevailed upon to lay aside jealousies with respect to rank, and a loyal militia encouraged under the gentlemen of this country, and if it had been managed with prudence, I have no doubt but a force of this kind might have been opposed to Mr. Washington equal to his force, independent of the regulars, the consequence of which is too obvious to animadvert upon. I conclude this long letter in beseeching you to believe that I lay my heart open to you and which will be devoted to your Lordship to my latest moments."

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, May 16, Charles Town, South Carolina.—Acknowledging the receipt of Lord George's letter, acquainting him that the King had signified his royal pleasure that he should be vested with the like powers as were given to Sir Henry Clinton for restoring peace to the Colonies.

COLONEL THOMAS BROWN, Superintendent of Indians, to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, May 25, Savannah [in Georgia].—Has just received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to march with a detachment of the troops from Savannah towards Augusta, and there proposes to form a junction with a considerable body of Creek and Chirokee Indians should their service be deemed necessary. Between 1,500 and 2,000 Creek Indians are now on service in West Florida.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to SIR GEORGE RODNEY.

1780, May 28, Pall Mall.—" I congratulate you very sincerely on the great honour you have gained in the engagement on the 17th of April. . . . I hope and trust that those captains whose behaviour you disapprove will have been brought to a trial upon the spot, as it will be impracticable to send over hither all the evidence necessary to support the accusation, and for the defence of the officer accused, and if censure or punishment should be the consequence of the trial, the example would have more effect where the fault was committed than in this country. . . . Everybody approves of your intention of hoisting your flag on board a frigate in the next engagement. I have not the smallest conception how any signal can be made or order given whilst the Admiral's ship is engaged with the enemy, and it is

surprising that so absurd a custom should have subsisted so long, and that no Admiral has had the courage to break through it. Your feelings expressed upon your disappointment in not being properly supported are very natural, and I have no doubt when you have ascertained those who were essentially to blame, that you will send home not only their names, but that you will take that opportunity of doing ample justice to those who have done their duty, for I must acquaint you that the compliment to the French Admiral and the support he met with flung too general a censure upon all the officers under your command and made their friends here pass many anxious hours till the truth by degrees was known, and the names of those suspected to have behaved ill were rather too publicly mentioned. We had some debate upon this subject in the House of Commons, and the Opposition insisted upon seeing the whole of your public letter, asserting that it was impossible you should not have named the delinquents and commended those who had done honour to themselves. Their desire, however, could not be complied with, but I hope we shall by your next despatches be able to gratify their curiosity.

"The resolution you show in endeavouring to keep up or rather restore discipline is highly meritorious, and you will meet with every encouragement and support in the attempt. You will, however, consider that so desirable an object cannot be obtained in a day, but I shall not despair of seeing it completed by your firmness, perseverance, and example.

I had the pleasure of seeing your son, and the papers you desired him to bring to me. I was happy in finding him so well informed and so affectionately attached to you. I am much mistaken if he does not turn out as well as you and your friends could wish. . . . I cannot finish this letter without again assuring you that your conduct sets you high in the esteem of your profession and of that of the public, and that the King expresses his approbation of you in the most flattering and obliging terms." *Copy.*

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1780, May 31, on board the *Roebuck*, Charlestown.—Lord Cornwallis is to remain in this province, and if the well-affected gentlemen are formed into a militia, I believe that Georgia and the two Carolinas will be restored to allegiance, and three stripes lost from the detestable thirteen. "What use will be made of the Commission is yet to be discovered, for at present we seem to be so wedded to our military power that it will not be parted with until it cannot be avoided." For my part I shall be unwearied in trying to effect a reconciliation, but my task is not easy, or the road pleasant, and my health is daily impairing. I am on the point of leaving with part of the army for New York, but of the ships with me, I have only the *Europe* to reckon on. The *Russell* and

Robust being sickly I sent to New York and Halifax, and the *Raisonable* and *Renown* are very foul and out of repair. A petition is being prepared to the King concerning the effects of notorious rebels, of which I shall only remark that hereafter his Majesty will have many petitions of claims from suffering loyalists who have lost their all.

June 4.—Sir Henry Clinton has appointed his secretary Judge of the Admiralty. "Somebody must set this gentleman aright with respect to the law of his country. I dare not, for I will not quarrel, you may be assured, my Lord. I have succeeded this minute, and we are going to publish as Commissioners his Majesty's most gracious clemency to all his subjects on due submission to the law. This province and North Carolina I am sure will embrace the invitation, and I wish I could remain with Lord Cornwallis, who is well qualified.

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain.

1780, June 4, "Headquarters, Charles Town, South Carolina."—"I had the honour in my dispatch No. 88 by the Earl of Lincoln, to communicate to your Lordship the surrender of Charles Town. I am now able to give your Lordship a return of the prisoners taken, amounting, as you will observe, exclusive of near a thousand sailors in arms, to 5,618 men. I informed your Lordship that Lieut.-Gen. Earl Cornwallis was to march up the north side of Santee, whilst another corps moved up the nether shore of that river towards the district of Ninety Six. These corps are in motion, as well as one up the Savannah River in Georgia. The troops immediately under his Lordship's command have pressed so effectually upon a body of rebels which remained in the province that the Earl, by detaching his corps of cavalry, and with them the Legion Infantry (mounted), has completed the destruction of everything in arms against us in that province.

"Lieut.-Col. Tarleton headed this detachment, whose celerity in performing a march of near a hundred miles in two days, was equal to the ardor with which they attacked the enemy. These, refusing the terms which were offered them, were charged and defeated with a loss of 172 killed and some taken, together with the remaining field artillery of the southern army, their colours and baggage. With the greatest pleasure I further report to your Lordship that the inhabitants from every quarter repair to the detachments of the army and to this garrison, to declare their allegiance to the King, and to offer their services in arms in support of his government. In many instances they have brought prisoners, their former oppressors or leaders, and I may venture to assert that there are few men in South Carolina who are not either our prisoners or in arms with us. . . . I am with the troops I could take quitting the harbour of Charles Town on my way to New York, hoping no foreign armament can yet

have reached the coast, or have been able to attempt anything in our absence against that place. Lieut.-Col. Bruce, my aide-de-camp, will have the honour of presenting these dispatches to your Lordship."

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 7, *Europe*, Charlestown Road.—The King's ships are over the bar, and he is only waiting for the transports. The people have sent in a memorial to Mr. Simpson, secretary, which will be sent over to Lord George.

GOVERNOR MARTIN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 10, headquarters, Cambden, South Carolina.—All accounts from North Carolina speak of the disposition of the majority in that province to return to their allegiance. *Extract* (K.*)

WILLIAM EDEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 18, Greenwich. Giving an extract from a letter from New York written by "one of the best observers that I ever met with," and which represents the cause of the rebellion as hopeless.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 30, *Europe*, Sandy Hook.—"We left Charles Town the 9th inst. under the command of Lord Cornwallis, everything having the most pleasing aspect, and little doubt remains but the whole province will return to their allegiance without further trouble. We arrived here the 18th following, three days before Sir Henry Clinton and the troops, who I believe are disposed of in foraging parties, which I am in hopes will give the Commander-in-Chief time to consider of a proper proclamation to the people at large and this province and South Carolina in particular, that the whole continent may be informed of his Majesty's most gracious intention to restore them to their civil liberty when they return to their allegiance.

"Sir Henry consents to take the sense of the Council upon this head, but I am informed that if it is thought expedient to permit the civil rights of the people he means to retire; but the truth of this I do not assert, because he did not tell me so.

"I can only tell your Lordship, when we do meet, if his Excellency will curb the licentiousness that has prevailed, that the minds of the people may be appeased, I do not care by what mode the King's royal intentions are carried into execution, but I should very ill repay your Lordship for the trouble I know you must have had in altering the comission if I did not by every means in my power endeavour to prove

* This and several other letters of the later part of 1780 and the beginning of 1781 are from a bundle of extracts and despatches lettered from A to M (B is missing).

myself worthy of the important trust, and to that end I have consulted General Robinson, and our sentiments coincide. I have the most sanguine hope that if we can defeat the attempt of the French this summer, which I consider as their *dernier coup*, the Colonies will find the means to upbraid them with not affording them proper succours, and return to their wonted duty, as there is great reason to believe the bulk of the people are really tired.

"I am waiting with impatience for Rear-Admiral Graves, and have water, provisions, and every necessary that I can think of at Sandy Hook, that no time may be lost on his arrival, if he comes in health.

"Our intelligence insists that the French intend to land part of their force at Rhode Island, to put Washington in force to co-operate with them in their attempts against Canada. We will do all we can to send them back in disgrace, and to that end I have sent the accompanying copy of a letter to Sir Henry Clinton as a preparative."

LIEUT.-GENERAL EARL CORNWALLIS to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1780, June 30, Charles Town, South Carolina.—"In my letter from Camden of the 2nd inst. I had the honor to inform you that I was employed in regulating the militia and establishing some kind of government in this province; and I likewise mentioned the state and the steps that I had taken relative to our friends in North Carolina. I will first proceed with the affairs of South Carolina. As the different districts submitted, I, with all the dispatch in my power, formed them into militia, and appointed field officers according to the old divisions of the province. I invested these field officers with civil as well as military power, as the most effectual means of preserving order and re-establishing the King's authority in this country. I divided the militia into two classes, the first to consist of men above 40 and of certain property, family, or service. This class to be depended upon for the preservation of order in their respective districts, and to do the patrol duty, but never to be called out, except in case of an insurrection or an actual invasion of the province. The second class composed of the younger men, not only to assist in the home duties, but liable to be called out for six of each twelve months to serve in either of the Carolinas or Georgia; promising, however, to call upon this class in such proportions as to occasion the least distress possible to the country. This militia, both officers and soldiers, is composed of men, either of undoubted attachment in the cause of Great Britain, or whose behaviour has always been moderate. And the field officers of the rebel militia, members of their Council, assembly men and acting magistrates were ordered to go on their paroles to the islands on the coast between Charles Town and Beaufort to remain there until their conduct and character could be enquired into, and that their presence in the country might

not awe those that were inclined to return to their duty, and our friends from assuming the authority necessary to give vigor to our government. The rest of those that were notoriously disaffected I ordered to be disarmed, and to remain at home on their parole ; but subject in lieu of personal services to furnish moderate contributions of provisions, waggons, horses, &c., towards carrying on the war. About this time I readily agreed to a proposal made by a Mr. Harrison to raise a provincial corps of 500 men with the rank of major, to be composed of the natives of the country between the Pedee and Wateree, and in which it is at present extremely probable that he will succeed.

" This measure appeared absolutely necessary for the security of the province, especially as our hold is much loosened of a considerable number of people, who being notoriously disaffected, cannot with prudence be trusted with arms and admitted into the militia. The submission of General Williamson at 96, whose capitulation I enclose with Captain Paris's letter, and the dispersion of a party of rebels, who had assembled at an iron work on the north-west border of the province, by a detachment of dragoons and militia from Lieut.-Col. Turnbull, put an end to all resistance in South Carolina.

" After having made the following disposition of the troops, I arrived in town on the 25th. Major McArthur with the 71st Regiment, a troop of dragoons, and a six-pounder on the Cheraw Hill, with orders to cover the raising of Major Harrison's corps, and to establish the militia in the district of the Pedee ; the remainder of Lieut.-Col. Webster's Brigade, and the provincials that marched with me and Brown's corps remain at Camden, and Lieut.-Col. Turnbull's with some cavalry at Rocky Mount ; the whole under the command of Lord Rawdon. Lieut.-Col. Balfour's detachment is dispersed from the forts of Santee by the Congarees to 96. Whilst he and Lieut.-Col. Innes, and Major Graham are giving orders for militia for those districts, I have ordered Major Ferguson to visit every district in the province, as fast as they get the militia established, to procure lists of each and to see that my orders are carried into execution. I have given to the militia regiments temporary commissions, which perhaps your Excellency will find more convenient to confirm by a line in your next dispatch than to take the trouble of signing, as the number for the whole province will amount [to] some hundreds. I have had some conversations with Brigadier General Patterson and Mr. Simpson, and have made a little progress in the arrangement of this place.

" In regard to North Carolina, I have established the most satisfactory correspondence and have seen several people of credit and undoubted fidelity from that province. They all agree in assurances of the good disposition of a considerable body of the inhabitants, and of the impossibility of subsisting a body of troops in that country till the harvest is over.

This reason, the heat of the summer and the unsettled state of South Carolina, all concurred to convince me of the necessity of postponing offensive operations on that side until the latter end of August or beginning of September ; and in consequence I sent emissaries to the leading persons amongst our friends, recommending in the strongest terms, that they should attend to their harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet until the King's troops were ready to enter the province. Notwithstanding these precautions, I am sorry to say that a considerable number of loyal inhabitants of Tryon county, encouraged and headed by a Col. Moore, whom I know nothing of, and excited by the sanguine emissaries of the very sanguine and imprudent Lieut. Col. Hamilton, rose on the 18th instant, without order or caution, and were in a few days defeated by General Rutherford with some loss. I still hope this unlucky business will not materially affect the general plan, or occasion any commotions on the frontiers of this province. The force of the enemy in North Carolina consists of about 1,000 militia, under General Rutherford, at or near Salisbury, and 300 Virginians in that neighbourhood under Colonel Porterfield. Monsieur Treville returned with information that he saw 2,000 Maryland and Delaware troops at Hillsborough under Major General de Kalbe ; other accounts have corresponded with his ; but I have since heard that the greatest part of the last have returned to Virginia.

" After having thus fully stated the present situation of the two Carolinas, I shall now take the liberty of giving my opinion with respect to the practibility (*sic*) and the probable effect of further operations in this quarter, and my own intentions if not otherwise directed by your Excellency.

" I think that with the force at present under my command, (except there should be a considerable foreign interference) I can leave South Carolina in security and march about the beginning of September with a body of troops into the back part of North Carolina, with the greatest probability of reducing that province to its duty ; and if this be accomplished, I am of opinion that (besides the advantage of possessing so valuable a province) it would prove an effectual barrier for South Carolina and Georgia, and could be kept with the assistance of our friends there by as few troops as would be wanted on the borders of this province, if North Carolina should remain in the hands of our enemies, consequently if your Excellency should continue to think it expedient to employ part of the troops at present in this province in operations in the Chesapeak there will be as many to spare as if we did not possess North Carolina. If I am not honored with different directions from your Excellency before that time, I shall take my measures for beginning the execution of the above plan about the latter end of August or beginning of September ; and shall apply to the officer commanding his Majesty's ships for some co-operation by Cape Fear, which at present would be burdensome to the navy and not of much importance to the service."

M. de la Luzerne to the Comte de Vergennes.

[1780, June ?]—Paper endorsed "Extracts of intercepted letters (in cypher) from M. De la Luzerne, the French Minister at Philadelphia, to the Comte de Vergennes, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the Court of Versailles." The first extract is undated; the other is dated from Philadelphia, 15th June, 1780. They detail the probable plans of the enemy (England), but as they are only conjecture their importance is not great. The dated extract ends, "Lord Cornwallis marche avec un corps assez considerable vers la rivière du Cap Fear, sur les bords de laquelle sont établis un grand nombre d'individus mal intentionnés qu'il se flatte de fair soûlever, et comme ces contrées sont presentement sans defense, ou auroit tout lieu de craindre le succès de son expedition, si la saison n'étoit contraire dans le sud à toute operation militaire." On the same sheet is an extract of a letter from William Killen, Esq., to his Excellency Henry Laurens, dated Dover, in Kent County, Oct. 30th, 1778.

Admiral Sir George Collier to Lord George Germain.

1780, July 5, *Canada*, at sea.—"I am happy in being able to tell your Lordship that on the 3rd inst. we fell in with a French fleet from St. Domingo bound to Rochelle under the escort of an old 50-gun ship (*Le Fier*) consisting of 22 sail; it is impossible from the separation of some of our fleet to say exactly how many are taken, but I judge about twelve, besides what may be picked up by privateers. The *Canada* outsailed *everything*, but the distance of the enemy was so immense at the time the chace begun, that it was the close of the day before the first struck to us, she is called *Le Compte D'Arco* of 22 guns and had 66 men on board, loaden with fine sugars, indigo, cotton, etc." Renews his application for a baronetcy.

Sir George Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1780, August 2, *Sandwich*, St. Christopher's.—"Private." "I must beg you will permit me most sincerely to return you my thanks for the very kind and friendly part you are so good to take in my behalf. 'Tis to your friendship, my dear Lord, that I am indebted for my present situation in life, to you I owe that I have been the happy instrument of serving my King and country with success, and to you alone shall I through life acknowledge the great obligations I owe you, and beg you will look upon me as a certain but humble supporter of your measure in Parliament should I obtain a seat there at the general election, which I hope will not be refused me, as I am willing to advance the necessary sum should [there] be occasion, but I hope my rank and long services will entitle [me] to an Admiralty borough. Dover offered to choose me last Parliament. May I beg your kind assistance in the ensuing. I have wrote to Mr. Robinson upon the subject, and hope Lord North will honour me with his approbation.

"Your Lordship, who is so good as to honour me with your friendship, will, I am sure, pardon my troubling you with my private affairs, and [I] flatter myself you will approve the manner of acting relative to the proposition made me by Lord North by order of his Majesty. His Lordship proposed either the Lieut.-General of Marines or a thousand pound a year pension for my life, and to revert to Lady Rodney and my children afterwards.

"As the Opposition had presumed to dictate to my Sovereign the mode he should most gracious (*sic*) reward my small services, their attempting to make me their catspaw, who from my heart abhor their impious designs against their King [and] country if nothing [else] had, would have been sufficient to have made [me] decline the Lieutenant-Generalship of Marines; but when I reflected that by my accepting the pension I put it in the power of his Majesty of rewarding some more meritorious officer with the other, I did not hesitate a moment, and have wrote to Lord North upon it. But I hope it will not prevent my being in Parliament. If it does I must beg your Lordship will be so good as to speak [to] Lord North upon the subject, and beg that I may decline the pension, for in my opinion to be out of Parliament is to be out of the world, and my heart is set upon my being in.

"I flatter myself your Lordship has long since received the letter I had the honour to send by the *Cerberus*, wherein I gave you a full account of the battle of the 17th of April, and the subsequent re-incounter with the enemy. I am sure you will [have] felt for the honour of your country when you perused my letter. Where I had no room whatever to praise one single individual, I am [sure] you will approve my tenderness in not mentioning individuals with blame. The letters (*sic*) was truth, truth itself. Had I done otherwise, I had deceived the King's Ministers. My duty was to tell the whole truth. No man under my command, my own captain excepted, deserve praise. No one obeyed my signals or orders. If they had, France had been no more a naval power. They have done their duty well since, but I have sent most of them and their ships to Jamaica to go home with the trade of that island, and the remainder I shall send home with the trade of these islands. Those whose behaviour was so gross as to fall within reach of my own eye during the battle are now to be tried, but if all those who [erred] through error of judgment, inattention to signals and orders, were to be tried, where could I have found judges? Even those few officers, who I am sure would have done their duty had they been permitted, did [not] obey my signal, which they ought to have known was paramount, and demanded implicit obedience from them, notwithstanding they were in other divisions.

"I must now, my Lord, congratulate you on the retreat of the combined fleets from these seas, the Spaniards I am well informed never to join the French again here. Their quarrels have been notorious and much bloodshed among

their officers and men. . . . I have sent Mr. Rowley with ten sail of the line to Jamaica, and from thence to convoy the trade of that island home. I keep here none but copper-bottom ships, ready to act at a moment's warning wherever his Majesty's service may require. I have not a doubt but his Majesty's Ministers will take care that I am well supported when the season for acting here approaches. Much, very much may then be done, and the war ended to the great advantage of Great Britain. As I shall soon [send] a frigate home, your Lordship shall hear more fully upon this subject, as I don't choose to trust what I have to say by this packet.'

Mr. Randolph's Plan of Accommodations.

1780, Aug. 4, Brompton Row.—MS., 22 pages, unsigned, but endorsed as above.

Governor Martin to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 18, Headquarters, Camden.—Great proof has been given of the loyalty of the North Carolinians. Fourteen hundred of them have joined the army, including near 800 men under Mr. Bryan, of Rowan County.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

1780, August 20, Camden.—" Your Lordship will have been informed by Sir Henry Clinton of everything that passed in the Province of South Carolina from the reduction of Charles Town to the defeat of the corps under Colonel Buford by the great exertion and valour of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton.

" Sir Henry soon afterwards embarked for New York, and appointed me to the command of his Majesty's forces in the southern provinces. I was then at Camden, but the corps with me being totally destitute of military stores, clothing, rum, salt, and other articles necessary for troops in the operations of the field, and provisions of all kinds being deficient, almost approaching to a famine in North Carolina, it was impossible for me to penetrate into that province before the harvest, I therefore employed myself in fixing posts of troops from the Pedee to the Savannah Rivers, to awe the disaffected and encourage the loyal inhabitants, and I took every measure in my power to raise some provincial corps, and to establish a militia, as well for the defence as for the internal government of South Carolina. One provincial corps to consist of five hundred men was put in commission to be raised between the Pedee and Wateree, to be commanded by Mr. Harrison, with the rank of major, and another of the same number was ordered to be raised in the district of Ninety-six to be commanded by Mr. Cunningham, to whom, on account of his active loyalty for several years past, I gave the rank of lieut.-colonel, and there appeared to be great

reason to expect that both these corps would be soon completed, as well as the first South Carolina Regiment, which was composed of refugees, who had now returned to their native country.

"In the district of Ninety-six, by far the most populous and powerful of the province, Lieut.-Colonel Balfour, by his great attention and diligence, and by the active assistance of Major Ferguson, who was appointed inspector-general of the militia of this province by Sir Henry Clinton, had formed seven battalions of militia, consisting of above four thousand men, and entirely composed of persons well affected to the British Government, which were so regulated that they could with ease furnish fifteen hundred men at a short notice for the defence of the frontier or any other home service. But I must take this opportunity of observing that this militia can be of little use for distant military operations, as they will not stir without an horse, and on that account your Lordship will easily conceive the impossibility of keeping a number of them together without destroying the country. Many battalions were likewise formed by myself and other officers on the very extensive line from Broad River to Cheraws; but they were in general either weak, or not much to be relied on for their fidelity.

"In order to protect the raising of Harrison's corps, and to awe a large tract of disaffected country, between the Pedee and Black River, I posted Major McArthur with the 71st Regiment and a troop of dragoons at Cheraw Hill on the Pedee, where his detachment was plentifully supplied by the country with provisions of all kinds. Other small posts were likewise established in the front and on the left of Camden, where the people were known to be ill-disposed, and the main body of the corps was posted at Camden, which, for this country, is reckoned a tolerably healthy place, and where the troops could most conveniently subsist, and receive the necessary supplies of various kinds from Charlestown. I likewise had settled good channels of correspondence with our friends in North Carolina, and had given them positive directions to attend to their harvests, and to remain quiet until I could march to their relief. In this business I was greatly assisted by Governor Martin, from whose abilities and zeal for the service I have, on many occasions, derived great advantages, and which I must beg that your Lordship will please to represent in the strongest terms to his Majesty.

"Having made the above arrangements, and everything wearing the face of tranquility and submission, I set out on the 21st of June for Charlestown, leaving the command of the troops on the frontier to Lord Rawdon, who was, after Brigadier-General Paterson, the Commandant of Charlestown, the next officer in rank to me in the province.

"About this time, I heard that two thousand of the Maryland and Delaware continental troops were entering N. Carolina, under Major-General Baron de Kalbe, and that

he meant to take his quarters at Hillsborough. There was then in that country a corps of three hundred Virginia light infantry under Colonel Porterfield, some militia at Salisbury and Charlotte Town under Generals Rutherford and Sumpter, and a large body of militia at Cross Creek under General Caswell. As all these corps were at a great distance from us, and as I knew it to be impossible to march any considerable body of men across the province of North Carolina before the harvest, I did not expect that our posts on the frontier would be much disturbed for two months ; and by that time I hoped to be able to undertake offensive operations.

" I had much business to do at Charlestown, in regulating the civil and commercial affairs of the town and country, in endeavouring to form a militia in the lower districts, and in forwarding the preparations for taking the field at the time intended. The business of the country was particularly difficult, for many parts of the lower districts are extremely rebellious, and this climate (except in Charlestown) is so bad within an hundred miles of the coast from the end of June until the middle of October, that troops could not be stationed among them during that period without a certainty of their being rendered useless for some time for military service, if not entirely lost ; and our principal friends, for the same reasons, were extremely unwilling to remain in the country during that period, to assist in forming the militia, and establishing some kind of government. However, under all these difficulties the business was going on, when our tranquility was first disturbed by the accounts of a premature rising of our friends in Tryon country, North Carolina, in the latter end of June ; who having assembled without concert, plan, or proper leaders, were, two days after, surprised and totally routed by the son of General Rutherford. Many of them fled into this province, where their reports tended much to terrify our friends and encourage our enemies ; and about the same time, notwithstanding my injunctions to the contrary, another body of loyalists rose at the forks of the Yadkin under Colonel Bryan (driven to it, as they said, by the most barbarous persecution) and after a long and difficult march joined Major MacArthur, at the Cheraws, to the amount of upwards of seven hundred men. Hostilities now commenced in different parts of the frontier. General Sumpter, an active and daring man, assembled at Catawba about a thousand men, chiefly refugees from South Carolina and Georgia, and was constantly menacing our small posts, and putting us under the necessity of calling out the militia of Ninety-six. He was joined by many disaffected persons, who had been enrolled in our militia, but as there was no serious alarm, I was very unwilling to put the troops in motion before our preparations were compleat, and during the intense heat of the summer.

" Baron de Kalbe moved early in July to Deep River, where he was joined first by General Caswell from Cross Creek,

and about the 25th, by General Gates, who took the command of the army ; but as he was still above an hundred miles from Major McArthur, which was the nearest post to him, Lord Rawdon did not think it necessary to make any material alteration in the disposition of the troops.

" From this time until the 20th of July, many skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Ninety-six, and towards Waxhaw, but none of any material consequences. The enemy had, however, in the meantime filled this province with their emissaries, and in all the eastern part of it were planning a general revolt, which our lenity had left but too much in their power. The Cheraw Hill was a post of great consequence, and had the appearance of being healthy, but it proved so much the contrary, and sickness came on so rapidly, that in nine days at least two-thirds of the 71st Regiment were taken ill of fevers and agues, and rendered unfit for service. About this time the enemy were known to be in motion, but the rigour of their government (many of our principal friends in North Carolina being confined in dungeons, loaded with irons, and several having been put to death), had so intimidated those on whose good will and ability to give the most accurate intelligence we had the greatest reason to depend, that Lord Rawdon could obtain no certain account of them.

" The salvation of the 71st Regiment, as well as every other consideration, determined his Lordship to withdraw the post at Cheraw Hill ; this the active incendiaries of the enemy represented as an act of fear, and so encouraged the disaffected and terrified the wavering, that the whole country between Pedee and Black River openly avowed the principles of rebellion, and collecting in parties commenced acts of hostility. Our Cheraw militia having seized and bound their field officers, attacked and took some boats on the Pedee, in which Major McArthur was sending near one hundred of his sick to Georgetown ; I was greatly alarmed for a small detachment which I had sent under Major Wemys to reduce the people of Georgetown to some order, and for my water communication on the Santee, on which at that time a large quantity of rum, salt, arms, and military stores were moving in boats up to Camden.

" At this time General Sumpter, whose numbers were much augmented by the present prospect of affairs, attacked our post at Rocky Mount, but was repulsed by the steady and gallant defence of Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull and the small corps under his command. It now appeared that General Gates was advancing with his whole force from North Carolina, and Lord Rawdon (whose capacity and zeal for the service I cannot too much commend) saw the necessity of contracting his posts and securing Camden, where we had all our stores and above 700 sick, but he could not immediately withdraw his whole force to that place without a certainty of losing his communication with Charlestown and exposing the post dependent on the Ninety-six command to be surrounded

and cut off; he therefore continued Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull at Rocky Mount, reinforced his post at Hanging Rock, and placed himself with the principal force at Robertson's on the west branch of Linche's Creek. The post at Hanging Rock was attacked by General Sumpter a few days after his repulse from Rocky Mount, and very nearly carried. The bravery of Captain McCullough, since dead of his wounds, and of the infantry of the legion preserved it.

"Lord Rawdon waited for Gates at Robertson's with the 23rd, 33rd, 71st, and volunteers of Ireland, who came up but did not think proper to attack him; in the meantime his Lordship performed the arduous task of removing the sick of the 71st Regiment to Camden. General Gates shewing no disposition to attack the corps at Robertson's, Lord Rawdon, wisely apprehending that his intention might be either to reinforce Sumpter and make a more vigorous attack on the posts at Rocky Mount or Hanging Rock, or by getting round his right destroy his stores and take his sick at Camden, retired from Robertson's to that place, where he was joined by the corps which had been before moved from Hanging Rock to Rugeley's Mill, and directed Lieut. Colonel Turnbull to quit Rocky Mount, and either come down the west side of the Wateree to Camden or fall back on the militia posts commanded by Major Ferguson on Broad River.

"All these incidents and movements on both sides were regularly reported to me while at Charlestown by Lord Rawdon, and I shall have the honour of informing your Lordship of the consequences in my next dispatch, which will be written to-morrow." [Triplicate No. 1.]

Also, Extract from same, relating to Governor Martin. (C.)

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

1780, August 21, Camden.—"It is with great pleasure that I communicate to your Lordship an account of a complete victory obtained on the 16th instant by his Majesty's troops under my command over the rebel southern army commanded by General Gates.

"In my dispatch No. 1, I had the honour to inform your Lordship that while at Charlestown, I was regularly acquainted by Lord Rawdon with every material incident or movement made by the enemy or by the troops under his Lordship's command. On the 9th, two expresses arrived with an account that General Gates was advancing towards Lynches Creek with his whole army, supposed to amount to 6,000 men, exclusive of a detachment of 1,000 men under General Sumpter, who having in vain attempted to force the posts at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, was believed to be at that time trying to get round the left of our position to cut off our communication with the Congarees and Charlestown; that this disaffected country between Pedee and Black

River had actually revolted, and that Lord Rawdon was contracting his posts, and preparing to assemble his force at Camden.

"In consequence of this information, after finishing some important points of business at Charlestown, I set out on the evening of the 10th, and arrived at Camden on the night between the 13th and 14th, and there found Lord Rawdon with our whole force, except Lieut. Colonel Turnbull's small detachment, which fell back from Rocky Mount to Major Ferguson's posts of the militia of Ninety-six on Little River.

"I had now my option to make either to retire or attack the enemy, for the position at Camden was a bad one to be attacked in, and by General Sumpter's advancing down the Wateree my supplies must have failed me in a few days.

"I saw no difficulty in making good my retreat to Charlestown with the troops that were able to march, but in taking that resolution I must have not only left near 800 sick and a great quantity of stores at this place, but I clearly saw the loss of the whole province except Charlestown, and of all Georgia except Savannah, as immediate consequences; besides forfeiting all pretensions to future confidence from our friends in this part of America.

"On the other hand there was no doubt of the rebel army being well appointed, and of its numbers being upwards of five thousand men exclusive of General Sumpter's detachment, and of a corps of Virginia Militia of 1,200 or 1,500 men, either actually joined or expected to join the main body every hour, and my own corps, which never was numerous, was now reduced by sickness and other casualties to about 1,400 fighting men of regulars and provincials, with 400 or 500 militia and North Carolina refugees. However, the greatest part of the troops that I had being perfectly good, and having left Charlestown sufficiently garrisoned and provided for a siege, and seeing little to lose by a defeat and much to gain by a victory, I resolved to take the first good opportunity to attack the rebel army. Accordingly I took great pains to procure good information of their movements and position, and I learned that they had encamped, after marching from Hanging Rock, at Col. Rugeley's, about 12 miles from hence, on the afternoon of the 14th. After consulting some intelligent people well acquainted with the ground, I determined to march at 10 o'clock on the night of the 12th and to attack at daybreak, pointing my principal force against their continentals, who from good intelligence I knew to be badly posted close to Colonel Rugeley's house. Late in the evening I received information that the Virginians had joined that day; however, that having been expected, I did not alter my plan, but marched at the hour appointed, leaving the defence of Camden to some provincials, militia, and convalescents, and

a detachment of the 63rd Regiment, which by being mounted on horses which they had pressed on the road, it was hoped would arrive in the course of the night.

" I had proceeded nine miles when about half an hour past two in the morning my advanced guard fell in with the enemy. By the weight of the fire I was convinced they were in considerable force, and was soon assured by some deserters and prisoners that it was the whole rebel army on its march to attack us at Camden. I immediately halted and formed, and the enemy doing the same, the firing soon ceased. Confiding in the disciplined courage of his Majesty's troops, and well apprized by several intelligent inhabitants that the ground on which both armies stood, being narrowed by swamps on the right and left, was extremely favourable for my numbers, I did not chuse to hazard the great stake for which I was going to fight to the uncertainty and confusion to which an action in the dark is so particularly liable ; but having taken measures that the enemy should not have it in their power to avoid an engagement on that ground, I resolved to defer the attack till day. At the dawn I made my last disposition and formed the troops in the following order : the division of the right, consisting of a small corps of light infantry, the 23rd and 33rd Regiments, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Webster ; the division of the left, consisting of the Volunteer of Ireland, Infantry of the Legion and part of Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton's North Carolina Regiment, under the command of Lord Rawdon, with two six and two three-pounders, which were commanded by Lieut. McLeod. The 71st Regiment with two six-pounders was formed as a reserve, one battalion in the rear of the division of the right, the other of that of the left, and the cavalry of the Legion in the rear, and (the country being woody) close to the 71st Regiment, with orders to seize any opportunity that might offer to break the enemy's line, and to be ready to protect our own in case any corps should meet with a check.

" This disposition was just made when I perceived that the enemy, having persisted in their resolution to fight, were form'd in two lines opposite and near to us, and observing a movement on their left, which I supposed to be with an intention to make some alterations in their order, I directed Lieut.-Colonel Webster to begin the attack, which was done with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole front. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which, preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well supported fire on both sides. Our line continued to advance in good order and with the cool intrepidity of experienced British soldiers, keeping up a constant fire or making use of bayonets as opportunities offered, and after an obstinate resistance for three-quarters of an hour, threw the enemy into total confusion and forced them to give way in all quarters.

"At this instant I ordered the cavalry to complete the rout, which was performed with their usual promptitude and gallantry, and after doing great execution on the field of battle they continued the pursuit to Hanging Rock, 22 miles from the place where the action happened, during which many of the enemy were slain; a number of prisoners, near 150 waggons (in one of which was a brass cannon, the carriage of which had been damaged in the skirmish of the night), a considerable quantity of military stores, and all the baggage and camp equipage of the rebel army fell into our hands.

"The loss of the enemy was very considerable, a number of colours and seven pieces of brass cannon (being all their artillery that were in the action) with all their ammunition waggons were taken; between eight and nine hundred were killed, among that number Brigadier-General Gregory, and about one thousand prisoners, many of them wounded, of which number were Major-General Baron de Kalbe, since dead, and Brigadier-General Rutherford.

"I have the honour to inclose a return of killed and wounded on our side. The loss of so many brave men is much to be lamented, but the number is moderate in proportion to so great an advantage.

"The behaviour of his Majesty's troops in general was beyond all praise; it did honour to themselves and to their country.

"I was particularly indebted to Colonel Lord Rawdon and to Lieut.-Colonel Webster for the distinguished courage and ability with which they conducted their respective divisions, and the capacity and vigour of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton at the head of the cavalry deserve my highest commendations. Lieut. McLeod exerted himself greatly in the conduct of our artillery. My aide-de-camp, Captain Ross, and Lieut. Haldane, of the Engineers, who acted in that capacity, rendered me most essential services, and the publick officers, Major of Brigade England, who acted as deputy adjutant general, and the majors of brigade, Manley and Doyle, shewed the most active and zealous attention to their duty. Governor Martin became again a military man, and behaved with the spirit of a young volunteer.

"The fatigue of the troops rendered them incapable of further exertions on the day of the action, but as I saw the importance of destroying or dispersing, if possible, the corps under General Sumpter, as it might prove a foundation for assembling the routed army, on the morning of the 17th I detached Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with the legion, cavalry and infantry, and the corps of light infantry, making in all about 350 men, with orders to attack him wherever he could find him; and at the same time I sent orders to Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull and Major Ferguson, at that time on Little River, to put their corps in motion immediately, and on their side to pursue and endeavour to attack General Sumpter. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton executed this service with his usual activity and military address. He

procured good information of Sumpter's movements, and by forced and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Calawba Fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, consisting then of 700 men, killing 150 on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, and 300 prisoners and 44 waggons. He likewise retook 100 of our men who had fallen into their hands, partly at the action at Hanging Rock and partly in escorting some waggons from Congarees to Camden; and he released 150 of our militiamen, or friendly country people, who had been seized by the rebels. Captain Campbell, who commanded the light infantry, a very promising officer, was unfortunately killed in this affair; our loss otherwise was trifling. This action is too brilliant to need any comment of mine, and will, I have no doubt, highly recommend Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to his Majesty's favour.

"The rebel forces being at present dispersed, the internal commotions and insurrections in the province will now subside. But I shall give directions to inflict exemplary punishment on some of the most guilty, in hopes to deter others in future from sporting with allegiance, with oaths, and with the lenity and generosity of the British Government.

"On the morning of the 17th I despatched proper people into North Carolina with directions to our friends there to take arms and assemble immediately, and to seize the most violent people and all military stores and magazines belonging to the rebels, and to intercept all straglers from the routed army, and I have promised to march with[out] loss of time to their support. Some necessary supplies for the army are now on their way from Charlestown, and I hope that their arrival will enable me to move in a few days.

"My aid-de-camp, Capt. Ross, will have the honour of delivering this despatch to your Lordship, and will be able to give you the fullest account of the state of the army and country. He is a very deserving officer, and I take the liberty of recommending him to your Lordship's favour and patronage." [Triplicate No. 2.]

Also. Extract from the same (D).

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1780, August 27, Martha's Vineyard.—Detailing the steps taken by him to attend an armed force which the French were despatching under the Chevalier de Tierney.

William Knox to Lord George Germain.

1780, Aug. 28, Whitehall.—Has seen Admiral Arbuthnots' despatches, one of which mentions the *Triton's* having fallen in with Ternay [Tierney] and being chased by him eleven hours. Ternay's destination is no doubt Rhode Island or Boston.

SIR HENRY CLINTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sept. 1, New York.—Expressing his high opinion of the services and merits of Major General Tryon, whose health compels him to return home.

HENRY STEVENSON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sept. 13, New York.—Detailing his services to the King's cause in America.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sept. 13, Gardner's Island Bay.—On the same subject as his previous letter.

LORD CORNWALLIS to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sep. 19, Camp at Waxhaw.—Concerning the patience and fortitude with which the Loyalists endure the most cruel torments and suffer the most violent oppressions, although their indecision has prevented them from taking advantage of the British success as they might have done. *Extract.* (E.)

GOVERNOR MARTIN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sep. 21, Waxhaw.—The Loyalists of North Carolina have been intimidated beyond belief by the cruel oppressions of their persecutors, but continue to give great assurances of aid when the army advances into their country. *Extract.* (M.)

WILLIAM EDEN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Oct. 4, Greenwich.—Letters from Sir Henry Clinton prove the absolute necessity of either removing him or of sending a new commander of the squadron without delay. France having succeeded in her first step towards removing the theatre of the war to North America, and given new fuel to the rebellion's fire, Ministers must, he declares, either make a general change in the whole conduct of the war or send out large and immediate re-inforcements, both in ships of war and in troops. "He laments the failure in his provisions as a cruel and most serious circumstance; he expresses some alarm about Quebec, and mentions some particulars which give uneasiness about Jamaica, . . . and he repeats again and again the necessity of having Commanders-in-Chief who have confidence in each other. And I must do him the justice to add that he writes with good humour, and as much cheerfulness as might be expected."

HON. G. DAMER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Oct. 13, New York.—"It is painful to think what accounts letters of this date might have transmitted to Europe, had not a plan finally settled been totally disconcerted by the Adjutant General's (Major André) falling into the rebels' hands upon the eve of its execution. . . .

The papers found upon Major André were immediately sent to Washington, and it was as extraordinary as it was fortunate that his pass should be sent to General Arnold. The latter, tho' closely pursued, got safe on board the *Vulture* sloop of war, stationed a considerable way up the North River, and the next day arrived at New York, where he was received, of course, with open arms. . . . The death of Major André has been very sincerely and very universally lamented throughout the army, and his behaviour on his trial, during his confinement, and in the last scene perfectly manly, his friends thinking him too careless only of his life, and too ready, from an apprehension of the appearance even of meanness, in admitting himself to be considered as a spy. The severity of Congress does not so much surprise people in this instance, as their impolicy; it is not possible for them to increase, either with us or with the rebels, the general detestation they are held in; but Washington had a character of temper and humanity to lose, and his not daring to exert the latter, or not having sufficient weight with Congress to make them adopt the former, must diminish his reputation or mark him as their tool. There is a freedom as well as a propriety in General Arnold's conversation and behaviour. He speaks handsomely of Washington, and of the officers of the rebel army in general; he makes exceptions, however, and Gates is among the number excepted. By his account they want soldiers infinitely more than officers. He does not scruple to mention the inactivity of our army at certain periods in former campaigns, and in this he very strongly expressed his astonishment upon his arrival at our not having attacked the French upon their disembarking at Rhode Island."

Information by Major the Hon. C. Cochrane.

1780, Oct. 14, Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall.—*Précis* of information given by Major the Hon. C. Cochrane, of the Foot Guards, who has arrived from New York with despatches from Sir Henry Clinton. "Major Cochrane parted with Sir Henry Clinton on the 3rd Sept. The Major had it in charge from Sir Henry to inform Lord George Germain that he intended immediately to embark three British and three Hessian Regiments and send them into the Chesapeake with orders to push as far up James River as the ships could go, having no doubt but the Admiral would afford him the convoy he had requested, which Major Cochrane thinks was the *Rainbow* of 44 guns.

"The General told Major Cochrane that he intended General Leslie for the command of this expedition, tho' he wished exceedingly to have gone with it himself; but he thought the state of affairs at New York did not permit of his being absent from that place.

"At that time Sir Henry had not heard of the success of Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina."

LORD SANDWICH to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, October 18, Blackheath.—"Private." "As there may be some difficulty of finding a person exactly to our mind to relieve Admiral Arbuthnot in the command of the fleet in America, and as I think it almost a certainty that Sir Henry Clinton will quit upon his not being appointed sole Commissioner, could it not be contrived that, in case of his quitting, Mr. Arbuthnot might remain where he is? I throw this out only for your consideration and shall have no thought of pursuing the idea if you do not think it a good one."

LORD RAWDON to the HON. MAJOR GENERAL LESLIE.

1780, Oct. 24, Camp near Indian lands west of the Catawba River, South Carolina.—Lord Cornwallis being ill with fever has asked me to write in his stead. "The approach of General Gates' army unveiled to us a fund of disaffection in this province of which we could have formed no idea, and even the dispersion of that force did not extinguish the ferment which the hope of its support had raised. To this hour the majority of the inhabitants of that tract between the Pedee and the Santee are in arms against us, and when we last heard from Charlestown they were in possession of Georgetown, from which they had dislodged our militia. It was hoped that the rising which was expected of our friends in North Carolina might awe that district into quiet, therefore, after giving them a little chastisement by making the 7th Regiment take that route on its way to the army, Lord Cornwallis advanced to Charlotteburg; Major Ferguson with about 800 militia collected from the neighbourhood of Ninety-six had previously marched in to Tryon county to protect our friends, who were supposed to be numerous there, and it was intended he should cross the Catawba River and endeavour to preserve tranquility in the rear of the army. . . ." *Extract.* (F.)

LORD RAWDON to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1780, Oct. 28, Camp between Broad River and the Catawba, S. Carolina.—"For some time after the arrival of his Majesty's troops at Camden repeated messages were sent to head-quarters by the friends of government in North Carolina, expressing their impatience to rise, and join the King's standard. The impossibility of subsisting that additional force at Camden, and the accounts which they themselves gave of the distressing scarcity of provisions in North Carolina, obliged Lord Cornwallis to entreat that they would remain quiet till the new crop might enable us to join them. In the meantime General Gates' army advanced. We were greatly surprised, and no less grieved, that no information whatsoever of its movements were conveyed to us, by persons so deeply interested in the event as the North Carolina loyalists. Upon the 16th of August, that army was so entirely dispersed, that

it was clear no number of them could for a considerable time be collected. Orders were therefore dispatched to our friends, stating that the hour which they had so strongly pressed was now arrived, and exhorting them to stand forth and prevent the junction of the scatter'd enemy; immediate support was promised to them. In the fullest confidence that this event was to take place Lord Cornwallis ventured to press your Excellency for co-operation in the Chesapeak, hoping that the assistance of the North Carolinians might furnish a force for yet further efforts. Not a single man, however, attempted to improve the favourable moment, or obeyed that summons for which they had before been so impatient. It was hoped that our approach might get the better of their timidity. Yet during the considerable period whilst we were waiting at Charlotteburg for our stores they did not even furnish us with the smallest information respecting the force collecting against us. In short, sir, we may have a powerful body of friends in North Carolina, and indeed we have cause to be convinced that many of the inhabitants wish well to his Majesty's arms; but they have not given evidence enough either of their numbers or of their activity to justify the stake of this province for the uncertain advantages that might attend immediate junction with our North Carolina adherents." *Extract.* (G.)

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, October 29, on board his Majesty's ship the *Royal Oak*, off Block Island.—"As this is a period equally critical with respect to the situation of public affairs as to my own I think it necessary to make my present dispatch more full and comprehensive than usual. Such letters as your Lordship will already have received from me by different conveyances will have communicated the immediate objects and transactions of the war as they arose.

"Your Lordship must know that the reinforcement under Rear-Admiral Graves arrived at Sandyhook in a sickly state about the middle of July. It was, however, in the shortest time possible put into a state for service, and I was in force off the harbor of Rhode Island on the twenty-third of that month.

"The enemy's squadron, under the Chevalier De Ternay, had been there about a fortnight, and being apprized of the expected reinforcement under Mr. Graves, had employed that time in preparing for an attack.

"His Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, immediately upon their arrival in that port being known, proposed an attempt upon their works by a *coup de main*, to facilitate the operations of the navy in the attack of Ternay, and two frigates were left at New York to escort the army to me off the harbor of Newport, thro' Long Island Sound; but your Lordship will perceive, from the extract of his Excellency's letter marked No. 1, which is inclosed herewith, that he was

not of opinion any important enterprise could be achieved by the army, because the enemy had been in possession of Rhode Island the full time, his Excellency appears to have thought necessary to fortify it against all possibility of attack ; even before I sailed from Sandyhook.

" On the 6th of August I sent my first lieutenant with a flag of truce to Rhode Island, on account of some French prisoners in my possession, and on his return directed him to attend the General at New York and report to him his observations, in consequence of which I proposed an immediate meeting, and a frigate was ordered to attend his Excellency and convey him to Gardeners Bay, where I then was ; but he rather chose to travel by land to the east end of Long Island, which he did not reach till the nineteenth. This mode of detour, however, occasioned a delay of several days, and in the interim other accounts (well authenticated) being transmitted to me that the enemy had, with circumstances of hurry and trepidation, completed their water and provisions and prepared to sail, at so momentous a time it was impossible to attend to etiquette. The enemy might have escaped whilst I was waiting in port to confer with the General respecting operations that could never have effect had they been permitted to go off. I found myself, therefore, under the necessity of putting to sea to endeavour to defeat their purpose.

" Your Lordship will see from an extract of his Excellency's letter marked No. 2, which accompanys this, that his intentions were to propose a desultory attempt in the Upper Delaware against the shipping and stores in the town of Philadelphia ; but it will be known from the inclosed extract of another of his Excellency's letters, dated the twenty-sixth of the same month, that he had changed his opinion and design, and intended to employ eighteen hundred, or at most two thousand men, to make a diversion in Virginia to favor the operations of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis in North Carolina. No delay was made to furnish his Excellency with a very sufficient naval force to co-operate with the detachment upon that service, and I do myself the honour to submit to your Lordship a copy of the orders the commanding officer of the navy sailed under.

" Your Lordship will have received the most perfect satisfaction from the very brilliant victory gained by Lord Cornwallis over the rebel Gates, and of its very important effects, which appears to have given a new turn to the war. The rebellion has in truth derived no one advantage from the arrival of Ternay's armament. On the contrary they have met with defeat and disgrace ; their councils have been blasted by division, and I trust a part of the evils are arrived which will overwhelm it, and annihilate all opposition to his Majesty's arms.

"As I am not intimately acquainted with the circumstances attending the defection of Mr. Arnold, I cannot decide upon its immediate effects or distant consequences. I trust, however, they will all be to the advantage of the royal cause.

"After having cruized off the harbor of Rhode Island upwards of three months and offered the enemy battle in a variety of instances with an equality of force, I anchored here yesterday within their view, as they are at anchor in the harbour of Newport, . . . yet they decline an action, even under every circumstance of advantage.

"If confidence is to be given to the report of the inhabitants of this island, the enemy mean to winter where they are, possibly in the idea of being strengthened by ships and troops in the spring. In that case this squadron will winter in Gardiners Bay, about thirteen leagues from them, and ever be kept ready, as they are now, for active service.

"On the contrary, should they slip me, not a moment will be lost in detaching Rear-Admiral Graves to the *Leeward Islands*, with an equal force.

"Your Lordship will form a just opinion of my sentiments of the presumptuous interference of Admiral Sir George B. Rodney in my command, from the accompanying extracts of my letters to the Secretary to the Admiralty, and I must intreat your Lordship to add your voice to the check it is necessary for the public service this officer should receive; because his spirit, inflamed by good fortune, and unguided by reason, drives at the subversion of all order and all discipline.

"I should have been happy on this occasion to have had the honor of congratulating your Lordship on the return of all the revolted provinces to their allegiance; tho' this desirable event is not absolutely attained, yet I conceive it not to be far distant; it will be accelerated by their repeated defeats, by their want of credit, by their irreparable losses and above all things by their detestation of the French alliance. Destitute of unanimity in the Cabinet and in the field, their situation is hopeless, indeed all circumstances appear to conspire to bring about a reunion in an almost divided empire.

"His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton will, doubtless, communicate his sentiments to you upon this important and interesting subject. As they are formed upon the spot and from the best authority, they will have proper consideration.

"Captain Knowles, who has served with me as a volunteer for a considerable time, will have the honor to deliver this to your Lordship; and as he is an officer of merit and experience, I beg to recommend him to your Lordship's favor and patronage." *Signed.*

Also, duplicate of the same.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

[1780,] November 11, *Royal Oak*, Gardiners Bay.—Renewing his complaints of the interference of Sir George Rodney and

reporting that the French ships of war still remain in harbour, but that five sail, apparently a frigate and transports, have been seen steering south, of which he has apprised Sir Henry Clinton. The winter has set in and hard gales, accompanied by frost and snow, have been blowing for fourteen days. *Endorsed* 1781, *but see Arbuthnot's letter, above.*

Sir George Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1780, Dec. 12, *Sandwich*, St. Lucia, Groselet Bay.—"As I do not look upon the present conveyance safe, I shall only acquaint your Lordship that I am arrived with my squadron, but crippled, and no stores to be got. The hurricane has destroyed everything. In a few days I shall send by express a full account of everything, with the observations I made on the method with which the war is carry'd on in America, that your Lordship may be perfectly acquainted therewith.

"Notwithstanding the condition of the squadron and troops here, General Vaughan has determined to make an immediate attack upon St. Vincents, in which I will assist with the fleet. Could I have prevailed upon Sir H. Clinton to have sent 6,000 troops with me, Martinique had been in great danger. I shall not say anything more by this ship, for fear it should fall into the enemy's hands, but by my express I shall fully acquaint your Lordship with every occurrence.

"Accept my most grateful thanks for the very friendly part I have experienced at your Lordship's hands, and permit me to assure you that I shall ever unalterably remain with the most perfect esteem and respect your Lordship's," &c.

Postscript, "The enemy expect a very large fleet both from Brest and Cadiz, and, as they say, upwards of 30 ships of the line; at all events Mr. Graves' squadron ought to join me."

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1780, December 19, New York.—"The orders that I have received from the Admiralty to dispatch five ships of the line to the West Indies under Admiral Graves, when the season comences in which our conjunct or separate operations are no longer practicable—notwithstanding Mr. Tiernay may remain in those seas with the whole or part of his fleet—in obedience to the King's command, signified to the board by your Lordship; those orders, which I have communicated to the Commander-in-chief, have greatly alarmed both Sir Henry Clinton and General Robinson, and in consequence much conversation and some letters have passed between us, that has laid me under great perplexity.

"The General, Sir Henry, alleges that if I persist in sending away those ships, not only the continent will be lost in a critical moment of hope, but that the King's whole army thereby will be in eminent danger, because they are very

apprehensive that Mr. Tierney will avail himself of his superiority at sea, and convoy a large part of Washington's army to the southward, and thereby render Lord Cornwallis's situation very precarious, without remedy; General Arnold is also dispatched to Virginia with 1,600 men, and [he] further says that if I do not continue to mask the enemy at Rhode Island they may be very troublesome by landing a force at Long Island and insult this city. Those movements, together with this reasoning, they construe into a joint operation, besides a third serious one he has in contemplation.

"I have contended, if the superiority at sea would give the enemy such decided advantages over us, why do we not avail ourselves who are at present in possession of it.

"What can be expected from a separate detachment of 1,600 men towards ending the dispute your Lordship will be informed, for my part I see none. However, when such serious applications are made, and fatal consequences represented, I have thought myself bound to acquiesce, in the hope that I may be exculpated by the King and your Lordship.

"Sir Henry Clinton will have informed your Lordship of the particulars that has passed between himself and Sir George Rodney during the time that I was employed at sea in blocking up Mr. Tierney at Rhode Island in obedience to my orders. Whatever might have been their objects, nothing material has hitherto transpired therefrom.

"I presume the disappointment that accompanied the death of that honorable youth, Major André, postponed the expedition to Virginia, provided for with respect to a naval force, long before Sir George's arrival; what has detained it so long after General Arnold came here I am a stranger to; all I can say is that Admiral Sir George Rodney displayed the most wanton unpresidented abuse of power that ever was exhibited, has striped the storehouses of all the necessaries both for ships and men; he has carried away two frigates, impressed 400 seamen, mostly out of the victualling ships and transports, and has so debilitated me that I have not an escort to convoy them home.

"And notwithstanding that he has not had the smallest reason for coming here in person, and still less for remaining without orders till November, the hurricane in the West Indies will be pleaded *in his favor*. My Lord, I judge not so of officership; I insist that he came here without orders, that he tarried here an unreasonable time without the smallest necessity, that he is gone and left two transports behind, one with clothing for 3,000 men, the other with lumber to build barracks for the troops in the West Indies; why he has so done I know not, I have not a single pendent left here for the purpose, while I feel from the late disaster how very seasonable such a supply would be in the West Indies. It is with the deepest concern, after having so freely given all my sentiments to your Lordship, that I am under the necessity of saying the complicated labour of this command is too much

for me at my advanced age, 68, near 55 years in actual service ; which I have been in the hope might have ended in being instrumental to the bringing about a reconciliation. I feel I can be no longer useful to this desirable end, I pray your Lordship will not impute my request of being recalled to chagrin, for I have none."

Sir George Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1780, Dec. 22, *Sandwich*, St. Lucia.—"Private." "I fully intended to have done myself the honour of sending your Lordship the observations I had the opportunity of making during my continuance at New York, and the procrastination with which the American war seemed to me to have been and still was conducted, that your Lordship might be convinced how necessary it was that different modes of carrying on the war should be adopted in order to its being brought to a speedy conclusion, which in my poor opinion had long since been effected, and with honour to Great Britain, had those persons who were entrusted with the command of her fleets and her armies preferred their own, their King's and country's honour to lucrative and factious motives, by which means they have, according to my conception of things, betrayed the whole, and ought to be held forth and undergo the just punishment and resentment of an injured nation.

"The very severe weather that happened just before I left New York, which (*sic*) affected me so much as prevented my putting pen to paper, or your Lordship [would have] had my observations by the *Yarmouth*, and I was unwilling to entrust my sentiments to any clerk.

"I am sure your Lordship will believe that I have no other view whatever in these my observations but that you should have a true insight into the transactions carrying on in America, and I can with truth and honour aver no personal resentment, pique, or hatred, to any man whatever, either in the army or navy, biasses my thoughts. Nothing but the natural affection an Englishman bears or ought to bear to his King and country irritates my mind when I behold her treasures squandered, her arms inactive, and her honour lost, and by the very men entrusted with the most important and honourable confidence of their Sovereign and his Ministers, paying not the least regard to the sufferings of their country, but retard[ing] the completion and extinction of the rebellion to make the fortunes of a long train of leeches, who suck the blood of the State, and whose interest prompts them to promote the continuance of the war, such as quartermasters and their deputies, *ad infinitum*, barrack masters and their deputies, *ad infinitum*, commissaries and their deputies, *ad infinitum*, all of which make princely fortunes, and laugh in their sleeves at the Generals who permit it, and by every means in their power continue to discountenance every active measure, and, instead of having an idea of speedily

concluding this unhappy war, their common discourse turns upon what may occur in the two or three ensuing campaigns. 'Tis with real grief when I say that the language of the *Chief* savours too much of procrastination, and in confidence to your Lordship I must confess that my high ideas of the great abilities and superior activity of the General to my own deceived me upon the proof, and though I believe him and am assured that he is a brave and honest man, I am convinced nature has not given him an enterprizing and active spirit, capable of pushing the advantages he may have gained in battle, but when success has crowned his arms an immediate relaxation takes place, and his affection for New York (in which island he has four different houses), induces him to retire to that place, where without any settled plan he idles his time and loses those moments which might be employed with the greatest advantage to the State, and suffers himself to be cooped up by Washington with an inferior army without making any attempt to dislodge him.

"I could not help declaring to him that if his Majesty's service called me again to America, if affairs were not carried on with more alacrity and a quicker decision it would be impossible for us to agree, for that I came to act and not to amuse myself with the diversions of New York; that I owned myself hurt at his permitting the officers of the army to act plays at a season when their arms might have been employed against the public enemy. Nothing could induce me to go to them. I gave my reason, that I was unwilling to have it reported in England that I was diverting myself with the amusements of New York instead of doing my duty in suppressing the infamous rebellion of his Majesty's deluded subjects, who, in my opinion, should be allowed no breathing time, but pushed to the last extremity.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, you must not expect an end of the American war till you can find a general of active spirit, and who hates the Americans from principle. Such a man with the sword of war and justice on his side will do wonders, for in this war I am convinced the sword should cut deep. Nothing but making the Americans feel every calamity their perfidy deserves can bring them to their senses. These, my Lord, are my real sentiments; these, my Lord, I will dare avow in the face of the representatives of Britain, unawed by the factious declarations of a F[o]x, Bar[r]y, Burk[e], or any of those who by their pernicious principles are endeavouring to ruin their country.

"The war in America is now turned to a war of posts, and, unhappily for England, when they have taken posts of infinite advantage, they have been unaccountably evacuated without one good reason assigned. Such was the Highlands up Hudson's River, and which cut off all communication between the southern and northern provinces, and which with little difficulty might have opened a passage from Canada. This is the post Arnold was to have betrayed, and which he assured

me, as he did the General, he would answer with his head should be taken in ten days. But, to my infinite surprize, cold water was immediately thrown upon it, notwithstanding it had but a few days before the arrival [of] Arnold been told me that it was of infinite consequence, and if taken would ruin the rebels. Believe me, my Lord, this man Arnold, with whom I had many conferences, will do more towards the suppressing the rebellion than all our generals put together. He perfectly knows every inch of the country, is greatly beloved by the American troops, and if entrusted with a body of what is called Royalists will induce great part of [the] rebels to desert. I am perfectly of his opinion that upon a certainty of their being paid their arrears and a portion of land given after the war, Washington would soon have no army. Jealousy, my Lord, unless commands from home signifies his Majesty's pleasure, will prevent Arnold being employed to advantage. He certainly may be trusted, as the Americans never forgive, and the Congress to a man are his personal enemies. Give him but a command and thousands will join him who are sick of the war and have a great opinion of his generalship.

"I now come, my Lord, to the evacuating Rhode Island, the most fatal measure that could possibly have been taken. It gave up the best and the only harbour of consequence in America during this unhappy war ; a harbour capable of holding the whole fleet of Britain, and from whence she might have detached her squadrons that in forty-eight hours might have blockaded the three chief cities of America, viz., Boston, New York, and Philadelphia ; a harbour at all seasons of the year, which none of the others are. This pernicious advice flowed from an admiral, as Sir H[enry] C[linton] assured me. Both were highly to blame, and have much to answer for. If possible it must be recovered. In vain I urged the necessity of the measure on my first arrival at New York. The excuses were the length of time the enemy had to fortify and the impossibility of sparing troops.

"I now come to the third and last post of great consequence, which has now been twice evacuated, and in all probability will greatly contribute to make the inhabitants who were loyally inclined, enemys, I mean Portsmouth and Hampton, at the mouth of James River in Virginia, a post of the greatest consequence, as it gave us the command of the Chesapeak and would have secured the Congress from sending troops to Carolina. It appeared to me to be of that magnitude that I assisted with the utmost ardour to send the ships and troops to take possession of those towns, both of which were taken possession of by General Leslie and Captain Gayton, and both again evacuated, to my great astonishment, under the pretence of succouring Lord Cornwallis. Be assured, my Lord, if Lord Cornwallis and his army were to act up that river and in the Chesapeak the rebels would be undone, and

should the enemy take it in their heads to fortify Portsmouth, which has a harbour capable of receiving the largest ships of war, the American war would be protracted (may be) for ever.

"I speak as a seaman, perfectly acquainted with the consequence of having an enemy (by that post) masters of the Chesapeak, where they will be if not prevented. In that case we should have only one harbour in America where you could shelter your fleet, and that out of the scene of action, viz., Halifax, for New York is really no port for large ships of war, owing to its broad and dangerous bar.

"Thus, my Lord, have I endeavoured to make you truly acquainted with affairs at present in America, but believe me the acting in North Carolina will only prolong the war. The Northern Colonies should feel the fatal results of their treason. There and there only the war must be finished. I cannot conclude without being of opinion that a new Commission with the same powers of Lord Carlisle's, taking care the majority of Commissioners are not *military men*, may have such effect as to bring about a peace. Washington is certainly to be bought—honours will do it.

"I flatter myself with a speedy reinforcement of ships from Great Britain. The fleet at present here are incapable of acting—stores, masts, sails, none to be got—only nine sail can possibly go to sea, and those without any spare stores. The contradicting Admiral Graves' order to join me may prove a fatal measure. They cannot possibly be of the least service in America till the month of May next, in which time, in all probability, half their crews may be dead of the scurvy; whereas on this station they might have been of infinite service to the State, and ready to have proceeded to America when the season for action in that part of the world approached. Here and here only the French expect a much superior fleet than they had last year, and by intercepted letters they will certainly have one.

"Notwithstanding his Majesty's orders signified by your Lordship to the Admiralty, the *Thunderer* and *Berwick* have not joined me from Jamaica. In my long service I never knew his Majesty's commands disobeyed before. I sent the copy to Sir Peter Parker, but he has neither sent me an answer or returned the frigates I sent him with expresses. Jamaica, my Lord, can be in no danger while I command to windward. My attention towards its preservation has been sufficiently proved. I have demanded his immediate assistance of line of battle ships, but without the most positive orders from home I cannot expect he will send any. I flatter myself such orders will be sent without a moment's loss of time, but I own it would be much better the ships should be sent from England and the ships at Jamaica sent home that they might be ready to make the Channel fleet in the ensuing summer. Permit me to add that if Ad[ministratio]n would consider the difficulty of making different commanders-in-chief agree they would

find it answer their own and the nation's expectations better if there was, during this very important crisis, but one commander [in] chief, by land or sea, responsible for the war both in America and every part of the West Indies. All difficulties would then be removed and no officer presume to judge whether he was or was not to obey the orders of a superior officer because he was not in sight of a superior flag and had a commission as commander-in-chief upon a particular station.

"The enterprize General Vaughan and myself intended against St. Vincent was as a coup de main, upon the fallacious intelligence from the interested inhabitants. My public letter to the Admiralty will explain the whole. 'Tis impossible anything can be undertaken against the islands without a good army and the proper utensils, of which none are to be procured among all the islands. Your Lordship well knows how absolutely necessary intrenching tools are. Not one among the Ordnance stores and only one triangle to mount cannon. 'Tis impossible for me not to make my observations on the little attention the office of Ordnance pays towards the carrying on this war in the West Indies to what was paid in the last war, where everything was compleat.

"The situation of affairs have (*sic*) but a gloomy aspect till I am strongly reinforced. The enemy have seven ships of the line at Fort Royal. I will endeavour to block them up, but without stores the ships cannot keep the sea. I hourly expect Sir Samuel Hood, but if he is as long detained as Mr. Walsingham was, I will not answer for the consequences. Depend upon it, my Lord, here will be the war, and I shall not be surprized to find the conjunct fleets now at Cadiz are to rendezvous at Martinique. I will do my duty to my King and country, but I will not wantonly expose her fleet without a probability of success. They must be greatly superior before I will submit to a blockade, and you may be sure if a proper opportunity offers I will give them a severe blow, but I hope and expect that proper assistance will be sent me.

"Pardon this long digression and the trouble you must have in perusing my long letter, which I meant only as a mark of my respect and that your Lordship might be perfectly master of the situation of affairs in this part of the world."

"Memorandum on American Affairs."

[1780.]—Sir Henry Clinton in a dispatch received 15 June says that he landed on Charles Town Neck 29th March, that the Admiral had passed the bar, that he broke ground the 1st of April, within 800 yards of the rebel works, that on the 8th the Admiral passed into Charles Town Harbour, summoned the town, which refused to surrender, opened batteries next day; joined by the New York reinforcement on the 18 April; that Admiral Arbuthnot landed a force on Sullivan's Island the 6th May, to whom the fort and garrison delivered themselves up upon terms, that on the 11th Lincoln sent his

acquiescence to the terms he had two days before rejected, and on the 12th General Leslie took possession of the town.

Taken 7 General Officers.
1 Commodore.
10 Continental Regiments.
Town and Country Militia.
French and seamen, making about 6,000 men in arms.

The titular Deputy Governor, Council, and civil officers are also prisoners.

Four frigates and several armed vessels, with a great number of boats, have fallen into our possession, and about 400 pieces of cannon.

Queries from Sir George Rodney.

[1779, December ?*].—"Memorandum. As Sir George Rodney has the honor to be entrusted by his Majesty's Ministers with a command of the utmost importance and being extremely anxious to act in such a manner as to meet with their approbation he wishes to know their pleasure, how he must conduct himself in the several occurrences which may happen as undermentioned.

"First. As the Dutch from Eustatia will attempt to supply the French Islands with provisions and ammunition, Sir George, whose duty it will be to prevent the enemy's receiving succours of any kind, and who wishes to prevent any complaint from Holland, preferring the public service to any emolument that might accrue to himself by the capture of the Dutch vessells attempting to succour the enemy, he humbly proposes that a proper officer may be sent out with him from the Victualling Office to purchase such provisions for the service of his Majesty's fleet on that station. This will prevent the complaints of the Dutch, equally distress the enemy, and save Sir George the disagreeable task of drawing for public money, which he wishes to avoid by all means.

"Secondly. As it is to be hoped his Majesty's arms will again be triumphant in those seas, and that not only the British Islands will be re-conquered, but some of the enemy's added to the British Empire, Sir George wishes to know if that happy event takes place what sort of capitulations should be allowed and whether on the re-capture of St. Vincent's and Granada the French inhabitants and Black Indians of the former should be allowed to remain, or whether the French inhabitants of Granada who were admitted by the last peace to keep their possessions upon their having the honor of becoming British subjects, and had taken the oaths of allegiance, should after their base conduct be ever permitted again to have that honor, or whether their Estates should not for that reason be sold towards making good the losses sustained by the loyal subjects, and themselves for ever banished the island.

* If written before Rodney left England, the date cannot be later than this.

"Thirdly. Should either of the great islands of Martinique or Guardeloupe be conquered, will it not be proper that the great town of St. Piers belong to his Majesty entirely. The rents of the houses and stores will be sufficient to pay the expenses of a garrison, neither should any of the inhabitants be allowed to remain in that island, but those possessed of landed estates; all others will prove traitors and correspond with the enemy, as was proved before.

"In all capitulations, will it not be proper to enforce an article to pay to 4½ per cent. duty upon all exports? The lands belonging to the convents are very valuable; the friars are useless, and two priests are sufficient for each parish. This will bring in a considerable revenue to the King—and none but drones be hurt."

ESTIMATES.

1780–81.—Comparison between the estimates for the American Colonies for the years 1780 and 1781.

ADMIRAL GAMBIER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Jan. 13, Queen Street, Mayfair.—Has written to the Naval Minister and offered his services should the sea command become vacant, according to Lord George's advice.

LIEUT. COL. BALFOUR to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Jan. 16, Charles Town.—Informing him that many of the chief inhabitants of the province [of North Carolina] have returned to their allegiance. *Extract* (H).

NEWSLETTER.

1781, Jan. 19, Paris.—Count d'Estaign has arrived in Paris and has been honourably received by the King at Versailles. It is expected that he will be Minister of Marine if his place can be filled in the fleet. Monsieur Neckar has been much reflected on and his dismissal is expected. "La Touche Treville is sail'd with one hundred and upwards of transports with stores for the relief of our islands. The ships that sail'd in August last, by the accounts from the Governor of Martinique, are mostly lost or taken to the number of sixty ships, and all the troops but three or four hundred they are afraid are lost.

"The four sail of ships and six frigates are to join Treville off the Western Islands that sail'd from Brest on the second of January, to look for your East India ships. The Ministers are much afraid the islands will be taken before the fleet will arrive with succours for their relief.

"At Vergennes I find the Dutch are to be furnisht with twenty thousand Russians and the French are to have their sailors to man every ship that can be got ready for sea. Councils are constantly held and some great plan will soon

be determined on against England. Orders are given at Brest to make every dispatch to all the ships in all the docks, and several new ships are to be launcht, some at Toulon. The General's officers are order'd to join their regiments."

Rochambeau reports that Tearney's ships were getting ready to protect the troops to be landed to join Washington's army. They expect to attack New York.

On the other side is a list of the ships on foreign service, with number of guns, etc., under the flags of Tronjelly, Tearney, Montiel, and La Touche Treville.

VICE-ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Jan. 23, New York.—I enclose an extract of my letter to the Admiralty upon late events, and copies of my correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton concerning his Majesty's orders to send ships to the Leeward Islands, trusting that your Lordship will approve of my having yielded to his Excellency's reasons and entreaties. I also send the declaration which Sir Henry and myself have issued, which has already been very extensively diffused.

"Whilst I am writing this letter, my Lord, I receive intelligence that the French squadron are preparing to quit Rhode Island, and that the few of their troops which were in Connecticut are withdrawn from their cantonments, where their reception was not what they expected or desired. I determine, therefore, instantly to resume the command [of] the line of battle ships in Gardiner's Bay (within twelve leagues of that port) resolved to make every effort to bring the French to a close and honourable action. What the design is in remanding the French troops to Rhode Island I am utterly at a loss to conceive." *Duplicate.*

Enclosure I.

VICE-ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to PHILIP STEPHENS, ESQ.*

1781, Jan. 20, "On board his Majesty's ship the *Clinton* off New York."—I send Rear Admiral Graves' account of the state of the ships in Gardiner's Bay. "I have no recent advices from the Carolinas or Virginia, but it is reported among the rebels that the armament under Captain Symonds and Brigadier-General Arnold is arrived in the Chesapeak.

"A revolt happened in Mr. Washington's camp on the 1st instant, and inspired us with hopes that the crisis of the rebellion was approaching. A prior resolve of Congress respecting the continuance of enlistments to an unlimited period occasioned universal disaffection, which then broke out in open and violent sedition. The Pensylvania line flew to arms, and in the attempt to reduce them, many, both officers and privates, were slain. Headed by a Serjeant Williams (formerly of General Burgoyne's army) they withdrew from camp, and in number about 2,000 took post near

* Secretary of the Admiralty.

Bordentown in Jersey, on an advantageous ground defended by seven pieces of cannon. Their object, payment in hard money for clothing and arrears, with permission to retire to their respective homes.

"The moment this intelligence reached us, Sir Henry Clinton and myself determined to make every effort to improve the event to our advantage, and the necessary measures were decisively adopted. A feint up the North River by a very considerable body of troops, conducted by Captain Montague of the *Pearl*, was intended to distract the movements of the rebels and to prevent them from giving any interruption to the execution of any resolutions the revolters might take in our favour. Terms in the interim were proposed by the General, such as it was conceived would influence their measures, to second which the grenadiers and light infantry companies of the army were past from Long Island to Staten Island, to act as circumstances might require. Sir Henry Clinton and Major-General Phillips commanded these corps in person.

"These affairs remained in an undecided state until the 15th, the Pensylvanians continuing to insist on the terms they originally proposed, and Congress devising expedients to avert the threatened and impending ruin to their cause. Mr. Washington, whatever difficulties at first appeared to oppose it, was at length admitted as a mediator, and then we learn they quitted their situation and dispersed, upon condition of being paid with paper in proportion of seventy to one, with leave to return to their dwellings; and an act of oblivion and pardon was in consequence past by Congress for all their transactions from the first of the month." *Extracts.*

Enclosure II.

Sir H. Clinton and Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot.

1780, Dec. 29, New York.—A copy of the proclamation issued by Sir Henry Clinton and Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, his Majesty's Commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies and granting pardons, &c., to the inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America now in rebellion. *Printed.*

Enclosure III.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Sir Henry Clinton.

1780, Dec. 9, New York.—The armaments of the enemy, said to be on their way against the British possessions in the West Indies, press for immediate compliance with the orders from the King through Lord George Germain, and the writer is therefore about to direct Rear-Admiral Graves to proceed to the Leeward Islands with six ships of the line.

Enclosure IV.

Sir Henry Clinton to Admiral Arbuthnot.

1780, Dec. 9, New York.—Your letter of to-day gives me the greatest concern. It is only in confidence of your support and

of our superiority in Long Island Sound that I have ventured to send an expedition into Chesapeak Bay, and I am confident that by detaching part of the fleet and thus giving M. de Ternay a superiority in these seas, the enemy will be at full liberty to dispatch any force to the Carolinas without leaving me power to render Lord Cornwallis any assistance against them. Such a project would have a most dangerous effect, especially now " when so great a French force as 6,000 men are on Rhode Island ready to undertake any enterprise so soon as their fleet shall be superior here."

Enclosure V.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to SIR H. CLINTON.

1780, Dec. 12, New York.—In answer to the above. Considers that lying inactive in Gardner's Bay the whole winter will not be deemed excusable at home when his orders are so positive to the contrary.

Enclosure VI.

SIR H. CLINTON to ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT.

1780, Dec. 12, New York.—" I beg leave to observe that I cannot look upon the instructions you have received from the Lords of the Admiralty as unconditional, nor that all conjunct operations are over. Surely, sir, your remaining in Gardiner's Bay, masking the enemies' fleet at Rhode Island with your large ships, while your frigates assist in the operations by the army, so very essential also to those under Lord Cornwallis, besides answering many other important purposes, are conjunct operations. . . . If your Excellency determines to detach your fleet to the West Indies, and give the enemy the superiority at sea, 'tis my firm opinion that the expedition under General Arnold should not stir, and it is likewise my firm opinion that if the enemy obtain a superiority at this critical instant the most fatal consequences will arise from it, such as I have already had the honour to explain to your Excellency."

Enclosure VII.

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to SIR H. CLINTON.

1780, Dec. 13, New York.—Has yielded to Sir Henry's reasons, and will not detach the ships to the West Indies, but reserve them to co-operate with the army. The squadron shall remain in Gardiner's Bay as long as the season will admit.

Enclosure VIII.

SIR HENRY CLINTON to ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT.

1780, Dec. 13, New York.—Repeats his former arguments and hopes that Admiral Arbuthnot will not quit Gardner's Bay before January, by which time it will probably be necessary to carry on offensive operations in Chesapeak Bay,

which he (Sir Henry) would not dare undertake without the protection of a superior fleet to that of the enemy. *Written before receiving the Admiral's letter.*

LIEUT. COL. BALFOUR to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Jan. 16. Charlestown.—Informing him that many of the chief inhabitants of the province [of S. Carolina] have returned to their allegiance. *Extract* (H).

GENERAL RIEDESEL to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Jan. 26, Brooklyn, Long Island. Asking for the early despatch of stores ordered from Brunswick for the Brunswick troops under his command, which he hopes to take to Canada early in the spring.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1781, Jan. 26, Long Island, Brooklyn.—Recommending Colonel Specht of the Brunswick troops.

JAMES HUTTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Feb. 13.—"A very worthy person of my acquaintance at New York confirms the account of the secession of part of the troops from Washington, and that General Clinton was gone on an expedition supposed to be towards the seceders. They had there accounts from the rebel country of a defeat of Sumpter and of the rebel main army in Carolina too. But many worthy people there are dissatisfied that our troops have not done more this fine mild Christmas, mild as spring, and there are complaints of the egregious expence government are put to by building and rebuilding the same things several times over, at an expence of two dollars a day to each carpenter, as if all was to be a mere trade in the whole affair. A Mr. Lloyd of Maryland, a very active rebel, had pass'd through New York to Maryland with much ceremony and been received at Maryland with state.

"A man of those parts had been fined for some offence 200 dollars and paid it with 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* sterling. The General and Admiral have renew'd a proclamation, Dec. 29, to come in by July 1. God grant us a good delivery. The Congress dollar was worth no more than a farthing, but both sides are said to act, by some, as if the whole was a trade. The letter was New York Jan. 5." *Unsigned and without heading. In Hutton's handwriting. Addressed* "My Lord G. Germaine."

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BULL to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Feb. 16, Charles Town.—"The people of the province were full of anxious expectation and hopes that I was come with powers to establish civil government, for I am confident that nothing can more effectually restore and establish the public tranquility on a lasting foundation, as

nothing is more ardently wished for than being once more happy under the protection of his Majesty's royal favor and former government, by known laws; altho' that prospect seems rather more distant than I wish, for the depredations and insults made upon the loyal inhabitants by the rebels, and retaliation of the like behaviour upon the rebels or those of doubtful or wavering allegiance, and perhaps sometimes indiscriminately, by small parties who are not to be easily restrained by their officers, continue to irritate men's minds and keep up a spirit of animosity and despair which the emissaries of the rebels are very industrious in misrepresenting and aggravating.

"It is with great pleasure I inform your Lordship that many gentlemen formerly under the usurpation, have, and daily do come in to sue for and receive the King's protection." *Extract* (*I*).

ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN].

1781, Feb. 19, *Royal Oak*, Gardner's Bay.—I find from despatches received by the *Chatham* that "the enemy have it in contemplation to send a very strong force to succour the rebellion in the spring." Presumes proper care will be taken to frustrate this, or all successes hitherto will be of little consequence, "for, notwithstanding the rebels are now in the utmost distress and desponding, their leaders build their hopes entirely upon this ensuing assistance." Has applied to Lord Sandwich for leave immediately to resign his command on the ground of ill health, or the ensuing summer will be fatal."

SIR GEORGE B. RODNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, March 4, *Sandwich*, St. Eustatius.—"Private." "Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship by the *Swallow* sloop, giving you an account of the capture of this island, with its dependencies, St. Martin's and Saba, and that General Vaughan and myself had determined that no favour should be shown to the infamous and deceitful inhabitants of St. Eustatius, all of whom were adventurers preying upon the vitals of Great Britain, and who without duty, affection, or the least regard for their Mother Country, had treasonably betrayed her interest, corresponded with her rebellious subjects and declared enemies, supplying them with every necessary and implement of war, and by whose means his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America had been enabled to protract their unnatural war, I am fully convinced that, had it not been for the supplies they received from this island and from men who had once the honour of being free British subjects 'till they debased that noble name, and meanly condescended to become Dutch burghers (and as such they shall be treated) the American rebellion had been long since at an end.

"The innocent inhabitants of Saba and St. Martin's experience a different treatment. They have not been concerned in the iniquitous practices of St. Eustatius. Their property is left in their own hands till his Majesty's pleasure be known. They rejoice at their change of government, and I am convinced will make good and loyal subjects, whereas all the inhabitants of St. Eustatius except a few landholders of sugar plantations are adventurers highly inimical to Great Britain and have used every endeavour in their power to ruin her.

"Thank God that Providence has ordained General Vaughan and myself to be the instrument of a great, powerful, but injured nation to scourge them for their perfidy, and scourged they shall be.

"An island of smugglers had no right to expect capitulations or to be treated as a respectable people. Their atrocious deeds deserve none, and they ought to have learnt that the just resentment of an injured Empire, though slow is sure. 'Tis with concern that my duty obliges me to acquaint your Lordship that there are British merchants in a neighbouring island equally guilty with those at St. Eustatius, and who have already since the taking of this island traitorously conspired to supply the French islands with provisions and naval stores under the pretence of flags of truce.

"The original letters giving an account of this pernicious design are now before the Court of Admiralty at St. Christopher's, and shall be transmitted to your Lordship by the convoy.

"It was from this merchant's house settled at Basse Terre, St. Christopher's, with a correspondence at St. Eustatius, that the French fleet, when flying from his Majesty's arms after the battle of the 17th of April last year, was supplied by two vessels loaded with cordage and naval stores and filled with carpenters, who met them under the island of Bermuda, and enabled them by such a supply to return to Martinique. Without it, eight sail of line of battle ships must have bore away for St. Domingo, and now these very men under the pretence of flags of truce are endeavouring to supply the public enemy, Mr. Johnson, the President of St. Christopher's, being easily induced, without considering his Majesty's service, to grant them when applied for. He seems to follow the pernicious practice of the Governors of these islands in the late war, and if not soon superseded will do as much injury to the State as those gentlemen, whose atrocious conduct obliged his Majesty's ministers to deprive them of the power of flags of truce and the care of prisoners of war, the whole power having been lodged since in the hands of his Majesty's Commanders-in-Chief of his fleets in the West Indies and America, which put a final end to such pernicious practices, which I am fully convinced will be again carried to a greater height unless your Lordship signifies his Majesty's commands to the contrary.

"I wrote to Mr. Johnson, the President of St. Christopher's to desire he would allow no flags of truce whatever, as they were highly detrimental to his Majesty's service and only a cloak for villainy, and to give the enemy intelligence. [On] his not regarding my remonstrance, I have wrote again to him, signifying that I have given orders to all my cruizers to seize every flag of truce and bring them to me, His Majesty's Admiral commanding in these seas.

"The Marquis de Bouillé, the Commander-in-Chief of the French islands, had notice from me on my first arrival in these seas that I should allow no correspondence between the British and French islands, or any flags of truce but such as were sent to General Vaughan or myself; all others I should treat as prisoners of war; which letter the Marquis de Bouillé has acknowledged the receipt of, yet still is endeavouring to play a game which I shall consider it my duty to defeat. I shall say no more upon this subject, as my friend Colonel Ferguson informs me that he had the honour to mention to your Lordship this affair at the desire of General Vaughan and myself." The great convoy of Dutch and American prizes will sail for England in a few days under Commodore Hotham, who will bring with him the two American agents, Mr. Curzon and Gouvernire, as prisoners of State. The generality of rebel merchants we propose sending to America.

"I must now beg leave to give your Lordship the best description I possibly can of the Island of St. Eustatius and its consequences to Great Britain.

"It's about five miles long, its road on the lee side and capable of anchoring a thousand sail. The lower town extends the whole length of the beach, which is more than a mile, and I believe from its immense commerce was the most populous place in the world, the whole being warehouses built at an extraordinary expence, and I speak within bounds when I say their rents were more than two hundred thousand pounds a year, provisions and house rent equally dear. Even a single room in the meanest house could not be had under one hundred pound a year sterling. One particular house belonging to a Bermudian, and a principal supporter of the American war, let for no less a sum than three thousand pounds a year sterling, such profit was made by the pernicious commerce carried on by the inhabitants of this island which enabled them to be so expensive. The Bermudian, Mr. Jennings, will be sent to his own island to reflect on his disloyalty and rebellious principles. Through Bermudas has gone the succours received by the Southern Colonies. The inhabitants are a disloyal people, and keep a constant correspondence with the rebels. I am of opinion that storehouses should be destroyed and the lower town demolished.

"'Tis with great pleasure I can assure your Lordship that the city of Amsterdam will be a prodigious sufferer, the whole Dutch convoy that was taken being bound to that

city, and the rich Indian and European goods with which their storehouses are filled belonged to Amsterdam merchants.

"It is impossible for your Lordship to conceive the tricks that have been attempted to be played General Vaughan and myself to induce us to quit the island, when they found we were proof against bribery, under every head whatever. Expresses upon expresses have been forged of a superior enemy's approach, but as I have taken care that Sir Samuel Hood should be to windward of Martinique with fifteen sail of the line and five frigates, the enemy's approach from Europe or America must be timely discovered, and General Vaughan and myself are determined not to leave so great a capture to the State to be liable to a *coup de main*, or in a condition worth a recapture. Every day convinces me of its infinite importance to the public enemy, and of the detriment that must accrue to the French islands and America. Two American and one French convoy by keeping Dutch colours up have been captured since we took possession of the island. Not a night but an American arrives loaded with tobacco; the morning surprizes them with being taken. They all allow 'tis the severest blow that could have been given America.

"'Tis with concern that I am obliged to make my excuses to your Lordship for using an amanuensis. The very great fatigue of body and mind that I have undergone for this year past has preyed not a little upon my constitution, and I fear (though extremely unwillingly) will oblige me to request a few months' leave of absence from this climate when this campaign is finished. Should they grant my request of returning to Great Britain with the trade of these islands, I could return again in October and be full in time for the ensuing campaign, and be sufficiently braced by that time, so as to enable me to do my duty to my King and country, which a continuance in the rainy season I am sure will prevent. I shall only desire leave in case my health absolutely requires it, for no inducement upon earth can make me wish even for a moment to decline the service of my King and country, to whom I am so much indebted.

"The moment the gout with which my right hand is affected will give me liberty, I have a thought which I shall do myself the honour to communicate to your Lordship, and in my opinion of such consequence to his Majesty's and the public service that I flatter myself it will meet with approbation and be worthy your consideration. The Atlantic, though called the Vast in the imagination of people unused to tempestuous seas, to men versed in naval affairs and willing to serve their country appears as nothing. What might not a British squadron commanded by a person anxious to defeat the designs of the public enemy do, if properly authorized? The enemy, when they imagine that he is at his station in the West Indies, may find him the next hour off Brest; may hear of him where they least expected, in America; blockading

or attacking Cadiz, relieving and supplying Gibraltar with provisions even from the West Indies, and returning again to the blockade of the French ports, the protection of the British Channel, or to his station in the West Indies, before the enemy could possibly have intelligence of his motions or penetrate his designs. I leave to your Lordship's great abilities to consider how a British Minister with officers acting under him on whom he could depend, might puzzle and confound the councils of his country's enemies and oblige them to sue for peace." *Signed.*

William Knox to Mr. Simpson.

1781, March 7, Whitehall.—Thanks him for the information supplied on American affairs, and for his conduct in South Carolina. Requests him to write from New York, where from the wretched state of the rebel military force and the vast superiority of the British force, there is a great probability of a negotiation being solicited by the inhabitants of the revolted provinces—if not by the Congress—at which he would be glad of his presence. *Copy.*

Lord George Germain to the Commissioners for Restoring Peace.

1781, March 7, Whitehall.—Will be very happy to carry to the King an application from any of the revolted provinces for pardon and restoration to the privileges of British subjects. Desires them to be careful that neither their acts or declarations preclude such alterations being made in the former constitutions of the colonies as the people may solicit or consent to.

Admiral Gambier to Lord George Germain.

1781, March 14, Queen Street.—Explaining his conduct on the American command, and replying to the charges brought against him by his enemies of having shown partiality in selecting certain privateers to convey his and Sir Henry Clinton's despatches to distant stations, whereas he was limited to the vessels he secured by reason of all other privateers having been bought up by the mechants in expectation of the opening of the port at New York. Having given up his lucrative post of Commissioner at Portsmouth and undertaken active service again on the express condition of receiving a command, and having yet willingly served seven years under Lord Howe before commanding in chief; and, after taking the command, having in all things acted the zealous, attentive officer and the most religiously disinterested steward to the public, he now finds that his promised Newfoundland command is given to a junior officer, whilst his own long and faithful services are entirely neglected.

General W. Phillips to Lord George Germain.

1781, March 26, "Chesapeak, on board Admiral Arbuthnot's ship the *Royal Oak*, in Lindhaven Bay."—Announcing his arrival with the transports.

Sir George B. Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1781, March 26, Eustatius.—Enclosing letters, found in an American vessel, which "will show your Lordship the sentiment of the people there, and likewise of the iniquitous practices carrying on by an English merchant in Lisbon." American vessels are nightly captured. "I may speak within bounds when I say that since taking this island upwards of two hundred thousand pounds in value of tobacco has fell into our hands. Martinique is close blockaded; Eustatius will soon be put in a condition to be out of danger when we leave it, but [I] hope the lower town may be totally destroyed, for tho' it let for upwards of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, in our hands it won't let for 1,000*l.*, and be only a receptacle for every species of villains."

Hon. G. Damer to Lord George Germain.

1781, March 28, on board the *Orpheus*, Lynhaven Bay.—The French Fleet was defeated on the 16th by Admiral Arbuthnot, and their design "of entering the Chesapeak and annoying Arnold entirely and completely frustrated. Three ships of ours, and particularly the *Robuste*, were much damaged in leading down upon the enemy, which it seems they were obliged to do to a disadvantage in order to force them to action, the French having in this as well as in all other actions during this war constantly persisted in avoiding an engagement." This defeat has opened the way for our transports with troops for the Chesapeak, and I have obtained leave to serve under Major General Phillips, who convoys them, as a volunteer. He has made me his aide-de-camp. We have reached this place safely and hope for the chance of giving M. de la Fayette a warm reception, although he has as yet not ventured further than Annapolis.

Sir Geo. Collier to Lord George Germain.

1781, April 22, *Canada*, twenty leagues from Cape St. Vincent.—Informing him of the relief of Gibraltar by Admiral Darby.

W. S. to General Tryon.

1781, April 24, New York.—The first part on personal matters. "I say nothing of the Guilford County victory, you know more of it than we do. The first letter arrived but last Sunday, and as headquarters rather commends than vaunts, I guess the glory of the day was greater than its utility.

"Last Thursday General Philips ascended the James River. The cavaliers of Virginia now think with humility of the boasted Dominion, and the Eastern Roundheads laugh at her rivers. If these escape by their craft the chastizements of the sword, they will nevertheless become the butt of the provinces which they have ruined by their politics."

GOVERNOR VALENTINE MORRIS to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, June 18.—Upon the desirability of ascertaining how the Americans in general really stand affected towards the King's Government; what their resources for continuing the war are, and what means are possible for withdrawing from their side the leading men embarked in the rebellion. The writer thinks he can procure some of these desiderata, through his connexion by blood with the Morrises of New York, Jersey and Pennsylvania, people of consequence and weight in those provinces.

ADMIRAL RODNEY to PHILIP STEPHENS.

1781, June 29th, Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes.—Copy of a despatch unsigned, but docketted "Sir G. Rodney."

LORD STORMONT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, July 24, St. James's.—Enclosing an extract from a letter from Mr. Fitzherbert, Brussells, July 17, 1781, stating that he had received positive and certain intelligence that the French Court had come to a resolution to send out a reinforcement of troops to M. Rochambeau's army in the course of next autumn.

FRENCH FLEETS.

1781, July 26.—Intelligence, received on this day, of M. de Grasse's operations and other movements of French ships.

W[ILLIAM] K[NOX] to SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1781, July 29, Whitehall.—Writes, in Lord George Germain's absence from town, concerning the *States of Carolina*, a Dutch ship purchased by America, and other vessels sailing from the Texel for Rhode Island or Boston, with stores and French troops. *Draft.*

HON. G. DAMER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, July 29, Bedford, Long Island.—Thanks him for his letter of the 17th Feby. and is much flattered by his confidence. "Since I did myself the honour of writing to your Lordship from the Chesapeak, I have been employed in Virginia infinitely more to my satisfaction than at any time since I left England. The civilities I received from General Phillips and the confidence he was pleased to place in me

encouraged me to undertake the duty of adjutant general to the corps under his command. The success of that expedition as far as its chief object reached, the destruction of naval and military stores, tobacco, &c., was complete, the particular account of which will have been communicated to your Lordship long before this letter. The next object, and which was to depend upon circumstances, was a junction with my Lord Cornwallis; this likewise your Lordship knows was effected at Petersburgh the 20th May with as little opposition from La Fayette, who had some time before returned into that part of Virginia with about a thousand continentals, as we had experienced in the course of our progress up the James River either from him or from Muhlenburgh, who commanded the militia of that country to the amount of 3,000 and upwards. The death of General Phillips was severely felt at the time, six or seven days before the junction, and I not only particularly lamented his loss then but must ever do so as a misfortune to the service in general. The stores having been destroyed on either side the James River as high as Richmond, where La Fayette lay, my Lord Cornwallis did not hesitate in crossing the James at Westover, and from thence pointed towards Fredericksburg. The rebel army moved in a parallel line with ours, but it was soon apparent they had no intention of risking even a skirmish with any part of our troops, much less a general action. My Lord Cornwallis's army, with the addition of the 43rd Regiment to what had been under Gen. Phillips' command (2,000 men) amounted to 3,500. La Fayette's apprehensions for Fredericksburg seemed so great as to lead him entirely to neglect Charlotte's Ville, Point of Fork, and the whole of that country lying between the branches of the Pamunkey and those of the James. My Lord Cornwallis therefore pursued no further than the North Anna, but from thence detached Simcoe and Tarleton, the former to Point of Fork, the latter to Charlotte's Ville, and fell back himself opposite to Elk Island, high up on the James River. A considerable quantity of small arms, ammunition, and some clothing and other stores were destroyed by Simcoe and Tarleton in their excursions, the latter disturbed, took some, and was near taking the whole of the assembly of Virginia with their late Governor Jefferson at Charlotte's Ville; among those taken was a Mr. Kinlock, member of Congress, who, as well as the other prisoners, was paroled. Upon their return we marched to Richmond. La Fayette in the meantime had been joined by Wayne with 800 continentals and the same number of backwoodsmen under one Campbell, so that his army, militia included, fell little short of 7,000 men.

"Wayne was supposed to be eager, and while at Richmond we had suspicions of the general intention being to engage us. However it went off, and they could never be tempted to come within 20 miles of us, too great a distance for a forced march. The latter end of June we moved to Williamsburg, a post that

seemed marked out for the troops during the heats that come on about that time of the year and prevail for near two months. The orders and instructions that were expected relative to the arrangement of the future operations of the campaign in Virginia reached my Lord Cornwallis at that place. They were to recross the James River and return to Portsmouth with the army under his command, and at the same time requiring a certain number of troops to be embarked from the last mentioned place ultimately for New York. In consequence of these orders the army marched from Williamsburg, the 4th instant, opposite to James City Island, where it was intended to cross the river. La Fayette's caution had hitherto been so constant, never having attempted any thing but one attack upon Col. Simcoe, in which with 1,500 men he had been repulsed and worsted by 400, that we gave him credit for the continuance of such conduct, and were mortified to think that we should leave him without having been able to tempt him within our reach. The 4th, after we came to our ground, and in the course of the 5th we had crossed all the quarter-master general's waggons, (the only waggons allowed in that army) and all the horses upon which the baggage of the officers was constantly carried, and in short everything but precisely the fighting men of the army; La Fayette by some misinformation conceived no part of the army remained excepting a rear guard consisting of 500 men, or as Wayne gave out at the moment he ordered his men on to the attack, 250. My Lord Cornwallis had intelligence of the movement of the rebel army the day before within 14 or 15 miles of our camp, and on the forenoon of the 6th of their being within five miles; from that time every precaution was taken not to undeceive this enemy, and the men were ordered to keep as much within their wigwams as possible. In the afternoon when the picquets of the brigade on our left were fired upon, no support was sent to them; they were ordered to maintain their ground as long as possible, and they did their duty with admirable obstinacy. This forbearance on our side encouraged the rebels to form three lines regularly at certain distances in the rear of each other in the grove opposite to our left, and at length a little before six in the evening Wayne ordered 300 rifle men (backwoods men) to commence the attack. This being perceived the picquets were ordered to fall back and Lieut. Colonel Dundas's Brigade to advance, consisting of the 43rd, 76th, and 80th Regiments. The brunt of the action fell upon this brigade, and particularly upon the two young regiments, who did themselves great credit, having by their coolness and attention to their officers completely routed the three lines opposed to them with two pieces of cannon, which they took, in little more than an hour. Col. Dundas distinguished himself very particularly and merited the approbation of my Lord Cornwallis given to him in the handsomest terms and manner. Night coming on prevented

the charge of Tarleton's dragoons who were at hand, and we were unfortunately obliged to cross the river the next day. The rebels therefore escaped with the loss of their two pieces of cannon, six-pounders, and about 300 killed and wounded, our loss did not exceed 70 killed and wounded.

"The crossing of the river marked the end of the campaign in Virginia as I conceived at the time; I therefore took my leave of my Lord Cornwallis, who had allowed me to act as one of his aides-de-camp, with that regret which to judge from myself everybody must feel upon quitting a person so deservedly the favourite of every person of every rank under his command. I left him at Suffolk, the 14th, at the same time that part of his army did which was to embark at Portsmouth. The *Orpheus* frigate, in which I was to sail, was to precede the fleet of transports 48 hours. She sailed the 18th, and the fleet consequently was to sail the 20th. I got to New York the 22nd, and upon my seeing the Commander-in-Chief was surprised to hear from him that the sailing of that fleet had been countermanded, at least that he had dispatched a sloop-of-war and a frigate with orders to that effect; that he was sorry his orders should have been so understood as that La Fayette should not have been pursued, and that even the neck of Williamsburg should have been abandoned and the James River re-crossed. I only said that it was unfortunate the opportunity of cutting up La Fayette's army had been missed, but that the recovery of the neck at Williamsburg was immediately practicable, as his orders would, in all probability, find the fleet in Hampton Road, and that La Fayette had retired towards Richmond upon our crossing the James. Washington and Rochambeau are encamped on the White Plains, nothing offensive seems to be immediately in agitation against them, and their present force is assuredly inadequate to the giving us any disturbance of consequence. There has been some skirmishing opposite to King's Bridge, and possibly more of the sort may happen there or at Paulus Hook or even on Staten Island. Lord Rawdon has relieved Ninety-six, and there is a report of an action having happened to our advantage between him and Green. As I heard before I left the Chesapeak of Green's having retired beyond the Tyger River, and of Lord Rawdon's having no intention to follow him into that country, I do not give much credit to it; the only circumstance that tempts me to any belief of the report is that it comes to us from the rebels and their reports to their own disadvantage are seldom false. Ninety-six under Cruger made a glorious defence."

Forces under Sir Henry Clinton.

1781, Sept. 1, New York.—"State and distribution of His Majesty's forces under General Sir Henry Clinton by return from New York." Total rank and file fit for duty:—

British, 12,974; German, 10,012; Provincial, 5,415; total army, 28,401. Effective rank and file, 37,876; wanting, 9,762."

Hon. G. Damer to Lord George Germain.

1781, Sept. 27, Staten Island.—"The situation we are in at present will I trust justify me to your Lordship in writing my sentiments with greater freedom than, perhaps, at other times I should venture to do; but so considerable a part of our force cut off and besieged, and so considerable a one remaining hitherto inactive, not to say careless of the fate of the other, are objects of too great moment and too striking to remain silent under. The French fleet now in the Chesapeak amount to 34 sail of the line; ours, within or just off the Hook, to 23; my Lord Cornwallis has near 6,000 men fit for duty at York Town and Gloucester Point; the French and rebels 14,200 independent of militia, at a very low calculation. That they will be able to begin their operations against my Lord Cornwallis's posts the very beginning of next month I look upon as certain, and I do not believe the most sanguine admirer of my Lord Cornwallis or of his army could expect him to hold out longer than from two months to ten weeks. Any relief to be given him by land is utterly impracticable from the numbers and size of the rivers on the western side of the Chesapeak, as well as from want of numbers in Sir Henry Clinton's army. It is, then, to be attempted by sea, and the passage up the bay is at all risks to be forced. For one I own I am glad of it, let the attempt be ever so desperate, because the failure cannot have worse consequences than remaining idle at New York would have. But what I feel most severely is, that from past conduct I cannot judge favourably or confidently of future exertions. Is it to be believed that Rochambeau and Washington should form their junction on the White Plains in the beginning of July, should remain between that place and our lines at Kingsbridge six weeks, should cross the North River, the Jerseys, and the Delaware, without receiving during that period or in the course of those movements any check, interruption, or even disturbance from our army? But the truth is that, so far from any offensive attempt on our side, the movements of our troops confined to York, Staten, and Long Islands, strongly marked an apprehension of New York and its dependencies being attacked or besieged: besieged while the enemy were in the neighbourhood of our lines, and attacked either at Paulus Hook, or Staten Island, some days even after they had crossed the North River. And humiliating as it may be and is to confess, yet it is most true that the apparent force which made us tremble within our lines and behind our works did not exceed our own numbers. Happy that this army was gone, yet ignorant where it was going, elate upon the arrival of Sir Samuel Hood, and unconcerned at the intelligence he brought of the certainty

of M. de Grasse's destination for this coast, something offensive at length was to be undertaken on our side, and Rhode Island to be the object. On the eve of the intended embarcation of the troops, intelligence was brought of the French fleet having sailed from thence (on the 25th) three days before, of the place being entirely evacuated and the works destroyed. But neither did this, more than any other circumstance or information, tend to discover Mr. Washington's true design and M. de Grasse's arrival and immediate possession of the Chesapeak could alone put an end to our infatuations and prove his sole object to be the assembling his whole force for the purpose of destroying the Virginian Army. Previous, however, to this news, our fleet had sailed, and upon its return on the 19th instant we had to lament the ill success of Admiral Graves's endeavours to bring the enemy to a general action on the 5th, and the mischance which gave opportunity to de Barras's fleet to join M. de Grasse's in the Chesapeak before the 14th, the day on which our fleet made its second appearance off the capes of that Bay. We disembarked from our transports on the 21st instant with infinite regret and landed on Staten Island. Never did troops remain fifteen days on board with more anxious or eager expectations. The last determination, however, of putting us on board the men-of-war to the amount of near 7,000 men, has again revived our spirits, and to that degree is my Lord Cornwallis a favourite not only with his own but with this army, that no risk, danger, or consequences are thought of provided he can be relieved or his fall procrastinated or shared. In truth there is no saying what is not to be expected from troops under the command of a general they adore, of whose ability they have the highest opinion, and in whom they have been accustomed to place the fullest confidence; but want of information, consequent irresolution, and consequent inactivity will ruin the best soldiers ever formed.

"Admiral Digby arrived off the Hook on the 24th instant, and I conclude by the salutes I heard yesterday, the *Prince* is gone up to New York.

"The expedition against New London under the command of General Arnold, has been almost lost in the expectation of greater events. Nothing, however, required of troops ever called for more steady discipline or more individual bravery than the storming of the fort on the east side of the river by the 40th and 54th Regiments. Their loss was in proportion to the difficulty of the undertaking, and is not, I am afraid, counterbalanced by the general success of the enterprize."

Hon. G. Damer to Lord George Germain.

1781, Oct. 13.—"The plan of putting the troops on board the men-of-war still holds, and the *Torbay* and *Prince William*, which arrived the day before yesterday, are a fortunate acquisition to our fleet. My Lord Cornwallis' different despatches are written in high spirits and full assurance of being

able to hold out as long as his provisions last, but he likewise says that no diversion whatsoever short of coming through the French fleet to York can be of service to him, or make Washington raise the siege. He retired within his works, I think on the 29th of last month, so that he has now been closely invested at York fourteen days. All our ships will be in readiness to sail, that is will be over the bar and without the Hook, on the 17th instant, and in all probability we shall be in the Chesapeak some day from the 25th to the 28th, provided M. de Grasse chooses to receive us in the bay, upon which I find there is great difference of opinion in the navy, some imagining that he will give us battle without the capes, others that he will trust to the strength of the position he may take, and I am sorry to add that those of the latter opinion do not expect success from the attack. However, I trust with confidence to the good condition and thorough repair in which our ships are, to our five fireships, and to the general alacrity and cheerfulness with which everything is undertaken both by navy and army, which tends to the relief and support of so universal a favourite as my Lord Cornwallis. The accounts of the French fleet are various as to numbers, and I find nothing certain but that on the 5th they engaged us with 24 sail of the line, and that between that day and the 16th M. de Barrat entered the Chesapeak with seven, which makes them amount to 31. Their force by land, including the whole militia, continental and French, is not supposed to exceed 17,000 men, arising as I suppose from the difficulty of maintaining more.

"At present I am on board a transport, my next letter to your Lordship will I hope and trust be dated from Yorktown, or at least at sea after a tough and decisive engagement in our favour, from on board the *Bedford*, Commodore Affleck, where I am to have the honour and satisfaction of being with one half of the 2nd battalion of British Grenadiers."

Hon. G. Damer to Lord George Germain.

1781, Oct. 29, *Bedford*, at sea.—"It is with the most heartfelt concern that I acquaint your Lordship of the surrender of Yorktown on the 19th instant. The particulars are not known further than that the enemy stormed and carried two of the redoubts on my Lord Cornwallis's left, the 14th, and included them in their second parallel that night, which commanded the remaining works so effectually that they could not shew a gun. My Lord Cornwallis then wrote a letter which was received four days since to dissuade Sir Henry Clinton from attempting to relieve him at any great risk to the fleet and army, his situation being so uncertain. On the 18th he asked to capitulate, and on the day following the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered. From entertaining the highest opinion of my Lord Cornwallis I was inclined, and from the conversation of Head Quarters I was

taught to believe, he would have held out as long as his provisions lasted. Had that been the case this fleet might have been in time to have struck a decisive blow in his favour. As it is, we must return to New York, where the advanced season of the near will prevent any further operations. . . We have had a tedious passage to the Capes, having sailed from the Hook the 19th instant, and not having been fairly off the Chesapeak until yesterday. The London fleet appeared in the offing the same day we sailed, without the Hook. The French fleet remain in the Chesapeak between 30 or 40 miles up the bay. They have taken no notice of us, neither will they. M. de Grasse has done his business completely and is satisfied. Surely there never was an instance of such an army, so commanded, falling a sacrifice to the negligence, irresolution, or absolute infatuation of others. I will not venture to trouble your Lordship any further. Indeed, I feel such a mixture of grief and indignation I hardly know how to express myself as I should. One consolation, and that a great one, will remain to my Lord Cornwallis and to those under his command, a thorough conviction in their own breasts of their having done everything in the power of men to do, which I am confident will appear, and I trust so manifestly as that envy itself shall not be able to detract from their merits and conduct."

William Knox to Lord George Germain.

1781, Oct. 31, Whitehall.—Upon matters connected with Lord George Germain's department. Gives his views as to what should be the movement of the fleet, which he has communicated to Lord Stormont, to whom he suggests that Lord George should write in time for the meeting of the Cabinet next day. Keith Stuart is come in leaving their great Baltic fleet behind.

Admiral Arbuthnot to Lord George Germain.

1781, Nov. 11, *Royal Oak*, Gardner's Bay.—A letter endorsed with this date, but evidently written in 1780. *See* p. 188, above.

Sir George B. Rodney to Lord George Germain.

1781, Dec. 11, Portsmouth.—" What I told you in London has proved too true, the squadron far from ready, and notwithstanding I have not lost one single moment, 'twill be a few days before it will be ready to sail. What might not have been done if the squadron under Kempenfield had been appointed to have gone with me. It might have been back again in time to have acted in the proper season in Europe.

" My son will tell you how my time has been employed since my arrival; the backwardness of everything, the slowness of their motions astonishes me. I have roused them, and

hope in a few days everything will be complete, but I hope the *Formidable* will not be suffered to be delayed, or some other ninety gun ship hastened to join me. Much depends upon three deckers. Can they be better employed than in all probability destroying the naval power of France?"

SIR GEORGE B. RODNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Dec. 18, Causand Bay, Plymouth Sound.—"Private." "Yesterday, in the evening, I anchored with the squadron under my command in this bay, fully determined to put to sea again this morning if the weather had permitted, with the whole squadron, the *Repulse* and *Nonsuch* having joined them in this bay. The wind blowing very hard at south-west prevents my sailing. The moment it moderates, no wind shall prevent my putting his Majesty's orders into execution with every dispatch possible, night or day. Had I not anchored here last night in all probability we had been drove again to St. Hellens. From hence twenty-four hours will clear us from the Channel when weather permits us to sail.

"No person whatever can be more anxious than myself in getting to my command, and 'tis with the highest satisfaction that I am informed by express that Mr. Digby has sent so many ships of his squadron to the West Indies. I have not a doubt now but we shall have an opportunity of defeating all the designs of the enemy, and I flatter myself with the hope that our most sanguine expectations will be answered fully when the squadron I carry with me join those already in the West Indies. Fired with this hope the squadron I now command shall fly with all its canvass wings to make its speedy junction."

HON. G. DAMER to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Dec. 28, St. Lucia.—Concerning the health of the garrison, the movements of the French and English fleets, and the writer's desire to be promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1781.—A MS. containing, apparently, extracts from the Journals of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, dated the 26th Feb. 1781, and also "An Address of the Legislature to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," printed at Boston in 1781. The address is signed by Jeremiah Powell, President of the Senate, and Caleb Davis, Speaker of the House of Repreentatives.

MEMORANDUM, in LORD GEORGE GERMAIN'S handwriting, on American Affairs.

[1781, end of ?].—"Our late misfortunes in Virginia, and the difficulty of supporting an extensive continental war in America, makes it necessary to consider in what manner the

present force may be most advantageously applyd for maintaining the possessions you now hold, and of taking every advantage which may offer of annoying the rebels, and giving what support and encouragement you may be able to afford to such loyal subjects as may apply to you for assistance.

"(The expectations which I had entertained of availing ourselves of an immediate junction with many thousand associated loyalists are greatly damped by the 10th Article of Lord Cornwallis's capitulation, by which the friends of Government which had join'd his army, were deliver'd over to be treated at the discretion of the civil power existing in that country. The effect of such a proceeding requires no comment.)

"The number of our effective forces at New York is about 14,000; the first consideration which requires attention is, whether that post ought to be maintained or abandon'd. Its situation, its harbour, its wealth, and the fortifications already erected at a great expense, and the number of loyalists which have taken refuge there, are arguments which weigh with me for not abandoning it, but that measure has its inconveniencys, as a large garrison will be required to secure the town, the forts, and islands adjacent, from the latter all the fresh provisions are drawn, and are therefore necessary for the support of the numerous inhabitants of N. York; not less than seven thousand troops with the assistance of the associated loyalists must be employed for the defence of that station, so that from the present returns, when you have deducted the sick, &c., you can not have more than four thousand men for any occasional operation, but I must suppose that tho' the measure be determined upon of sending no fresh corps to that service, yet those already there may be completed to their establishment, and as many recruits as you send over will be an addition to the force that may be wanted for action without the lines.

"Charles Town with the adjacent country, Georgia, East Florida, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot, may be maintain'd by the troops station'd there, which amount by the last returns to 13,705 effective rank and file, these likewise it is to be presumed will be recruited as near to their establishment as possible.

"Part therefore of what can be spared from New York or any of these garrisons should be employed in expeditions against the ports and towns of the rebels along the coast, and in that service the refugees now associated will be most useful, and if supported by a small body of regular forces will keep the whole country in alarm, and if their enterprises succeed, the shipping and stores of the enemy will be destroyed and a greater security by that means given to our trade than has hitherto been done by the vigilance of your cruisers; this plan has been often recommended but never seriously adopted; other operations have been preferr'd, but not with

the success expected, but if these attacks are properly followed up you may be assured that the militia of the coast will never be prevailed upon to join the rebel army and leave their own habitations exposed to destruction. At the same time the army in Canada should be ordered to make inroads upon the rebel provinces, &c., &c.

"The effect of such operations must depend greatly upon your naval force and upon a good understanding between the Commanders-in-Chief of the sea and land forces.

"The next great object must be if any loyalists should again be bold enough to trust to the protection of this country to afford them all possible assistance. Many have associated in Maryland, Pensylvania, &c., and have to the amount of 1300 offer'd to rise if they were furnish'd with arms and a small body of troops to enable them to assemble; they have received many promises but no support, and several have been discover'd and executed. How far this spirit of loyalty exists it is impossible to know, but the encouraging and supporting the friends of Government wherever it is practicable should in my opinion be recommended in the strongest manner to the Commanders-in-Chief. If it was possible to possess any other post than what we now hold, the lower counties of the Delawarr call for the preference, as they are from their situation easily defended, have in them plenty of provisions for the subsistence of an army, and the inhabitants in general wish to return to their allegiance.

"The other object of consideration, particularly for the navy, is the repossessing of Rhode Island, should it be abandoned by the French troops.

"If these objects cannot be attained, and we should have no encouragement to expect that the people will take arms in support of their antient constitution or to avoid the oppression of their present Government, it may be still expedient to maintain those posts you possess, since thro' them you carry on from Great Britain a most valuable and extensive trade, and you prevent the French from taking possession of that country and enjoying every commercial benefit arising from it; and if you lay aside all offensive operations on that continent the troops you can spare from your garrisons may, particularly in the winter season, be usefully employed in attacking the settlements of France and Spain in the West Indies, as any expedition form'd against them may be much more conveniently carried on from New York or Charles Town than from any part of Great Britain.

"If you consider the consequences of totally abandoning the colonies, you must not confine yourself only to the dismembring the Empire, and to the losing the commerce you now enjoy, but you must reflect upon the additional weight and strength which France will derive from it; if the ill consequences stopp'd there, they would be sufficiently alarming; but we must not flatter ourselves that Canada would not immediately fall, and your fisheries at Newfoundland and all your

possessions in the W. Indies would also lie at the mercy of your enemies. If the faith of the Americans was to be trusted, could they even in their present connexion with France venture to treat with you, were you to abandon the sovereignty of the colonies? They appear to be under the control of their General, who becomes every day more independant of the Congress as he more closely connects himself with France; how long such a Government can exist it is impossible to say, but the restless spirit of the people and the regret they must feel for the loss of that liberty which they thought they were fighting for, their dislike of a military government, their natural aversion to the French nation, may incline them to return to their connection with this country, if we remain in a situation to receive and protect them.

"The great mischief complained of in the prosecution of this war is that relaxation of discipline which disgraces the army and has alienated the affections of the inhabitants from the Royal cause. Plunder has been the object, and in the pursuit of it no distinction has been made between the well and ill affected. This grievance calls aloud for redress, and some officers have shown that discipline may be restored by proper attention and firmness.

"The policy of establishing civil government wherever it is practicable is most apparent, as it will encourage those who are well affected to stand forth in the defence of the constitution, whilst it affords the means of effectually punishing the disaffected and will convince the other parts of the country that his Majesty wishes to restore them as soon as possible to the happiness they formerly enjoyed.

"It is much to be wished that some one person should be invested with full power to treat of and conclude peace, to grant pardons, and to advise and direct the great outlines of the military operations, that no future jealousys and misunderstandings between the commanders might impede the publick service, and that the finishing the war should not so absolutely depend upon the decision of those whose interest in continuing it may in some degree influence their judgments.

"Sir H. Clinton having signifyd his intentions of returning home had Lord Cornwallis been in a situation to have received the command, it is submitted to consideration whether the dormant Commission granted to his Lordship should not immediately be made out for some other general officer, that Sir H. Clinton may not be detained at N. York against his inclination.

"The whole success of any military operation, and the preserving and securing the posts we possess, must depend upon the strength of the navy, and a superiority at sea can not be maintained without considering the fleets at Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and in N. America, as co-operating for the safety of the whole. What further orders and regulations

may be necessary for that purpose, &c., with the other proposals mentioned in this paper [are] humbly submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's confidential servants."

SIR GEORGE B. RODNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1782, April 15, *Formidable*, at sea.—"Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you on the most important victory I believe ever gained against our perfidious enemies, the French.* The battle was long, bloody, and decisive, obstinately fought as if the fate of both nations depended upon the event. Success attended the British flag, and the French Admiral with the *Ville de Paris* and four other ships remained as trophies of our victory.

"I am sure you will pardon my writing a long detail when I inform you that I have scarce had an hour's sleep these five nights past. I therefore must beg leave to refer your Lordship to Lord Cranston, a man of perfect honour, an excellent officer, and who acted as captain of the *Formidable* during both actions. He will with pleasure tell you every particular you may wish to know.

"Pardon this short letter, but I really have scarce time to say with what strict sincerity and affection I have the honour to be with real truth and gratitude your Lordship's," &c.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1787, Sept. 5, *Gibraltar*. Plymouth Sound.—Illness has prevented his going to America, but he ordered Sir Samuel Hood to take the command of 15 sail of the line, five large frigates, five ships and two sloops, and to proceed to Chesapeak Bay. He had sent to America to apprize the Commander-in-Chief of his coming and to send frigates to meet him off the capes of Virginia, and to the Admiral at Jamaica to send all the line of battle ships he could spare to the Capes. He accompanied the convoy some way and returned for the sake of his health. The enemy having insulted the Channel, he had added the *Gibraltar* and the *Spanish Phœnix* to Admiral Darby's force. He will come himself to pay his duty to the Sovereign and to his Lordship.

UNDATED PAPERS.

A paper endorsed, "Paper to be read to Lord North about America." The heads of the subjects treated of are given at the top of the first page, and are: Insurrections, paper currency, manifesto for Germans and Dutch, and vessels to be sunk in Philadelphia River.

Paper entitled, "Thoughts upon the dispute between Great Britain and Her Colonies," and noted as sent to Lord Dartmouth on 20th January, 1775, by his "devoted humble servant, Brook Watson."

* At Martinique, on April 10.

Paper without a title upon the subject of the miscarriage at Charlestown in 1776. A plan of the harbour, with the shipping there on the 4th June, 1776, is annexed.

Two bulky MSS. endorsed, "Considerations on the great question, What is fit to be done with America." Parts 1 and 2.

Paper entitled, "Ideas of what might facilitate an accommodation under the intended Commission."

Paper endorsed, "Plan of conciliation, anonimous." It is headed, "Pro Memoria," and is on the same subject as the above.

[No year], Dec. 29th.—Apollos Morris, late Major 27th Regiment, to Lord George Germain, enclosing a MS. entitled, "Reflections on the Dispute with the Colonys." The "Reflections" are dated "Chester, 1769," and the writer states that they were first "given six years ago in a letter to a friend."

Paper headed, "A plan for reducing the Colonies in the most expeditious manner and at the least expence."

(After 1772).—Paper unsigned, but endorsed, "Points on matters which it seems necessary to have some directions about." By the Governor of the province of Georgia (reduced to the King's obedience), upon the new mode of Government to be observed in that province: mentions Mr. Graham, Mr. Stokes, Capt. Powell, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Tattnall, and Mr. McKinnon, Capt. Mackay, Col. Campbell, Mr. Hume, General Prevost.

A French account of the sea engagement off Ushant, Admiral Keppel being in command.

[No year], June 12th, Boston.—Account of the prosecution of the American war near Boston, and suggestions as to the steps to be taken in the present situation of affairs.

Paper (unsigned and undated) in French, headed, "Observations sur la commerce de l'Amerique avec l'Espagne."

Letter from Joshua Locke to Lord George Germain. Enclosing a rough plan of the Green Mountains and the province of Vermont, and on the situation in America: mentions Sir Henry Clinton, Col. Skene.

[N.D.]—Paper signed "A.," respecting the formation of a corps of Irish Emigrants in America and the establishment of them as a regular regiment.

M. Cuyler to Lord George Germain.

[N.D.]—Upon the state of public matters and feeling in America. Reports that the credit of Congress is totally lost, their army in general is murmuring and dissatisfied, and the Pensylvanian and N. Jersey troops have been in a state of mutiny; the generality of the inhabitants of the northern provinces are tired of rebellion, especially those of New York; Vermont is separated from the control of Congress and has shewn a friendly disposition towards the loyalists. The writer concludes with an offer to enter into a more particular detail if required, as he has at all times taken an active part in favor of Government and had means of the best information respecting the state of the northern country between New York and Canada.

General Carleton.

"Memorandum of General Carleton relative to the next campaign, communicated to Lieut. General Burgoyne, to be laid before Government.

"A reinforcement of 4,000 troops exclusive of completing the present army is necessary for Canada.

"It would be desirable to increase the present establishment of British regiments to 100 per company as part of the desired reinforcement.

"With a reinforcement to the above amount, and well composed, a large corps may be spared to pass Lake Ontario, and to operate upon the Mohawk River.

"Another corps might possibly be employed to penetrate to Connecticut River.

"Six months' provisions for at least 20,000 men, at full rations, ought to be sent out early in the spring.

"The number of mouths to feed, including savages, Canadians, artificers, seamen, &c., upon the lakes may be reckoned a full third more than the troops.

"Canada will furnish flour sufficiently, but the drain of live cattle has been so great the last campaign that very little can be expected.

"A corps of boatmen is absolutely necessary for all operations in a country so much intersected with lakes and rivers as that wherein the Canadian army must act."

XIX.—REPORT BY LIEUT.-GOVERNOR HENRY HAMILTON ON HIS PROCEEDINGS FROM NOV., 1776, TO JUNE, 1781.

"Sir,—The last letter I had the honor of addressing to your Excellency was dated May the seventh, 1781, and was accompanied with returns of the prisoners, a general account of disbursements, and of cash received at different times, duplicates of all which shall be sent by the first opportunity.

"The packett which brought Major Hay and myself sailed from Sandyhook on the 27th of May, and arrived at Falmouth on the 21st of June.

"Yesterday being the 5th of July, I had the honor of paying my respects to Lord George Germaine. His Lordship was pleased to attend to the account I gave of our ill-success, and the treatment we experienced from the rebels, from the day of our being made prisoners of war (the 25th of February, 1779) to the 4th of March, 1781, when we were totally out of their [hands] by a final exchange.

"Having mentioned to his Lordship that I had preserved a diary of transactions, he directed me to commit to paper a brief account, and transmit the same to your Excellency.

"In obedience to his Lordship's orders, I shall endeavour to avoid detail and supply as well as may be the want of such papers as were seized by order of the rebel governor, Mr. Jefferson, on our being thrown into the dungeon at Williamsburgh; some things previous to the arrival of your Excellency at Quebec, it may be proper slightly to mention.

"On the 9th day of November, I arrived at Detroit and almost immediately applications were made by the Indians for my assent to their making inroads upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and this I declined giving, not having received positive orders on the subject, and the rebels being in possession of Montreal, all intercourse with Sir Guy Carleton was cut off.

"In the month of June, 1777, Lieutenant Governor Cramahé wrote me a letter, containing the copy of Lord George Germaine's orders and instructions, by which I was authorized to appoint proper officers and interpreters, and to send them with the Indians against the rebels, with the strictest injunctions to discourage and restrain them from their usual barbarities.

"A most strict adherence to these injunctions has been observed on my part, and as whatever I advance can be well supported, I shall mention some of the measures taken with the Indians, to invalidate the odious falsities propagated by the rebels in different parts of America, and to shew that the savages have yielded to restraint, and foregone their habits of cruelty.

"When any party of Indians were desirous of going on a discovery, they were brought to me by the interpreters: every dissuasive against cruelty was used, their pretensions to the title of warriors set in a just light, presents promised them for prisoners brought in alive (which the liberality of Government enabled me to make them) and the stability of a future peace urged, if (after the conclusion of it) the Americans had living proofs of the humanity of the Indians, in the preservation of their children and other defenceless persons.

"Some or all of these arguments had their weight with the very first party sent out, which returnd with seven prisoners alive, who testifyed to the gentle treatment shewn by the savages. The presents given on this occasion were incentive to other parties to act in like manner, and when we went against St. Vincennes we left 129 prisoners of different ages and sexes, who seemed heartyly grateful for their huamane treatment, being clothed and fed at the expence of the Crown, and allowed all liberty within the settlement.

"On the 6th of August, 1778, intelligence was brought me by Mr. Francis Maisonville of the attack of the Illinois by Colonel Clarke, the shamefull treatment of Monsieur de Rocheblave,* who was laid in irons, and put into a place where hogs had been kept, ankle deep in filth, the indignities offered Madame de Rocheblave, the destruction of his property, &c.

"Expresses were dispatched with all possible speed to inform the Commander-in-Chief at Quebec, Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, commandant at Niagara, and Captain De Peyster, commandant at Michillimakinac.

"No time was lost in making preparation for executing the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, should he approve of an attempt to dislodge the rebels.

"Monsieur de Celoron was sent off directly for Oniattanon, with belts and speeches for the Miamis Indians, and those of the River Ouabache [Wabash], his orders (which were given him in writing) as was the case to all partizan officers, directed that he should as soon as possible give me information of the dispositions of the Indians, the numbers and if possible the views of the rebels, and that he should not fail to have the few small cannon at Fort Sackville spiked, and the trunnions knocked off, a detail of his treachorous conduct I had the honor of laying before your Excellency in a letter from Oniattanon.

"On the 11th I had accounts of your Excellency's arrival at Quebec. September the 15th I had the honor of a letter from your Excellency, and in consequence wrote to Major de Peyster at Michillimakinac informing him of my design of attempting to dislodge the rebels from the Ilinois.

"Having reviewed the companies of militia I found there would be as many of them turn out volunteers, as, with the regulars, La Mothe's company, and the Indians, would employ what little craft we had.

* Commandant of the Illinois country.

Captain Lernoult, who at that time commanded the detachment of the King's (8th) Regiment, assisted me greatly in forwarding everything necessary to be provided, and gave permission to Lieutenant Showrd, two serjeants and thirty rank and file (who were all volunteers) to accompany me.

Orders having been given in time for putting the carrying place at the Miamis in order, repairing the carriages, &c., proper artificers engaged, craft overhauled, and the weight of provisions, ammunition stores, Indian goods, &c., calculated the Indians being found well-disposed, and messengers sent to the different nations resorting to Detroit apprizing them of my design, and exhorting them to send out frequent parties upon the frontiers, the day was fixed for our departure.

Pere Potier, the Jesuit missionary, a man of a respectable character and venerable figure, came to the head of our little encampment on the common of Detroit, and, having attended to the reading the Articles of War and the renewal of the oath of allegiance to his Britannick Majesty, he gave the blessing to the Catholics present, conditionally upon their strictly adhering to their oath, being the more engaged thereto, as the indulgence and favor of their Prince merited their best services and had exceeded their most sanguine expectation.

The subsequent behaviour of these people has occasioned my recalling this circumstance.

Our numbers (by recollection, as the rebels got possession of the returns with other papers) were as follows :—Of regulars, one lieutenant fireworker, two matrosses, one lieutenant, two serjeants, 30 rank and file of the King's (8th) Regiment. Of irregulars, one captain, one lieutenant, two serjeants, four rank and file, being volunteers who had been disciplined in the best manner we could compass, for about one year, about seventy volunteers selected from those who presented themselves at the reviews of the Militia companies of the settlement and about sixty Indians.

On the 7th of October the various necessaries for a winter movement of 600 miles being provided by the activity and goodwill of Captains Lernoult and Grant, the latter of whom had attended to everything afloat, and by the assistance of Major Hay and Mr. Fleming, the Commissary, we struck our tents and embarked with one field piece, which was all could be spared from the garrison.

One single person, he an Indian, was affected with liquor. We proceeded a little way down the river and encamped. I shall observe once for all that camp duty was as strictly attended to as the slender knowledge I possessed would admit, and that the guards, picketts and advanced centries, were regularly visited from the setting the watch, which was usually at sunset, till broad daylight, that the boats were loaded, manned and arranged in such a way as to be perfectly secured within our centries every night, that the Indians encamped and decamped, as regularly as could be wished, and that

among them not a single instance of drunkenness or quarrelling occurrd for 72 days nor the least repining at the fatigues of the journey or the hardships of the season. Their customs in war, their ceremonies on the way, and what passed in the meetings with various tribes, with the speeches, are enterd upon my diary, and may be of service to persons who wish to be acquainted with their forms, without an attention to which no hearty assistance is to be expected from them.

On the 9th a snowstorm having subsided, it was debated whether or not we should hazard the passage of the lake, from the mouth of Detroit River to that of the Miamis, but considering the advanced season, and that contrary winds or the freezing of the lake would frustrate our design, I determined to make the push. The travers is of 36 miles, and it was noon before the swell on the lake was fallen sufficiently.

The night proved extremely dark, the head boats with guides carryed lights for the direction of those astern, about 11 o'clock the wind shifted, it began to rain, and a heavy swell rolled in; we were on a lee shore and all was at stake. What I sufferd on this occasion may more readyly be conceived than expressed. After rowing some time we lay on our oars with our sterns to the swell till we judged the most distant boats could discern our lights, and then rowed in shore, when happyly we made an ouzy beach within a mile of the entrance of the Miamis River. It blew so hard all night we could neither pitch a tent or make a fire, and yet were happy in our escape, for if providentially we had not passed an extent of rocky coast before the storm arose, we had all inevitably perished.

This day Monsieur de Celoran met us on his return; he made his report aloud, that the rebels were already arrived at the Miamis. I affected indifference, tho' astonished at his imprudence, and said I had already heard of it. I orderd him to proceed to Detroit. It soon appeard that his design in giving that false intelligence was deliberately treacherous, as he had been industrious in passing the Indian settlements on the way to spread the alarm.

I apprized the Commandant at Detroit by letter of this manége.

On the 11th we arrived at the foot of the rapids, where we found Captain Grant, who in the sloop *Archangel* had brought 14 tonns of provision to expedite our journey. The next day we lost Lieutenant Showrd by the accident of his piece going off, which shatterd his leg; we sent the surgeon with him in a light boat to Detroit, where he sufferd the amputation, but a mortification ensuing, he lost his life.

On the 24th we arrived at the Miamis town after the usual fatigues attending such a navigation, the water being remarkably low. Here we met several tribes of the Indians previously summoned to meet here, and held several conferences, made them presents, and dispatched messengers to

the Shawanese, as well as the nations on our route, inviting them to join us, or at least watch the motions of the rebels upon the frontiers, for which purpose I sent them ammunition.

Having passed the portage of nine miles, we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache, called the Petite Riviere; the waters were so uncommonly low that we should not have been able to have passed, but that at the distance of four miles from the landing place the beavers had made a dam which kept up the water. This we cut through to give a passage to our boats, and having taken in our lading at the landing passed all our boats. The beavers are never molested at this place by the traders or Indians, and soon repair their dam, which is a most serviceable work upon this difficult communication. With great labor we next passed a swamp called Les Volets, beyond which the little Riviere à Boéte joins the one we had made our way thro'. The shallowness of the water obliged us to make a dam across both rivers to back the water into the swamp, and when we judged the water to be sufficiently raised, cut our dyke and passed with all our craft. The same obstacle occurred at Riviere à l'Anglais, and the same work was to be raised.

In our progress down the Ouabache difficulties encreased, the setting in of the frost lowerd the river, the floating ice cut the men as they worked in the water to haul the boats over shoals and rocks, our batteaus were damaged, and to be repeatedly unloaded, calked, and payd, 97,000 lbs. of provisions and stores to be carryed by the men, in which the Indians assisted chearfully, when the boats were to be lightend. It was sometimes a day's work to get the distance of half a league. It was necessary to stop frequently at the Indian villages, to have conferences with them, furnish them with necessaries, and engage a few to accompany us. At length we got into a good depth of water, a fall of rain having raised the river. This advantage was succeeded by fresh difficulties, the frost becoming so intense as to freeze the river quite across. However, by hard labor we made our way, and now approaching within a few days' journey of St. Vincennes, our reconnoitring party brought in a lieutenant and three men, sent from Fort Sackville to gain intelligence. The officer had in his pockett two commissions, one from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, the other from Colonel Clarke, and was in the pay of the Congress.

I gave their arms to the Indians, but would not proceed rigorously with them, wishing to gain these people by lenity, and apprehensive that an instance of severity might rouze the ferocity of the Indians, which I wished of all things to avoid.

Learning from the prisoners the state of things at St. Vincennes, I sent off parties to lay upon the roads from thence to the Ilinois, and to the falls on the Ohio, where the rebels had a fort, and a number of families lately come to settle.

Their orders were to intercept any messengers, secure them and their letters, but not to suffer any violence to be offerd to their persons, They executed their orders, and took prisoners two men, sent off by the officer commanding for the rebels at Fort Sackville with letters to Colonel Clarke, acquainting him of our arrival.

Major Hay was detached with orders to fall down the river, and send to the principal inhabitants of St. Vincennes, acquainting them that unless they quitted the rebels and laid down their arms, there was no mercy for them. Some chiefs accompanied him to conciliate the Peankashaa Indians residing at St. Vincennes, and to show the French what they might expect if they pretended to resist. Major Hay secured the arms, ammunition and spirituous liquors as soon as the inhabitants laid down their arms, and the officer who commanded in the fort (Captain Helm) being deserted by the officers and men who to the number of 70 had formed his garrison, and were in pay of the Congress, surrenderd his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival, being the 17th of December, 1778. Thus we employed 71 days in coming only 600 miles, which is to be attributed to the extraordinary difficulties of the way, owing to the uncommon drought, the severity of the season, and the inevitable delays at the Indian villages, particularly at Oniattanon, where the chiefs who received the rebel colors came in to us from their hunting, acknowledged their error, gave up the flags, and accused Monsieur de Celoren of having deserted them, besides that he never distributed to them the goods entrusted to him for the Indians.

In the fort we found two iron three-pounders, mounted on truck carriages, two swivels not mounted, a very small quantity of ammunition, and 32 stout horses which had been purchased for Congress and which I gave to the Indians.

As to the state of the fort, we found it a miserable stockade, without a well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even a lock to the gate.

Such was the moderation and good order observed by the Indians, that not a single person had the slenderest cause for complaint, not a shot was fired, nor any inhabitant injured in person or property. It is remarkable that tho' on our arrival at this place our number was encreased to 500 men, there was not one sick, nor had there been a single instance of drunkenness among the Indians or soldiery, from the day we left Detroit, tho' rum was deliver'd out on every occasion when the fatigues or bad weather made it necessary.

As soon as proper precautions were taken for securing our boats and landing our provisions, etc., it became a point of consideration whether we should proceed directly to attack the rebels at the Ilinois, or content ourselves with establishing a post in this place, where we had these several advantages; the command of the River Ohio, by which the Spaniards had supplyed the rebel forts with powder, &c., the cutting off

the communication between the Ilinois and the falls of Ohio across the country, the being situated so as to check the river Indians, and encourage the Delawares and Ottawas on White River. Further, to divide our small force (since we must leave a garrison in Fort Sackville) appear'd not eligible, and we could not expect the Indians to remain much longer with us. The state of our provisions, the length of the journey (240 miles) and the want of carriages, added to the nature of the country, subject to innundations, all combined to direct our determination to fortify ourselves here, and wait for reinforcements in the Spring.

On taking an account of the inhabitants at this place, of all ages and sexes, we found their number to amount to 621, of these 217 fit to bear arms on the spot, several being absent hunting buffalo for their winter provision.

Having summon'd the inhabitants to assemble in the church, I went to meet them, reproach'd them with their treachery and ingratitude, but told them since they had laid down their arms and sued for protection, that on renewing their oath of allegiance they should be secured in their persons and property. Lenity I thought might induce the French inhabitants at Kaskaskias to follow their example, tho' the conduct of the Canadians at large was but poor encouragement.

I read twice to them the oath prepared for them to take, explained the nature of it, and cautioned them against that levity they had so recently given proof of.

The oath being administered, they severally kissed a silver crucifix at the foot of the altar, after which they signed their names to a paper containing the same oath in writing. It was conceived in the following terms :—

A St. Vincennes ce 19me Decembre 1778.

Nous sousignés, declarons et avouons avoir preté le serment de fidelité au Congres, qu'en faisant cela, nous avons oublié notre devoir envers Dieu, et avons manqué vis a vis des hommes—nous reclamons le pardon de Dieu, et nous esperons de la bonté de notre Souverain legitime, le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'il acceptera notre soumission, et nous prendra sous sa protection comme bons et fidelles sujets, que nous promettons et jurons devenir, devant Dieu et devant les hommes, en foi de quoi nous signons de notre main, ou certifions de notre marque ordinaire, le jour et mois susdit de l'an 1778.

Those who had accepted Commissions under the Congress delivered them up, and all those who had laid down their arms and renewed their oath of allegiance received their arms and on application had passports to hunt buffalo.

The state of the fort was one of our first concerns. In the course of the winter we built a guard-house, barracks for four companies, sunk a well, erected two large blockhouses of oak, musquet proof, with loop-holes below and embrasures above for five pieces of cannon each, alter'd and lined part

of the stockade, laid the fort with gravel, &c. Several parties were sent out chiefly towards Kaskasquias and the falls of Ohio, by land, and to the mouth of the Ouabache by water.

The Indians who came from different quarters all seemed pleased with our arrival, and from their jealousy of the Americans, would, I am persuaded, have acted to our wish. Messengers were sent to Mr. Steward, the agent for Indian affairs to the southward, with letters proposing a meeting in the spring at St. Vincennes or the Cherakee River, the object of which was to reconcile the Southern Indians with the Shawanese and other northern nations, and to concert a general invasion of the frontier. A letter was also sent for Captain Blomer at the Natchez, by a person whom I expected would betray his trust, and shew it to Don Bernardo de Galvez at New Orleans.

A party of thirty men with an officer was sent to the mouth of the Ouabache to intercept any boats that might be sent up the Ohio—as soon as Indian parties returned, others supplyed their places, and so well did they execute what was recommended to them, that they did at different times bring in prisoners and prevent intelligence being carried from St. Vincennes to the Ilinois, till the desertion of a corporal and six men of La Mothe's company in the latter end of January. who gave the first intelligence to Colonel Clarke of our arrival. As the corporal and some of the men had hitherto behaved well, it was apprehended that they were moved to desert by ill-intentioned people among the French at St. Vincennes. One of the deserters was brother to Gibault, the priest, who had been an active agent for the rebels, and whose vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain.

To enumerate the vices of the inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue is no more than truth and justice require, still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the reverend Monsieur Gibault.

The several nations of Indians inhabiting the banks of the Ouabache came in at different times, made great professions and declared their distrust of the Virginians, but there was but one chief with his party who really acted with zeal and spirit, tho' the Lake Indians showed them a very good example. An Ottawa chief in particular, soon after our arrival at St. Vincennes offer'd himself with a party to go down to the river's mouth where it falls into the Ohio, where, having remained some time without taking any prisoners, he declared he would not return without attempting to be of further service, and went accordingly by land (a very fatigueing march) to Kaskasquias, where had he not been prevented by the treachery of a Canadian, he would (as Colonel

Clarke afterwards assured me himself) have taken prisoners Colonel Clarke with several other officers who were going to Cahokia. This Canadian was the interpreter to the Miamis Indians, Charles Baubin by name, who contrary to my positive orders took away their horses from some of the French hunters of the Ilinois, and would have kept them but for the chief already mentioned, who reproached him with acting contrary to my orders. Baubin further threat'ned that the Indians were to be brought down to the Ilinois and everything put to the fire and sword, which directly contradicted the written messages and letters I had sent by him and Hypolite Baulon to the inhabitants of the Ilinois. It is said that Baubin is still employed as interpreter to the Miamis, which makes me conclude some of my letters to your Excellency have miscarried. When he returned from the Ilinois he asked leave to go to the Miamis, and his behaviour displayed the consciousness of a villain who had betrayed his trust. Colonel Clarke's account of his treachery was supported by the testimony of other of his officers. Thus at different periods secret treason brought on our final misfortune.

The fort was on the 22nd of February in a tolerable state of defence, the work proposed being finished, excepting the lining of the stockade. This day, Mr. François Maisonville return'd from a scout, having been in pursuit of deserters, and brought in two Virginians prisoners, whom he had taken on the Ohio. He took me aside immediately and told me he had discover'd about four leagues below the fort, fourteen fires, but could not tell whether of Virginians or savages. I instantly sent off Captain La Mothe, Lieutenant Shuffelin* and twenty men to bring me a more perfect account. The waters being out, the meadows were so greatly overflowed it was necessary to take a circuit. Mr. Maisonville had taken upon him to serve as a guide, tho' fatigued. They lost their way night coming on, and were only apprized by the firing of cannon at the fort that it was invested ; returning to the village and finding it impossible to make their way good, they concealed themselves in a barn, sending from time to time one of their number to explore and make report, but as they employed Canadians none of them returned.

The militia of the fort had been ordered under arms in the evening. The Major, Le Gras, and one of the captains, Bosseron, with several of the private men being reported absent, I suspected treachery. The two officers, however, made their appearance at sunset. About five minutes after candles had been lighted, we were alarmed by hearing a musquet discharged ; presently after, some more. I concluded that some party of Indians was returned or that there was some riotus frolic in the village. Going upon the parade to enquire, I heard the balls whistle, order'd the men to the blockhouses, forbidding them to fire till they perceived the shot to be directed against the fort. We were shortly out of suspense, one of the serjeants receiving a shot

* Probably the same as Lieut. Ichinffelin, p. 245.

in the breast. The fire was now return'd, but the enemy had a great advantage from their rifles, and the cover of the church, houses, barns, &c.

Mr. McBeath, the surgeon, having been in the village when the firing began, pushed to get to the gate, and narrowly escaped being killed. He reported that as soon as the first shots were fired, the woman of the house where he was told him that Colonel Clarke was arrived with 500 men from the Ilinois. This very house had lately been searched in the night on suspicion of a stranger being concealed, but the serjeant and party could not discover any such person.

Tho' the night was dark, we had a serjeant matross and five men wounded. The weather was still so cold we were obliged to bring the wounded into our own quarters. The officers, who had continued in tents all the winter, were exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen, as the picketting of the fort was so poorly set up that one might pass the hand clenched between the stockades. We dislodged the enemy from the church and nearest houses by a few cannon shot from the blockhouses, but when day appeared and we saw that the inhabitants of the village had joined the rebels, we despaired of Captain La Mothe's party regaining the fort, but to my great surprize and joy about half-an-hour before sunrise they appeared and got into the fort over the stockades, which were upright and eleven feet out of the ground, with their arms in their hands.

Two Canadians of his company had deserted the preceding night and Mr. Maisonville was betrayed and deliver'd to the rebels by his own cousin.

The firing was but slack after sunrise, and about eight o'clock a flag of truce from the rebels appeared, carried by Nicolas Cardinal, a captain of the militia of St. Vincennes, who deliver'd me a letter from Colonel Clarke requiring me to surrender at discretion, adding with an oath that if I destroyed any stores or papers I should be treated as a murtherer. Having assembled the officers and read this letter, I told them my intention was to undergo any extremity rather than trust to the discretion of such sort of people as we had to deal with. They all approve of this resolution, on which I assembled the men and informed them of our determination. The English assured me they would defend the King's colors to the last, adding a homely but hearty phrase, that they would stick to me as the shirt to my back. They then gave three cheers. The French, on the contrary, hung their heads. I returned for answer to Colonel Clarke's note, that threats would not prevent us from doing our duty as British subjects, and the flag having returned, the firing recommenced. La Mothe's voluntiers now began to murmur, saying it was very hard to be obliged to fight against their countrymen and relations, who, they now perceived had joined the Americans. As they made half our number and after such a declaration were not to be trusted, the Englishmen wounded, six in number,

were a sixth of those we could depend on, and duty would every hour fall heavier on the remaining few. Considering we were at the distance of six hundred miles from succour, that if we did not burn the village we left the enemy most advantageous cover against us, and that if we did, we had nothing to expect after rejecting the first terms, but the extremity of revenge, I took up the determination of accepting honorable terms if they could be procured, else to abide the worst. I stated these considerations to the officers first, who allowed them to be reasonable, then to the men, who very reluctantly admitted them, and here I must declare that if the defence of the fort had depended on the strength and courage of the English only, the rebels would have lost their labor, but Colonel Clarke has since told me he knew to a man those of my little garrison who would do their duty, and those who would shrink from it. There is no doubt he was well informed.

The propositions which I sent out to Colonel Clarke were as follow.

Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clarke Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the stores, ammunition and provision, reserving only thirty-six rounds of powder and ball per man, and as many weeks' provision as shall be sufficient to subsist those of the garrison who shall go by land or by water to their destination, which is to be agreed on hereafter.

The garrison are to deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and to march out with their arms, accoutrements and knapsacks.

A guide or guides to be given with a safeguard to escort the garrison to their destination, as also horses for the transport of provision, provided the garrison marches by land.

The garrison not to be deliver'd up till the person employed by Colonel Clarke shall have received an account of the stores, &c.

Three days time from the signing the articles to be allowed the garrison for providing shoes, &c., necessary for the journey (if by land) for the baking of bread, and for settling accounts with the traders of this post.

Officers or others of the garrison who have families to be permitted to return to their homes on promise of not acting during the present contest between Great Britain and America.

Sick and wounded are recommended to the humanity and generosity of Colonel Clarke, any charges incurred for them to be answer'd by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, who will leave a draft for 50*l.* New York currency for their use. Officers to take private baggage.

Signed at Fort Sackville, 24th Feby., 1779.
H. Hamilton.

Before anything was concluded, the following scene was exhibited, of which I give your Excellency a relation, as it

serves to contrast the behaviour of his Majesty's subjects with that of the rebels, so often celebrated for humanity, generosity, and, indeed, everything virtuous, elevated and noble.

About two o'clock afternoon a party of Indians with some whites return'd from a scout with two Canadians whom they had taken prisoners near the falls of Ohio, probably with information for the rebels at the fort. Colonel Clarke sent off a detachment of seventy men against them. The Indian party was of fifteen or sixteen men, who seeing the English flag flying at the fort, discharged their pieces (an usual compliment with those people). They were immediately fired upon by the rebels and Canadians, two killed on the spot, one shot in the belly, who, however, escaped. The rest were surrounded and taken bound to the village, where being set in the street opposite the fort gate, they were put to death, notwithstanding a truce at that moment existed. The manner (as related to me by different people, and among others by the man at whose door this execrable feat was perpetrated) was as follows :—

One of them was tomahawk'd immediately. The rest, sitting on the ground in a ring, bound, seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sung his death song and was in turn tomahawk'd ; the rest underwent the same fate, one only was saved at the intercession of a rebel officer, who pleaded for him, telling Colonel Clarke that the savages' father had formerly spared his life.

The chief of this party, after having had the hatchet stuck in his head, took it out himself and deliver'd it to the inhuman monster who struck him first, who repeated his stroke a second and a third time, after which the miserable spectacle was dragged by the rope about his neck to the river, thrown in, and suffer'd to spend still a few moments of life in fruitless struglings. Two serjeants who had been volunteers with the Indians escaped death by the intercession of a father and a sister who were on the spot. Mr. François Maisonville, whom I formerly mentioned, was set in a chair, and by Colonel Clarke's order a man came with a scalping knife, who hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenceless wretch, Colonel Clarke with imprecations told him to proceed, and when [part ?] of the scalp had been raised the man stopp'd his hand, he was again order'd to proceed, and as the executor of Colonel Clarke's will, was in the act of raising the skin, [when] a brother of Mr. Maisonville, who had joined the rebels, stepp'd up and prevailed on Colonel Clarke to desist. The poor man, who survived this cruel treatment, and shewed an unshaken firmness in the minute of impending death, was not afterwards proof to the long confinement he underwent at Williamsburgh, the gloomyness of his situation affected his spirits first, the apprehension of suffering an ignominious death lower'd them still more, till his reason began to be impair'd. The surgeon, a man of great humanity (tho' attached to the cause of rebellion) wrote to the Governor and Council of Virginia

to sollicit a little enlargement for this poor man, as the only means likely to save him, what the answer was I know not, but the unfortunate creature put an end to his miseries and his life, in spight of two persons who watched him and were aware of his intention.

Colonel Clarke, yet reeking with the blood of these unhappy victims, came to the esplanade before the fort gate, where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the surrender of the garrison. He spoke with rapture of his late achievement, while he washed off the blood from his hand, stained in this inhuman sacrifice.

He told me it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the fort, that his cannon would be up in a few hours, that he knew to a man who might be depended on, with every other circumstance of my situation; that if from a spirit of obstinacy I persisted when there was no probability of relief, and should stand an assault, not a single soul should be spared. I replyed that tho' my numbers were small I could depend on them. He said he knew I had but 35 or 36 men, staunch men, that 'twas but folly to think of a defence with so small numbers so overmatched; that if I would surrender at discretion and trust to his generosity, I should have better treatment than if I articled for terms. My answer was that I would then abide the consequence, and never take so disgracefull a step while I had ammunition and provision. You will be answerable (said he) for the lives lost by your obstinacy. I said my men had declared they would die with arms in their hands rather than surrender at discretion, that still I would accept such terms as might consist with my honor and duty, that knowing what I could pretend to, little time was necessary for drawing up articles. He said he would think upon it and return in half-an-hour; he returned accordingly accompanied by one of his captains. I went to meet them with Major Hay. The soldiers, in the meantime, apprehensive of some ill design, manned the East blockhouse ready to fire at an instant.

The conversation was resumed and Colonel Clarke appeared as determined as before. I then said further discourse was vain, that I would return to the fort, and, to prevent mistakes, the firing should not take place for an hour after our parting, took my leave, and was proceeding to the fort when Major Hay and Captain Bowman called me back; the subject was renewed, and Colonel Clarke agreed to my sending terms for his consideration. They were sent that same evening. Colonel Clarke made his alterations and I agreed to the conditions, having first called the officers together and exposed to them the necessity of the step. The men were then assembled, and were convinced that no advantage to his Majesty's service could result from our holding out in the present circumstances.

Among reasons not mentioned on the face of the capitulation were the treachery of one-half our little garrison, the certainty of the inhabitants of the village having joyned

the rebels, the north-east angle of the fort projecting over a sandbank already considerably undermined, the miserable state of the wounded men, the impossibility of effecting an escape by water, while the half of our number had shewed their poltronnerie and treason, and our wounded must be left at the mercy of a mercyless set of banditti.

Having given the necessary orders, I passed the night in sorting papers and in preparing for the disagreable ceremony of the ensuing day. Mortification, disappointment and indignation had their turns.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, we marched out with fixed bayonets and the soldiers with their knapsacks. The colors had not been hoisted this morning, that we might be spared the mortification of hawling them down.

It had been told Colonel Clarke that we had labor'd all night to lay powder chests under the gateway, and had planted the six-pounder loaded with grape, which was by a train to destroy the rebels as they enter'd to take possession.

This report may reasonably be imputed to the invention of the French inhabitants, since they had the effrontrie to give Colonel Clarke a written account of cruelties exercised by us while at St. Vincennes, which our own American prisoners confuted in their accounts to Colonel Clarke.

Thus by the baseness and ingratitude of people who owed their lives and properties to us, we were betrayed into the hands of our enemies. Permit me, Sir, to make a slight digression, and attempt to show that to a correspondence with the French inhabitants, and not to our supineness and neglect, the rebels owed the information necessary for accomplishing their design.

On our arrival at St. Vincennes a strict search was made for gunpowder, all that was to be found in the place was put into the magazine, and a heavy fine was laid on those who should be found to conceal any, nevertheless Colonel Clarke was supplyed by the inhabitants, his own to the last ounce being damaged on his march.

He himself told me that he should never have attempted to attack us, but that he was minutely informed of our situation in every respect.

The Indians, who after a march in winter of seventy-one days, had acted with great zeal and fidelity, and furnished as many parties as I wished, had almost all returned to their homes. Two companies of volunteers from Detroit had testyfied so much uneasyness and unwillingness to remain that I chose to send them away rather than keep them against their inclination. Several persons who had been on pay as partisans with the Indians, I believe fomented this discontent, which I attributed to their surmizing that France would join the Americans. These people I discharged and sent away.

The conduct of the Canadians in general has shewn that no ties that have force upon enlightened and generous minds can bind them, and that they prefer any subjection to the freedom

of Englishmen. The artfull manége of the inhabitants of the Ilinois is not to be [described ?]. When news was carried to that place of the Indians coming against them under my orders, the young men offer'd their service to Colonel Clarke to bear arms against the English, but their fathers and uncles told him they had sworn allegiance to the King of Great Britain, therefore could not act the same part, but that they would not fight against the Americans.

The terms granted by Colonel Clarke and which I reluctantly signed were as follow :—

1st. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clarke, Fort Sackville, as it is at present with all the stores, ammunition, and provisions, &c., &c.

2ndly. The garrison are to deliver themselves up prisoners of war, and to march out with their arms, accoutrements and knapsacks.

3dly. The garrison to be deliver'd up to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

4th. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this town.

5thly. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage.

Signed at Post Vincennes the
24th day of February 1779.

G. E. Clarke.

Agreed to for the following reasons :—

The remoteness from succour, the state and quantity of provisions, the unanimity of officers and men on its expediency, the honorable terms allowed, and lastly the confidence in a generous enemy.

Henry Hamilton,
Lieut. Govr. and Superintendent.

If it be consider'd that we were to leave our wounded men at the mercy of a man who had shewn such instances of ferocity as Colonel Clarke had lately done, a compliment bespeaking his generosity and humanity may possibly find excuse with some, as I know it has censure from others.

The evening of the day we capitulated Colonel Clark ordered neck-irons, fetters, and handcuffs to be made, which, in our hearing, he declared were designed for those officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians. I took him aside and reminded him that these persons were prisoners of war included in the capitulation which he had so lately set his hand to ; he said his resolution was formed, that he had made a vow never to spare woman or child of the Indians or those who were employed with them. I observed to him that these persons having obeyed my orders were not to be blamed for the execution of them, that I had never known that they had acted contrary to those orders by encouraging the cruelty of the savages, on the contrary, and that if he was determined to pass by the consideration of his faith and that of the public, pledged for the performance of the articles of

capitulation, I desired he might throw me into prison or lay me in irons rather than the others. He smiled contemptuously, turned away and order'd three of these persons to the guard, till the irons should be made. The scalps of the slaughter'd Indians were hung up by our tents, a young man of the name of Raimbault was brought into the fort with a halter about his neck and only for the interposition of the volunteers from the Ilinois, some of whom were his relations, would infallibly have been hanged without any crime laid to his charge but his having been with a scouting party; he was half strangled before he was taken from the tree.

Our soldiers told us that some of the rebels had sworn solemnly to destroy Major Hay and myself the first opportunity. As we could not guard against any attempt in the situation we then found ourselves, we thought it best to appear unacquainted with any such resolution, but we were obliged twice in the night to fly for security to Colonel Clarke's quarters in the fort, two men that were intoxicated and whose names had been given us, attempting to shoot us in our tent. The attempt was proved but no punishment ensued.

We were kept in the dark as to the day of our departure, tho' I had repeatedly asked it, that we might have bread baked and prepare what was necessary.

On the 5th of March, Monsieur Dejean was brought in a prisoner, along with Monsieur Adhoeman; the latter had been sent up with ten pirogues and thirty men to the Miamis to bring down provisions and stores which had been forwarded from Detroit, Mr. Dejean had obtained leave from the commandant there to pass to St. Vincennes, and had taken charge of letters from Detroit for me.

The day before, Captain Helm (an American officer who commanded the party sent to take the convoy) arrived at Oniatthanon. Mr. Dejean heard that we had fallen into the hands of the rebels, but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers, which with everything else were seized by the rebels.

Besides the provision, cloathing, and stores belonging to the King, all the private baggage of the officers fell into the possession of Colonel Clarke, not an article of which was offer'd them. Tho' they, to conciliate the good offices of the rebels to our wounded men and those whom we apprehended would not be permitted to go along with us, gave away to Colonel Clarke and to his people, several things we should otherways not have parted with, we afterwards heard that the prisoners were notwithstanding treated with great severity. Our surgeon was robbed of his medicines and instruments, Colonel Clarke being arbiter of that article of the capitulation by which the officers were to take their *necessary* baggage.

At length, on the 8th day of March, we were put into a heavy oak boat, being 27 in number, with our provision of flour and pork at common ration for ten days only, and 14 gallons of spirits for us and our guard, which consisted of

23 persons, including two officers. We had before us 360 miles of water carriage and 480 to march to the place of our destination, Williamsburgh, in Virginia. The 10th, in the afternoon, we reached the Ohio, whose waters were out in an uncommon and astonishing degree. The depth above the banks 18 feet, with such a swift current as made it very fatiguing to row, which we all did in turn, while our guard were distributed in four light boats.

At night we were obliged to lye in our boat, making it fast to a tree, for the flood extended as far in the wood as the eye could reach. We made a miserable shift with our mast and oars to throw a tilt over head to keep out the rain, and lay like swine close jammed together, having not room to extend ourselves.

We presently found the discipline of our guards such as would have enabled us to seize their arms and escape to Natchez. This was agitated among us, but the idea given up on the persuasion that our companions left in the hands of the rebels at St. Vincennes would be sufferers for it.

We fell in with four Delaware Indians who were hunting, having only their bows and arrows. Our escort obliged them to accompany us part of the way, but they disappeared one day and we were given to understand they were quietly knocked on the head.

Not to trouble your Excellency with remarks made on the journey, which are, however, noted in my diary, we arrived at the falls of Ohio on the 30th of March. Here we found a number of settlers who live in loghouses in eternal apprehensions from the Indians. It is remarkable that the parties from St. Vincennes had been so vigilant, that the news of Fort Sackville falling into our hands on the 17th of December was only known here on the 29th of March.

Colonel Clarke had promis'd to send 15 horses to this place for our use on the march, but that never was performed. He had apprized us that there was but little chance of our escaping with our lives, the people on the frontiers were so exasperated by the inroads of the Indians, and in this we found he had told us the truth, being often threatned upon the march, and waylayed at different places.

Our guard, however, behaved very well, protected us, and hunted for us, else we must have starved, for our rations were long since expended, and our allowance of bears' flesh and Indian meal was frequently very scanty. The people at the forts are in a wretched state, obliged to enclose their cattle every night in the fort, and to carry their rifle to field when they go to plow or cut wood.

On our long march we had frequently hunger and thirst to encounter as well as fatigue, at length we gained the settled country and at Lynche's Ferry on James River, were put into canoes and continued our progress by water.

On the 20th of May, being on shore to get refreshment, we were agreably surprized to find ourselves at

Brigadier Hamilton's quarters, who endeavor'd by his kindness and hospitality to make us forget our hardships. The same evening, halting at the house of a rebel, Colonel Lewis, we had the good fortune to see two officers of the Convention Army. Captain Freeman, aid-de-camp to General Reidesel, was so obliging as to be the bearer of a letter from me to General Philips, as also one for your Excellency containing the capitulation and some returns.

On the 26th a rebel captain with a guard marched us from Beaver dam to Richmond, from thence to Chesterfield, where we remain'd till the 15th of June, on which day an officer [arrived] having a written order under the hand of the Governor of the Province, Thomas Jefferson, for taking me in irons to Williamsburgh. I was accordingly handcuffed, put upon a horse, and my servant not being suffer'd to go with me, my valise was fasten'd behind me. Captain La Mothe was order'd to accompany me, being in like manner handcuffed. The fatigues of our march having heated my blood to a violent degree, I had several large boils on my legs, my handcuffs were too tight, but were eased at a smith's shop on the road, thus sometimes riding and sometimes walking, we arrived the second evening at Williamsburgh, having come 60 miles. We were conducted to the Palace, where we remained half an hour in the street at the Governor's door in wet cloaths, weary, hungry and thirsty, but had not even a cup of water offer'd us.

During this time a considerable mob gather'd about us, which accompanied us to the jail. On our arrival there we were put into a cell not ten feet square, where we found five criminals and Mr. Dejean, who was also handcuffed.

This poor man could not refrain from tears on seeing our equipment. We had the floor for a bed, the five felons were as happy as rum could make them, and so we were left to our repose for that night.

The next day we three were taken out about 11 o'clock, and before a number of people our handcuffs taken off and fetters put on in exchange. I was honor'd with the largest, which weighed eighteen pounds eight ounces. As I thought opportunities might not offer frequently, and seeing some of the delegates present, I took occasion while my irons were rivetting to speak a few words.

I told them that the ignominious manner in which we were treated without any proof of criminality or any hearing, without even a crime being laid to our charge, was a reproach only to those who could act in that manner by prisoners of war, under the sanction of a capitulation; that after a proceeding so unjust I was prepared for any extremity, but desired the persons present to observe that punishment was exercised on us before any enquiry had taken place, or any person who might have accused us being confronted with us. Some by their gesture appeared to feel for us, but no one utterr'd a word, and when our fetters were properly fixed we were remanded to our dungeon, from which the five felons were removed. The light

we received was from a grate, which faced the court of 20 feet square with walls 30 feet high. The prison having been built 60 years, it may be conceived we were subject to one very offensive inconvenience; in the heat of summer almost suffocating, our door was only open'd to give us water, we were not allowed any candle, and from the first to the last of our confinement we never could find that the Governor or Council had ordered provision of any kind to be made for us except water, with which we were really very well supplyed. The variety of vermin to which we were a prey, bad air, chagrin and want of exercise, began to produce their effects on my companions; having therefore obtained from our gaoler (who was left sole arbiter to dole out his indulgence or straighten our captivity) paper, pen and ink, I wrote the following letter to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of Virginia; the humility of the stile was adopted in consequence of finding that a bold representation of our situation would never find its way out of the prison.

Your Excellency will, I hope, pardon me for giving a copy of the paper which I gave to the gaoler the day before, and which he return'd to me with the greatest insolence of contempt, telling me that dignifyed characters in that country were not to be treated with so little ceremony. It was worded as follows :—

Mr. Pelham,

Having understood from you yesterday that the Governor was gone to the country to stay for a month, I request of you to wait on the Lieutenant-Governor, present my respects to him, acquainting him that by a written order signed by the Governor, I, with Mr. Dejean and Captain La Mothe have been ironed and thrown into a dungeon, where we have now lain upwards of 40 days. That we have not been informed of the cause of this treatment, we do not hear of our being to be confronted with our accusers, we hear no mention of any public enquiry, we suffer without any tryal. We understand that these proceedings are not agreeable to the laws of this province, or to any known rule of equity, that it is inconsistent with the tenor of the Governor's oath, and breathes the genuine spirit of *lettres de câchet* in the most arbitrary Government.

The Governors departure, without bestowing a thought on men in our situation, shews that we may suffer in reputation, health, and loss of time with as little prospect of redress as if we were in the cells of the Inquisition.

Mr. Pelham, please to inform the Lieutenant-Governor that I do not think common justice to be less the birthright of every man than the enjoyments of light and liberty, but that since our arrival in this state we have in lieu of common justice, experienced uncommon injustice. I do, therefore, for myself and the gentlemen confined with me, demand *justice*, justice as open to the public as our ill treatment has been notorious.

Mr. Pelham, when you shall commit this message to paper, I beg you will give me a copy of it certifyed with your own name signed.

This being, as I mentioned, contemptuously refused, I was necessitated to lower my tone or give up all thoughts of redress, and this I might have done, for the Lieutenant-Governor never deigned an answer to the following letter :—

Williamsburgh Jail, July 30th, 1779.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Pelham having very obligingly procured me the means of addressing you, I take the first opportunity of representing to you the circumstances and situation of the two gentlemen at present in confinement along with me.

I am to suppose they have been put in prison for having acted under my orders. If there be any criminality in those orders, justice demands that I alone should be the sufferer ; I therefore make it my request that I may suffer alone.

The health of these gentlemen is daily impaired by the consequences of their restraint, as they are in want of even a change of linnen, highly necessary at this sultry season.

As to my own conduct, however represented, I have a confidence (which will, I hope, hereafter appear well grounded) that it will support itself against the attacks which have been made upon it in this country, and that it will abide the test of that enquiry which I am to expect it will undergo whenever I shall be called upon by those superiors, whose orders I have endeavor'd to execute with humanity and moderation.

Gentlemen, whatever may be the result of this application, I shall with patience wait for the day, when I may more largely expose to the world the whole tenor of my conduct, which I have all the reason imaginable to think has been discolor'd and misrepresented.

I have the honor to be with all due respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and very humble servant
Henry Hamilton.

To the Honble. the Lieut.-Governor
and Council of Virginia.

Having been, by order of the Governor (with the advice of the Council), prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper, or the converse of any one but our jailor, we had no employment but in our reflections ; at length the prisoners in the next cell contrived to thrust the newspapers thro' a hole, and in them we found the formal charge drawn up against us, entirely unsupported by truth or evidence.

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency copies of their publications. The day after our confinement, the jailor came to ask me for my keys, which, having deliver'd, my box was searched and such papers as would have disproved their assertions taken out ; however, as I had many proofs of the

disingenuous part these people were capable of acting, I had hid my journal with copies of usefull papers, which I have found means to preserve, tho' our place and mode of confinement were so often changed.

August the 31st, Major Hay with the other prisoners from Chesterfield arrived at Williamsburgh; the soldiers were confined in the debtors room, the officers, five in number, were put into the dungeon with us, which made the heat intolerable.

At eleven at night we were obliged to alarm the prisoners in the next cell, who passed the word to the guard for the jailor, our surgeon being on the point of suffocating, an asthma to which he was subject having seized him at this time with that violence that he lost his pulse for ten minutes. We had tryed by wafting a blankett to draw some air thro' the grate, but this was insufficient, and if he had not had presence enough of mind to open a vein, he would have probably expired, for the state of the air was such that a candle (with which we had lately been indulged) would barely live if held at the top of the cell.

The jailor took Mr. Macbeth out and suffer'd him to sleep in his own room, and I must declare in justice to him that in several points he shewed more feeling by far than his employers.

The door of our cell continuing shut for several days, the poor prisoners, young and old, men and women, offered to be locked up and debarr'd the use of the court, if we might be allowed that liberty, which at length we had.

The humanity and attention of these poor people is not to be forgot. They offer'd themselves to do a hundred kind offices, clean'd and washed our cell, shewed us how to manage our irons, wrapped them round with rags, offerr'd to saw them off whenever means of escape offerr'd, but what struck me most was, that when we were indulged with the use of the court and sat to eat, these people allways withdrew. Gratitude calls on me to mention the difference of character we experienced from the leaders in this country, and those subjected to their control.

Being attacked with a fit of gout, a surgeon was sent for, who treated me with the greatest tenderness; by his means my fetters were taken off and handcuffs put on, but these were little restraint, for as I had fallen away considerably, I could slip my hands thro' them with ease.

Other persons, persuaded of the falsehood and infamy of the charges laid against us, found means to convey to us intelligence, and what was still more acceptable, sometimes a loaf of bread, meat, vegetables, fruit, &c., and this at their great peril. On our first arrival a person came who proposed to furnish us provision at four pounds per man of their paper money per day.

General Philips knowing our situation had sent us an unlimited credit, and his letter having passed to us thro' the

hands of the Governor and Council, we for a time lived plentifully and had the means of helping out the miserable ration of the prisoners, but after a while the executive power ordered our purveyor to limit our allowance, and at length, after we had rejected the parole, he was forbid to furnish us any longer, so that in the depth of a winter the most severe ever known in this country, we had water alone for drink, and our provision was bread of Indian meal and very poor salted beef.

October the 1st, a parole was tender'd to us, which having read and duly consider'd, we all rejected; as some people have thought, a spirit of obstinacy rather than prudence dictated on this occasion. I send your Excellency a transcript of it :—

> Copy of the first parole tender'd Oct. 1st, 1779.
>
> I do promise on my parole of honor, that I will not depart out of the limits which shall from time to time be prescribed to me by the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, or any other person having authority from him to prescribe or alter such limits. That I will not say or do anything directly or indirectly to the prejudice of the United States of America or any of them.
>
> That I will hold no conference with any prisoners of war other than those fixed at the same quarters with me, but in the presence of such person as the Governor or some one acting by authority from him shall appoint, nor send nor receive any letter or message, nor communicate any intelligence to or from any person, but with the privity and permission of the Governor or other person authorized by him for that purpose, to whom all letters or other papers coming to my hands shall be deliver'd before their seals shall be broken or they shall be otherwise opened, and this promise which I make on the faith of a gentleman, shall be binding on me untill I shall be enlarged from my captivity by exchange or otherwise with the consent of the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia.
>
> Virginia Sct. [*i.e.* to wit]:
>
> Under the faith of the above parole..... is discharged from his confinement in the public jail, is to prepare himself immediately and to take his departure with such gentleman as shall be appointed to escort him to Hanover Court-house, where he is to continue till further orders, not going more than one mile from said court-house in any direction.
>
> The County Lieutenant of Hanover has authority to inspect and licence all letters from the said.....
>
> *Signed* Th. Jefferson.

As we had suffer'd already from the simple asservations [*sic*] of obscure persons, one of whom (John Dodge) was known by several Virginians to be an unprincipled and perjured renegado, and as we had experienced the inhumanity of the executive power, it plainly appear'd that this parole was offer'd from no other motive than to lay us open to the malice of the first

informer, when we should probably have been imprisoned as before, with the additional stigma of having broken a parole which it was next to impossible to observe in all its parts.

October the 9th, the soldiers were sent from the jail to the barrack, where being allowed to cut wood, a part was sent to the jail for us, and even the American soldiers on guard, tho' miserably bare of cloathing themselves, used to spare a part of their own fuel for the dressing our victuals.

On Christmas Day the soldiers were marched away to King William County.

The weather at this time became so intensely cold that we could not rise from the floor, but continued day and night in our blanketts, the scurvy began to make his appearance, and our legs to swell. The jailer then concluding we could not survive the severity of the cold in our present situation, took us to an upper room in the jail, where prisoners had been formerly kept. This tho' it had no window but an open grate, was more tolerable than the dungeon, we could light fire in the chimney, and by sacrificing part of our blanketts to stop the grated window, and stuff the cracks in the ceiling, we made a shift to endure in the daytime, at night were remanded to our dungeon.

April 18th, 1780, Lieutenant Ichinffelin made his escape, in company with Monsieur de Rocheblave and after great risques and difficulties got to New York.

June 1st, Mr. Maisonville destroyed himself.

August the 1st, we were marched from Williamsburgh, Major Hay and I sent to the jail at Chesterfield, the surgeon and Mr. Bellefuille to King William Court-house. Captain La Mothe and Mr. Dejean some time in last October accepted the parole formerly rejected, the former went to Hanover the latter went to Colonel Clarke, but what is become of him I have not since learned. Some time in September a second parole was offer'd for our consideration, which varied so little from the first that we chose to remain prisoners rather than accept it. While at Chesterfield our confinement was render'd very tolerable, and several of the military and others who were convinced of the injustice and illiberality of our treatment, shewed by their behaviour what opinion they had of the executive power. In this jail Major Hay and I had a very severe tho' short attack of fever, which was pretty generally felt through the county. We were well attended. We had liberty to walk about in the neighbourhood of the jail. On the 23rd Lieutenant-Colonel Fowles (who had been a long time prisoner to the English on Long Island) arrived at Chesterfield.

He had had hopes of procuring an exchange, and got permission to come to Virginia to effect it if practicable. He brought me letters from my friends at York, which gave me to understand that unless I accepted a parole, there was little probability of my procuring an exchange. Having therefore written to

Brigadier Hamilton to request the continuance of his kindness to the prisoners, now removed to Frederic town, I, with Major Hay, accepted the parole following :—

> I, Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent of Detroit, hereby acknowledge myself a prisoner of war to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and having permission from His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Governor of the said Commonwealth, to go to New York, do pledge my faith and most sacred promise, upon my parole of honor, that I will not do, say, write or cause to be done, said or written, directly or indirectly, in any respect whatsoever, anything to the prejudice of the United States of America, or of any of them, until I shall be enlarged from my captivity by exchange or otherwise with the consent of the said Governor of Virginia or his successors, and that I will return when required by the said Governor or his successors, to such place within the said Commonwealth as he shall point out and deliver myself up again to him or the person acting for or under him.
>
> In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Chesterfield this 10th day of October, 1780.
>
> Henry Hamilton.
>
> The within mentioned Henry Hamilton, having signed a parole of which this is a copy, has permission to go to New York, and to remain within such parts of that State as are in possession of the armies of his Britannick Majesty, until he shall be exchanged or otherwise liberated with consent of the Governor of Virginia for the time being or untill he shall be recalled by him.
>
> Given under my hand and the Seal of the Commonwealth of Virginia at Richmond date within written.
>
> Th. Jefferson.

Having accepted this parole, we hasten'd to Williamsburgh in our way to Hampton, and there were stopped by the Lieutenant-Governor, who as General Leslie had just arrived, thought it not advisable to let us pass, and gave orders for our being escorted back to Richmond. This treatment I resented, telling them they might march me back a prisoner, but that this was a step they might judge imprudent in the present juncture. They seemed to think so, for we had liberty to proceed. As soon as I had given certificates recommending to General Leslie such of the inhabitants as had shewn an attachment to Government, or had been kind to us in our distress, we proceeded to York, where some turbulent people were minded to set a guard over us, and stop our progress. At length we got to Hampton. This short journey cost us one thousand pounds, such was the depreciated state of the paper money at that time.

At Hampton people were civil to us, furnished us with a canoe, which to our inexpressible satisfaction put us on board his Majesty's sloop the *Delight*, Captain Inglis, who by his kind reception of us presently recruited our lower'd spirits.

We next went to wait on Captain Gayton, commodore of the squadron. The cartel vessel which was to have conveyed us from Hampton to New York had been taken, and the master's certificate not appearing genuine, he with his vessel was detained.

Having paid our respects to General Leslie, who received us with the greatest politeness, we returned to the *Romulus*, Captain Gayton's ship, the cartel master was suffer'd to go to Hampton to prepare for his voyage. The stores which General Leslie and Captain Gayton had most liberally supplied us, were plunder'd by the Americans on shore, for we did not choose to risque ourselves out of a King's ship. At length we set off from the *Romulus* in our cartel, a little miserable sloop of 36 feet keel, for a passage in which we were obliged to pay four hundred hard dollars. A violent gale of wind obliged us to anchor off Smith's Island, where we were very near perishing, our crew was three hours at work to get the anchor out of the ground ; at last we got it home, leaving one flook behind, and to our no small mortification were obliged to put back to Hampton. Here we were on the point of being detained by order of General Nelson, who had assembled some militia, but our skipper being desirous to get us away, and having got another anchor, we once more set sail for New York.

A very severe gale of wind took us near the capes of Delaware, when our skipper, not having a log line on board, laid the vessel to and we had reason in the morning to admire our good fortune, for the wind was right on shore, and it was 12 at night when he lay to, judging by the run that we were opposite Delaware Bay, as it proved, for we had driven seven leagues up the bay from the time of laying to.

We arrived at New York very squalid spectacles, not having had any sleep for three days and nights, our cloaths ragged, shoes broken and so alter'd in face and figure that our acquaintance could scarcely recollect us. His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, Major-General Philips and Lord Rawdon were so good as to take several steps towards procuring our exchange, which finally took place on the 4th day of March, 1781. We took our passage for England the 10th, but the packett not sailing till the 27th of May, our arrival in this country was so late as the 21st of June.

Thus, Sir, I have attempted to give your Excellency some account of my unfortunate failure, with the causes of it, which while I lament, I must attribute chiefly if not entirely to the treachery of persons whom I had reason to expect lenity and moderation would have gained, and whose interest it was to be faithfull.

Among those to be raised for this service, there was but little choice ; the arts of some rebel emissaries, and the intrigues of persons still attached to the interest of France got the better of the good intentions the Canadians might have set out with.

The difficulties and dangers of Colonel Clark's march from the Ilinois were such as required great courage to encounter and great perseverance to overcome. In trusting to traitors he was more fortunate than myself, whether on the whole he was entitled to success is not for me to determine. If my conduct appears to your Excellency in a justifyable light, I may hope to be more pitied than blamed; at least your approbation will enable me to support the weight of that censure which seldom fails to accompany an unsuccessful enterprize.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Sir,
Your Excellency's most devoted, most obedient, and most humble servant,

HENRY HAMILTON.

Jermyn Street, London,
July 6th, 1781.

Enclosing:—

A list of publications, letters and extracts to be transmitted to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, &c, &c.

Extract from the resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1779 respecting the encouragement and employment of Indians by the State of Virginia.

Causes assigned by the Governor and Council of Virginia for their proceedings against Lt.-Governor Hamilton and other prisoners, published in the *Virginia Gazette*, June 16th, 1779.

Colonel Clarke's letter of April 29th from the Ilinois, published in the *Virginia Gazette*, June 26th, 1779.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton's address to the inhabitants of the Ilinois, dated December 29th, 1778, published in the *Virginia Gazette*, 26th of June, 1779.

Determination of the Governor and Council of Virginia, subsequent to the rejecting the parole tender'd to the prisoners dated Sept. 29th, published in the *Virginia Gazette*, October 9th, 1779.

Letter published at Quebec in 1777, reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette*, July 17th, 1779.

XX.—LETTERS TO AND FROM LIEUT.-COL. BENJAMIN THOMPSON (AFTERWARDS COUNT RUMFORD).

General Fraser to Benjamin Thompson.*

1781, August 23, Lenham Heath Camp.—Touching a pension for Mr. Tawse. *Endorsed*, "Lord George will speak to Lord North upon the business."

Major Williams to Benjamin Thompson.

1781, August 29, Winchester.—Asking that his son, now going to India, may have a troop or company, and inquiring if anything has been done about his own going to America. *Endorsed*, "Lord George will speak to Lord Amherst. Can Major W. be sent to command the artillery in America?"

Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Thompson to Lord G. Germain.

1782, Jan. 11, Cavalry camp, advanced post four miles from Charlestown.—On my way out, I had two attacks of fever, the last "occasioned by a cold I took in sitting up all night upon the deck to take a lunar observation for determining the longitude. But I am now quite well, and though they say here it is winter I should never have found it out, for the climate is heavenly. Oranges and myrtles grow in the hedges and it is as warm as your July. Soon after our arrival I heard that the *Rotterdam* was to go to N. York. I made every preparation for embarking; was then told that she was not to go, and my baggage was re-landed. That afternoon she sailed without me and four other officers are in the same predicament. . . . . A few days ago a part of our people did the handsomest thing that has been done during the war. Major Coffin with about 70 dragoons charged about 300 of the enemy's cavalry, totally routed them, and left upwards of 60 of them dead upon the field. Our loss was only one officer and two privates killed, and one officer and one private wounded. Not a shot was fired by us during the whole affair; the business was all done by swords. The brave lads are at this moment, all of them, within 200 yards of me. . . .

"If my former letters should miscarry, and if you should not see Col. Fanning, you might be at a loss to guess how it happened that I was appointed to the command I now have. It was shortly thus: the moment I found I was to remain here any time, I went to General Leslie, (who before had been remarkably civil to me) and offered my services to him as an officer during my stay, which he was so good as to accept in a manner most highly flattering to me; and next day I was in orders as *Commandant de la Cavalerie*. You may be sure it was not many hours before I joined. Since I took the field nothing very remarkable has happened.

* In 1781 Mr. Thompson was acting as Under Secretary for the Colonies, having succeeded Mr De Grey in 1780. *See* Vol. i. p. 338.

Green has been reinforced by Wayne and St. Clair, but he has not yet approached the town. Yesterday our patrols were driven in to within a mile of our advanced post, and it was reported that a large body of the enemy was near us, coming down the Dorchester road; in consequence of which I went out with 80 dragoons and the light company of the volunteers of Ireland to feel for them. We marched at about seven in the evening and made a tour of nine or ten miles, but saw nobody but a negro we found upon a plantation, who told us that a strong patrol of the enemy had been down the road the day before; probably the same our patrol had been chased by. I received my orders from your old friend Lieut.-Col. Stewart of the Buffs, now Brigadier General Stewart, who has commanded the army in camp ever since it has been upon this ground. But General Leslie is expected here to-morrow to take the command, when I shall receive my orders immediately from headquarters. The infantry will be divided between General Gould and Brigadier General Stewart, and the cavalry will remain a separate command. I have five weak troops with me, a return of which is inclosed, but we expect soon to be more respectable, as the cavalry from John's Island, amounting to upwards of 100, is ordered here, and a troop belonging to the South Carolina Regiment is to join us from Hadderells Point.

"Besides these, there are two strong troops of mounted militia and a Seapoy troop (*Gens de couleur*) that will act with us occasionally. I should not be at all surprised if my regiment was ordered here from New York, and the seventeenth dragoons. What can they do there? It would make a very pretty command. I am sure General Leslie would not put anybody over my head. Is it not ridiculous for *me* to talk of *putting over heads?* but seriously I really believe he has that opinion of me that he would trust me, and I do assure you I feel that I should not be afraid to trust myself. . . . . ."

Enclosure.

"Morning State of the Cavalry under the Command of Lieut.-Colonel Thompson, 11th Jan., '82.

Present.		Rank and File.								Horses.		
Sergeants.	Trumpeters.	Present, fit for duty.	Sick. In Camp.	Sick. In Hospital.	On Command.	Absent without Cause.	Prisoners of War.	Wanting to Compt.	Total.	Fit for duty.	Sick or lame.	Total.
(*a*) 3	—	25	4	11	1	—	5	—	49	22	12	34
(*b*) 9	2	94	16	18	7	3	3	—	157	91	25	116
12	2	119	20	29	8	3	8	—	206	113	37	150

(*a*) Major Coffin's. (*b*) Captains Alex. Campbell, Dawkins, Keans, and Arch. Campbell.

B. Thompson, Lt.-Col., Commanding the Cavalry."

On the same sheet.

1782, Jan. 12, Saturday morning.—"The trumpet sounds to boot and saddle, and I shall have but one moment to finish my letter. I wish I dared to write to you without reserve. There is something I would give the world to tell you. If my former letters reach you, look at the gentleman's name that is written in cypher—*the old leven*—now do you know who I mean? My being left behind, and the *Rotterdam's* sailing for New York, as she did, without my knowledge, I am convinced was not without design, and *management*.

"They are now attempting to play the same game over again. But I am determined the *Fleet* shall not sail without me. I was told just now that the ships had received orders to be ready for sea by the 20th. If they sail so soon, my command here will be of a very short duration, for nothing shall prevent my joining my regiment. I am told it is madness to go at this season of the year, by the very people who have persuaded Capt. Squire to sail a month before he intended! Why should anybody, and particularly one who cannot be supposed to wish to keep me here from any regard he can have for me, take so much pains to prevent my arriving at New York? Perhaps you may guess his motive. Some of my friends here pretend to know it. I wish I could safely trust to paper all I know and all I think. Possibly an opportunity may offer soon when I may write with greater safety. The present is a very precarious conveyance. I find I shall stand in need of all my prudence to steer clear of all the snares and lures that will surround me."

Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Thompson to Lord G. Germain.

1782, Jan. 15, Cavalry camp, near Charlestown.—"Major Leslie has promised to deliver this letter into your hands. You possibly may recollect him, as he was once under your command. Poor man, he has been very severely wounded in this country, and I am afraid is totally disabled. I am sure he will be well received in Pall Mall; perhaps not the worse for being charged with your friend's dispatches. . . . . You remember the scheme for a commission of accounts in this country; believe me it is *absolutely* necessary. It is impossible to form any idea of the manner in which the *business* is done without being on the spot. I see enough to make a man less anxious and less severe than myself, half mad. I *know* more than I ever could have been persuaded to believe had I not come to America. But I dare not, at present, trust myself upon this subject. The first good opportunity I will write fully. In the meantime, I shall tell you all the *news* we have. Lieut. Graham is here from Georgia. General Leslie has appointed him to succeed Cameron as superintendent of Indian affairs, and I have pledged myself for your approbation. I have told Graham very explicitly if he does not contrive to diminish the expence of the department very

considerably, notwithstanding his being at the head of it I shall most certainly give my opinion for its being abolished altogether. The expenditure of late has been enormous, and the advantages derived from the Indians perfectly trifling. The fact is, very little use is to be expected from them, as friends, and as foes they would not by any means be formidable. Officers who have served with them assure me they are not to be depended upon. But Mr. K. [? Knox] can tell you more of these matters than I can.

"Graham is fully persuaded that General Green means to pay a serious visit to Georgia, and he is not without apprehension for the fate of Savannah. Our people took seven or eight prisoners the other day at Dorchester, and they all agree that about 250 cavalry moved southward about a week ago from the rebel camp. This agrees with intelligence received from the country through other channels, and I should not be at all surprised to hear that the greatest part of their force had followed. They had better take care what they do, for so sure as they make any considerable detachments we light gentlemen will be in with them. If the prisoners we took the other day (which by-the-bye belonged to Col. Washington's Regiment) are a fair specimen of their cavalry, I would venture to attack the whole with 150 of the dragoons that are under my command. They are absolutely no better than children, and their horses are as much too fat as ours are too lean. A long march would knock one-half of them up. Our horses, tho' low in flesh, are equal to a great deal of fatigue, and our men, with a little discipline, will make most excellent troops. They have all been used to fire and sword, and are brave to the last degree. All they want is method. . . .

"It is reported in camp that a fleet is arrived with troops from New York, they say 550; if there are no more I am sure General Leslie will be very much disappointed. I should not have been at all surprised to have seen my regiment arrive; it is the only country where they could be of real use, especially at this season. . . . . ."

Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Thompson to Viscount Sackville.

1782, Aug. 6, New York.— . . . "You cannot conceive, nor can any language describe, the distress that all ranks of people here have been thrown into by the intelligence of the Independence of America being acknowledged by Great Britain, and the loyalists being given up to the mercy of their enemies. The Militia who for some weeks have done the whole of the garrison duty in this city have peremptorily refused to serve any longer, and the General has been obliged to relieve them by bringing regular troops into town. The loyalists at Lloyds Neck and the other posts are in a state of anarchy and confusion little short of actual rebellion. Papers have been stuck up about town, inviting Sir Guy Carleton to take the command of the army here and

to oppose by force the measures of the new administration, and promising thousands to assist him. In short an universal despair and phrenzy prevails within these lines, and I should not be surprised if very alarming consequences were to follow from the temper people are in. They seem to be as void of prudence as they are destitute of hope, and a kind of language is now spoken publicly in the streets that is enough to make one tremble for what is to follow from these convulsions. The Provincial Corps will disband of themselves,—or what is infinitely more to be dreaded, they will take arms in opposition to these measures. They feel themselves deeply injured. For my own part I am at a loss what opinion to form respecting the end of all these commotions. I cannot help thinking that we are not made acquainted with the whole of the secret. There must be something going on in the dark that we cannot get at, but what that something is I have no conception. I will not torment myself with idle conjectures. Long before this letter reaches your hands you must be acquainted with the whole matter. . . . . Sir Guy Carleton is very good to me, and grants every favour I ask him. He appointed my friend Upham, one of the finest fellows I ever knew, second major in my regiment, and has since made him his aide-de-camp. Another of the finest fellows I ever knew has joined us as captain, one Phillips, of a good family and fortune in this province. The former brought 25 men with him, and the latter gave 500 guineas to the regimental fund. I will venture to say that the King's American Dragoons is now the crack corps in this army. On August 1, we had the greatest honour done us ever done to any regiment on this side the Atlantic; we were reviewed and had our standards presented to us by His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, which event has set us upon very high ground in this army. Our appearance is such that I should not be ashamed to show the regiment in Hyde Park. We are encamped on Long Island, and the regiment is now the advanced corps of the army. When the Queen's Rangers and the British Legion arrive (which the Commander-in-Chief has honoured me by attaching to my command) I shall have a pretty command;" but how are all my hopes blasted by this abominable news.

"Having completed the King's American Dragoons, agreeably to the original proposals for raising the regiment, I have presented a short memorial to the Commander-in-Chief, praying he would give orders that we might in future enjoy the advantages promised by those proposals. His Excellency has referred my memorial to a Board of General Officers, and I have great hopes that the matter will be settled in our favour. It is this business keeps me now in town, and I am determined not to quit it 'till it is finished. The Commander-in-Chief has said that he is so sensible of the merit of our exertions that he is perfectly disposed to do everything that he can do with propriety to assist and hold us up, and His Royal Highness

has more than once expressed his wishes that we may succeed. The Admiral seems to be as much interested for us as he could be were his own interest connected with ours. . . . . His Royal Highness said the other day at the Admiral's table that he might easily have mistaken us for an established British Regiment of Light Dragoons. Inclosed I send you a newspaper account, which is pretty exact, of the ceremony of the delivery of our standards. Tell Mr. Sackville or Mr. Cumberland, or any other of my old acquaintances about you, that I should be pleased to see that account republished in the London papers. Possibly it may be of use to us, and it certainly can do us no harm. Upon my word I did not write it, but the last two words of it would have convinced you of that.

"Thursday, 8th August. I have just now learnt that the Board of General Officers that is to determine upon our pretensions as to permanent rank, establishment, &c., consists of Lieut.-General Campbell, Brigadier-General Birch, and Brigadier-General Abercrombie. Three better men could not have been found. They are to meet to-morrow morning, and I am not without hope that I shall be able to acquaint you with their decision by this packet.

"I find my regiment is in orders to march to-morrow to take up the ground now occupied by the Grenadiers, who are coming to Bedford; and I am told that the Rangers, &c., are to join immediately. We shall then be ten miles at least advanced of any other considerable corps of this army. . . I escape [illness] wonderfully. Everybody tells me I cannot go on except I drink wine. . . I drink water notwithstanding (mixed with a little brandy or rum), and take as much exercise both of body and mind as would kill a dozen of the lazy wine-bibbers that preach to me; and often laugh at them while they are quivering and shaking with the ague." Drinking and over-eating are, I am persuaded, the cause of the greatest part of the disorders incident to these hot climates.

Lieut.-Col. Benjamin Thompson to Viscount Sackville.

1782, Sept. 14, New York.—The King's American Dragoons has at length been acknowledged a complete corps, and we have had the honor to receive the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for our exertions. He writes to the Secretary of State by the present conveyance recommending us in the strongest terms for permanent rank, and for half pay upon the reduction of the regiment. Inclosed I send you all the memorials, certificates, &c., relative to this business [*wanting*], and by them you will see how very industrious we have been. . . Sir Guy Carleton's private opinion is that it is impossible that any difficulties can be made, or objections to complying with his recommendation. . . . Some people think the regiment

will be sent to Nova Scotia or to Canada, and be kept up there. Perhaps you will send us to India. It is a thousand pities so fine a regiment should be annihilated.

"I am much flattered by your approbation of my conduct as an officer in South Carolina. . . . You must remember I object mightily to your giving my letters to Mr. Fisher, or sending them to Whitehall. Make any other use of them you think proper."

LIEUT.-COL. BENJAMIN THOMPSON to VISCOUNT SACKVILLE.

1782, Oct. 7, Huntingdon.—How fresh in my memory is every transaction of this day twelve months! 'Twas then I left home to come abroad. What a series of distresses have I since experienced! How cruelly have some of them wounded me! I wish to heaven I could forget them, but I cannot for the soul of me. But I can be silent. . . .

"I marched from Ireland Heights near Flushing on the 24th Sept. with my regiment mounted, dismounted, and cannon, and on the 27th encamped opposite to Lloyds Neck, five miles from this place, and forty from New York. My orders were to evacuate that post, to remove the military stores, and demolish the redoubt, all which I executed in two days. I had directions to bring away as many of the refugees as chose to remove, but nine-tenths of them chose to remain. They are unarmed, and I do not think the people from the other side of the Sound will molest them.

"I am now going to carry on a little war of my own, the only war permitted here, against the rebel whale boats, which absolutely swarm in the Sound. I have raised a company of boatmen from among the Lloyds Neck people, and I intend fighting the rebels with their own weapons. Nothing but a whale boat can catch a whale boat. If they come on shore I shall be ready to receive them. If they put to sea my boats will have fair play with them. I am now waiting here for our provisions, which I expect every hour will arrive in an armed vessel which is ordered to attend our motions. As soon as our campaign is finished I will give you an account of it. In the meantime I am sure you will be pleased to find that I have something to amuse me. . . ."

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1785, Aug. 16, Munich.—". . . You know my situation in this country and my prospects to the full as well as I do I certainly stand well with my master, and I think I should have nothing to fear from his successor. . . . Rank, titles, decorations, literary distinctions, with some degree of literary, and some small degree of military fame I have acquired (through your availing protection) and the road is open to me for the rest. No man supports a better moral character than I do, and no man is better satisfied with himself. How near would this approach to happiness could I but enjoy with

all these, the society of my best, my only friend! Look back for a moment, my dearest friend, upon the work of your hands. *Je suis de votre ouvrage.* Does it not afford you a very sensible pleasure to find that your child has answered your expectations?

"I must not forget to thank you for your kind care of [the] little commission respecting my apparatus. Indeed you are very good to give yourself so much trouble about these little matters while you have so much with those of greater moment."

Sealed with a seal bearing the initials B. T. surmounted by a mural crown and a star.

XXI.—CANADA AND NOVA SCOTIA, 1758-80.*

Brigadier-General James Wolfe to Lord George Sackville.

1758, Feb. 11, Portsmouth.—"Cardin the American has a great deal of merit, but wants bread to eat. He is an excellent fellow for the woods; I am sure of my intelligence and therefore wish the field mareschal would give him leave to serve the campaign with us, as he himself desir'd—five or six shillings a day for the campaign (till other provision can be made) wou'd satisfy him fully. If this is thought too high a price for his services, I am ready to find him in food and shelter at my own expence. Hotham has a letter from Murray recommending him in the strongest manner upon former acquaintance in war. My information regards some later acts of his upon which I venture to present him to your Lordship and to the publick as a good servant and a brave soldier, and beg he may be sent to us or after us. He is bold, circumspect, and more artfull than his appearance bespeaks—has experience in the method of the American war beyond anybody that I can hear off; I hope we shan't lose such a subject, so particularly adapted to this kind of work. I am at more trouble to find out proper people to forward the service than almost anybody, and succeed so ill when I have found 'em that I am discourag'd from proceeding in my discoveries. Cardin was capt.-lieutenant of Shirley's or Pepperell's, I know not which, and has but one thread-bare old uniform to cover an indefatigable body spurr'd on to action by a daring mind.

"Death, wounds, sickness, and a necessary garrison, will diminish our numbers. I give 3,000 men for these different articles. Wou'd it not be a wise measure to send a reinforcement of a good old battalion of 900 men to join us about the middle of June. With such an increase of strength we might undertake the great object, at least I see no reason at this distance to hinder it. Of the 800 men drawn from the two 2nd battalions under Major Hardy's command I can venture to say that we shan't land 400, but the mischief they will do in the fleet by introducing diseases amongst them is still more to be apprehended. No nation in the world but this sends soldiers to war without discipline or instruction."

Postscript, "The wind labours hard against us. Adam Livingtone of the S[cots] Fusiliers and Delaune of Kingsley's, are form'd by nature for the American war."

The Same to the Same.

[1758], May 12, Halifax.—"From Christopher Columbus' time to our days there perhaps has never been a more

* Where letters from Canada have relation to the American War, they will be found in Section XVIII. The same applies to the letters from the West Indies, in Section XXII.

extraordinary voyage. The continual opposition of contrary winds, calms, or currents baffled all our skill and wore out all our patience. A fleet of men-of-war well man'd, unincumber'd with transports, commanded by an officer of the first reputation, has been eleven weeks in its passage. We made the Madeira Islands, the Canaries, Bermudas, and lastly to crown all the Isle of Sable. Two or three of the ships are sickly, the rest are in very good condition. The Admiral, who has omitted no care or precaution to advance the service, is labouring to fit the fleet for the sea with all possible despatch.

"We found Amherst's regiment in the harbour in fine order and healthy. Fraser's and Brigadier Lawrence's battalions were here, and both in good condition. The highlanders are very usefull serviceable soldiers, and commanded by the most manly corps of officers I ever saw. Webb's, Otway's, and part of Monckton's battalion from Philadelphia came in with us. The detachments from this garrison are not join'd, so that these battalions are very weak, scarce exceeding 300 men a regiment. About 500 rangers are come, which to appearance are little better than *la canaille.*

"Brigadier Whitmore is expected every day with the artillery and the troops from New York and Boston, Bragg's from the Bay of Fundy, and Anstruther's from Ireland.

"A great quantity of fascines and gabions are made and other preparations of that sort, and a kind of small wooden fort (that takes to pieces), to secure our communications, instead of redoubts, which it seems the ground does not admit off. I have recommended a provision of pallisades that the troops may lie quiet in their camp and to fortify our different magazines. We are to expect opposition at our landing. It is suppos'd they have about 1,500 irregulars, and that their garrison is augmented, because seven ships (three of which are said to be men of war of two decks) have got into the harbour. The battalions are in general healthy, and I dare say will do their duty well. They are irritated against the enemy and have a quarrel of their own to decide besides the publick cause. As I foresaw long ago we shall find work to do. We are preparing a body of light foot to join to the Rangers, and I believe the whole will be put under the command of Captain Scott (major of brigade), who is an active officer and us'd to that kind of war. Captain Raes came in yesterday from Sir Charles Hardy's squadron off Louisbourg. They have had the severest weather imaginable, and the snow is still upon the ground of Cape Breton, tho' here the weather is fair and dry and warm. We don't entertain a right notion of L'Isle Royale in England; it is not possible to encamp there early in the year and to preserve the army. I wouldn't be understood by that to mean that we are prevented by the season at this time. We only wait the arrival of Brigadier Whitmore and the equipment of the squadron to set sail, and certainly we shall struggle against all difficulties and push the

affair with vigour. As I told your Lordship we will put your cannon to proof." *In a postscript*, "General Hopson delivers over the command of the troops this day to Brigadier Lawrence."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1758, May 24, Halifax.—"The latter end of May and the fleet not sail'd! What are they about? Why are they not landed at Louisbourg? The troops have been all embark'd these three or four days (except Bragg's and two hundred men from Lunenburgh, who we suppose to be at hand), but the warships are not quite ready, and, if they were, the wind, rain and fog of this last week wou'd have kept us here. The Admiral means to sail with the first fair breeze and leave some of the ships of war to follow. He has reinforc'd Sir Charles Hardy with the *Royal William* and *Prince Frederick*, and is impatient to be gone. The enemy, we are told, has entrench'd the shor of the Bay of Gaberouse and has planted his artillery upon the beach thereof. If we find him strong in that part, we must try him at a greater distance, and where perhaps he is less prepared. Our present notions are to land 3,000 men at Miré and march towards Gaberouse, attack at the same time the further L'Orembeek and La Balleine, get footing in one or other of those little harbours, land a considerable body and march to the nether L'Orembeek, which is not above a mile from the end of the north-east harbour. A small body of men (by way of diversion) are likewise to be detach'd to the bottom of Gabarus Bay, there land and intrench themselves. While these operations are carrying on, the Admiral threatens them at the harbour's mouth with the 'gros' of his squadron and makes all possible shew of attack with the rest in that part of the Bay of Gabarouse where the Americans landed. If neither of these succeed we must fall upon some other method, for we must get on shor or perish all together in the attempt. It will be my part to command the body that goes round to Miré (three battalions and the Light Foot). Monckton has L'Orembeek with two battalions and Mr. Lawrence manages the rest. Nothing, however, is yet fix'd upon, or can be fix'd till we see the object, and perhaps General Amherst may arrive in the meanwhile time enough to improve the present plan. When the troops, etc., are landed we shall possess the Light House Point, canonade and bombard the Island Battery and destroy the shipping; then we proceed to open the trenches, and I shou'd imagine the attack will be directed against the Bastion Dauphin for reasons that the engineers will give your Lordship hereafter. General Abercrombie has withheld the haut-vitzers that were at New York amongst the stores intended for the seige of Louisbourg last year, and comprehended in the preparations of this year, by which we shall be great sufferers. I hope Mr. Abercrombie has sufficient reasons to give for depriving us of so essential

an article. We ought to have had a dozen of the largest sort for this business. I am told, too, that his Excellency had a great mind to keep the tools, in which case there was an end of the seige of Louisbourg altogether, and I believe it will now be found that we have not one pick-axe too many.

"As here are no spare arms, nor no rifled barrell guns, the firelocks of those regiments will be so injur'd in the course of the seige that I doubt if they will be in any condition of service after it is over. Some of them are already very bad.

"Upon enquiry into the affairs of this country it appears evidently that the two principal posts and frontiers indeed of America are Halifax and Oswego, one of which we have already lost, and the other we must lose in 12 hours whenever it is attack'd. This is a most excellent harbour, is situated happily for the protection of our fishery and the interruption of the enemy's and for the annoyance of their navigation up the River St. Lawrence.

"The position of Oswego manifests its great utility. You secure an interest with the Indians and awe them; share the furr trade with the French; make war upon their colony from thence with great ease, cut off the communication with the Ohio by a squadron of armed vessels upon the lake, and, by obliging them to defend themselves at home, prevent the bloody ravages made upon the frontiers of our colonies. Hitherto there has been the most profound ignorance of the nature of the war upon this continent and several abuses in regard to the troops. Lord Howe will remedy the first if he outlives this campaign, and it belongs to your Lordship to do the rest. The army is undone and ruin'd by the constant use of salt meat and rum. They might often be provided with fresh meat as cheap as the other, and by stopping 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day for their provisions they would have no more left than was of use to them, and the extravagance hitherto unknown of furnishing an army with provisions without making them contribute a part of their pay towards it, would be at an end. The women, too, can very well afford, by their industry, to pay 2*d.* a day for their provisions; the idle ones that cannot are better away. The men's necessaries indeed are at a higher price in America than in Europe, but still in time of war they can afford 2*d.* a day for provisions, and in time of peace 3*d.*; the same at sea and at Gibraltar, which would be a considerable saving and a very reasonable one to the publick.

"Work done by the soldiers for his Majesty's service is paid at a most exorbitant rate. We are indebted to Mr. Knowles for this piece of œconomy. Besides their provisions and their pay, the soldiers had a shilling a day for working at the fortifications of Louisbourg while he was governor of the town, and which has been continued in this province ever since.

"Some of the regiments of this army have 300 or 400 men eat up with the scurvy. All of them that are wounded or hurt by any accident run great risk of their lives from the

corrupted state of the blood, so your Lordship may rest assured that the enterprize of Louisbourg will cost a multitude of men, as contemptibly as the mareschal treated that subject. There is not an ounce of fresh beef or mutton contracted for, even for the sick and wounded, which besides the inhumanity, is both impolitick and absurd. Mr. Boscawen, indeed, has taken the best precautions in his power by ordering 600 head of live cattle for the fleet and army the moment he arrived. The curious part of this barbarity is that the scoundrels of contractors can afford the fresh meat in many places and circumstances as cheap as the salt. I think our stock of provisions for the seige full little, and none of the medicines for the hospitals are arriv'd. No horses or oxen for the artillery, &c.

"Too much money and too much rum necessarily affect the discipline of an army. We have glaring evidence of their ill consequences every moment. Serjeants drunk upon duty, centries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt. I believe no nation ever paid so many bad soldiers at so high a rate. My Lord Loudoun, whose management in the conduct of affairs is by no means admir'd, did adhere so literally and strictly to the one, two and three firings by the impracticable chequer, &c., that these regiments must necessarily be cut off one after another unless they fall into some method more suited to the country and to the kind of enemy they have to deal with.

"I expect to be attack'd upon the march by the Mickmacks, Abenaquis(?) and Canadians. I have made the best preparations in my power, and that the time permits, to beat 'em off, but I can't be sure that we shan't presently run into confusion and be very ill-treated, altho' I have with me some of the best of our battalions.

"Our cloaths, our arms, our accoutrements, nay even our shoes and stockings are all improper for this country. Lord Howe is so well convinc'd of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches.

"There are in America three or four excellent men in their way. Bradstreet for the battoes [*bâteaux*] and for expeditions is an extraordinary man; Rogers is an excellent partisan for 200 or 300 men, and young Clarke under my Lord Howe, whom nature has form'd for the war of this country, will make a good figure as an engineer for the field.

"One of our engineers, Green, is sick upon the continent, and instead of Matt. Clarke and Gordon, who I suppose were far off, we have got two boys, Montresore and Williamson, and to make up the 300 artillery we must carry off all that are here. Among the officers of the infantry we have pick'd up six or seven assistant engineers, enough to make out three brigades, six in each, besides the active Bastide* and Major MacKellar. Delaune and Cardin would be more usefull here

* Called Col. Basteed by Cunninghame.

than can be conceived. We want just two such men to throw into the light infantry, and we want grave Carleton for every purpose of the war. Anstruther's regiment is sickly, and two or three of the ships are in so terrible a condition that they are hardly fit for sea.

"I am told that a certain lieut.-colonel of this army drew up a kind of representation and gave it to Col. Monro (sign'd by others, I suppose, as well as himself) setting forth the condition of the Fort William Henry; how incapable it was of further resistance, and giving it as their opinion that Col. Monro had made a very good defence and might with honour capitulate, &c., &c. But Cunninghame can tell you more of the matter."

JAMES CUNINGHAME to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1758, May 30, "on board the *Ludlow Castle* at sea."—Relating the preparations for the siege of Louisbourg made between March 19th and May 28th, the movement of troops and fleet, capture of prizes, &c. "During the recess their stay at Halifax afforded them, the generals did not fail to accustom the troops to what they were soon to encounter. Some military operations were dayly carried on. They frequently landed in the boats of the transports, and practised in the woods the different manuvres they were likely to act on the Island of Cape Breton. In all these operations you may imagine that General Wolfe was remarkably active. The scene afforded scope for his military genius." Accompanying the letter is a sketch of the coast of Cape Breton where a landing was to be made, together with a return of the effective strength of the troops on the expedition to Louisbourg, and those left at Nova Scotia. The concluding part of the letter is dated "At anchore within 20 miles of N. York, 4th June 1758." "I am this moment informed by some officers that are come from New York that General Abercromby is still at Albany, that the roads are so very bad between Albany and Fort Edward, that the difficulty they meet with in transporting the battoes from Albany to Fort Edward, and other impediments, the want of arms and tents for the provincials, &c., will render it impossible for the troops to proceed towards Lake George before the month of July. The troops under Brigadier Forbes are proceeding as expeditiously as the situation of affairs will permit, but as his artillery is likewise to come under convoy of the *Vanguard* it will of course retard his proceedings."

GENERAL WOLFE to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

[1758, July.]—"Amherst will tell your Lordship the history of the seige [of Louisbourg]. It turned out much as I expected in almost every particular. We treated the town with shot and shells, made a breach in the Bastion Dauphin, got the scaling ladders and everything ready for a general assault

and should have cut 'em to pieces in 24 hours if they had not surrender'd. Three of their men-of-war were burnt by an accidental shot, that is supposed to have struck upon iron and fir'd some powder between decks. The other two were boarded by the boats of the fleet with incredible audace and conduct, and taken under the guns and within the reach of the musquetry of the ramparts. All the five were disabled before these accidents happen'd. They had a numerous garrison, but ill-regulated and ill-conducted. There appeared very little judgement and still less spirit in their defence. Our landing was next to miraculous. In all rencounters since the day we came ashoar the enemy has been worsted, or as they call it —*ils se sont battu en retraite.* Our trenches were carried within 40 or 50 yards of the glacis without mantelets, blinds or sap.

"If the whole fleet of France had been in the harbour (with a superiority without, *bien entendu*) they would have been all destroy'd, contrary to the opinion of most people here, sea and land, who had a terrible notion of their broadsides. By augmenting the artillery upon the shoar in proportion to their numbers we couldn't fail of success.

"The French had twelve great mortars in readyness to bombard our fleet if they had come into the harbour, notwithstanding which the place in its best condition is not tenable against a squadron of men-of-war, and on the land side 'tis an affair of ten days to people that knew the country.

"The French have lost a considerable number of men, and we on the contrary have suffered very little, so little that if we are carried directly to Quebec, notwithstanding the time of year, I am persuaded we shall take it.

"Murray, my old antagonist, has acted with infinite spirit. The publick is indebted to him for great services in advancing by every method in his power the affairs of this siege. Amherst no doubt will do him all manner of justice, and your Lordship will get him a regiment or the rank of colonel. Little Smith, your acquaintance, has been with me the whole seige (for I have had the honour to command a detached corps posted from the light house to the Baruchois). He is a most indefatigable, active, spirited man and has a just claim to your favour and friendship. He is slightly wounded with a musket ball, but will soon be well.

"The Highlanders have behaved with distinction, their company of Grenadiers has suffered, three of the officers killed and the fourth dangerously wounded. Amherst's regiment lost twenty or two and twenty Grenadiers the day we landed, most of them were drowned. I wouldn't recommend the Bay of Gabarouse for a descent, especially as we manag'd it.

"Your Lordship will have heard the story of my Lord Dundonald's surprize, defeat and death. Whitmore's Grenadiers took satisfaction for the affront that was put upon us by the neglect of this young officer and beat the French back into the town with loss. Our troops scalped an Indian

Sachem the day we landed, and have killed some few of the black tribe since. They are intimidated and scarce dare appear before the most inconsiderable of our parties.

"The Admiral and the General have carried on the publick service with great harmony, industry and union. Mr. Boscawen has given all and even more than we cou'd ask of him. He has furnish'd arms and ammunition, pioneers, sappers, miners, gunners, carpenters, boats, and is, I must confess, no bad *fantassin* himself, and an excellent back-hand at a siege. Sir Charles Hardy too in particular, and all the officers of the navy in general, have given us their utmost assistance and with the greatest chearfulness imaginable. I have been often in pain for Sir Charles's squadron at an anchor off the harbour's mouth. They rid out some very hard gales of wind, rather than leave an opening for the French to escape, but notwithstanding the utmost diligence on his side, a frigate found means to get out and is gone to Europe *chargé de fanfaronades*. I had the satisfaction of putting two or three haut-vitzer shells into his stern, and to shatter him a little with some of your Lordship's 24-pound shot before he retreated, and I much question whether he will hold out the voyage.

"The French troops and Marine *se sentent un peu mortifié de leur disgrace*, and think the terms hard that are impos'd upon them. This blow well followed will give a turn to the American War, and tho' I am neither inhuman nor rapacious yet I own it would give me pleasure to see the Canadian vermin sack'd and pillaged, and justly repaid their unheard of cruelty. If my Lady George knew my sentiments, *homme brutal et sanguinaire*! she would cry. If his Majesty had thought proper to let Carleton come with us as engineer and Delaune and two or three more for the Light Foot, it wou'd have cut the matter much shorter, and we might now be ruining the walls of Quebec and compleating the conquest of New France. So much depends upon the abilities of individuals in war, that there cannot be too great care taken in the choice of men for the different offices of trust and importance.

"Before I finish my letter it may not be amiss to observe that to defend the Isle Royale it is necessary to have a body of four or five thousand men in readyness to march against whatever force of the enemy attempts to land. In short there must be an army to defend the island; the re-inforcement (to form a corps for this purpose jointly with the garrison) shou'd be sent in May and carried off in October. We must not trust to the place, or to any of those batteries now constructed for the defence of the harbour. When the ground is surveyed I shall do myself the honour to point out to your Lordship some proper spots for the construction of new batteries, which may be done in ten days with fascines and be much stronger than any of those constructed with masonry. We have a report among us that my Lord Howe is killed.* I will not believe

* He fell at Ticonderoga on July 5.

such bad tidings. That brave officer will live, I hope, to contribute his share of courage and abilities to support our reputation and carry on our affairs with success.

" Whitmore is a poor, old, sleepy man. Blakeney lost St. Phillips by ignorance and dotage. Take more care of Louisbourg if you mean to keep it.

" The fascines and gabions made at Halifax were articles of the last degree of extravagance and bad œconomy. in the stile of that Colony; but in other respects this must have been the cheapest siege that ever was carried on. The soldiers work'd with the utmost chearfulness, and upon one occasion several women turn'd out volunteers to dragg artillery to the batteries. If the enemy had waited for the assault they wou'd [have] paid very dear for their presumption. The men were animated with perfect rage against 'em, and ask'd impatiently when we were to storm the town.

" I believe we might have cut off at least one half of the garrison the day we landed, if the country had then been as well known to us as it is now; but our measures have been cautious and slow from the beginning to the end, except in landing, where there was an appearance of temerity.

" You know I hold Mr. Knowles in the utmost contempt as an officer, an engineer and a citizen. He built a useless cavalier upon the Bastion Dauphin which fell to my share to demolish, and we did it effectually in a few hours. This famous marine cavalier was so constructed that the artillery of the bastion upon which it stood had hardly room to work, and the people were so little sheltered that we drove 'em from their guns with our musquetry.

" I have just learnt that the *Shannon* is under sail and I have learnt a great deal of bad news—that my Lord Howe is certainly killed, and Clarke kill'd, and Abercromby's army repuls'd with considerable loss. We are told, too, that the fleet wants provisions, that the anchors and cables of the transports have been so damag'd in Gaberouse Bay that an expedition up the River St. Laurence is now impracticable.

" 7th August. As the sea officers seem to think that no attack can be made upon Quebeck nor no diversion up the River St. Lawrence, why we don't send immediate reinforcements to Abercromby I cannot devise. I have told Mr. Amherst that if Lawrence has any objection to going, I am ready to embark with a brigade or whatever he pleases to send, either to Boston or New York, and if he does not find me some employment at Gaspie [Gaspé] or somewhere else (supposing Lawrence goes to the Continent) I shall desire my demission to join my regiment upon the expedition, altho' I can hardly hope to get home in time unless you are all gone to St. Phillips. The ministry of England do not see that to possess the Isle of Aix with five or six battalions and a fleet is one or other of the most brilliant and most usefull strokes that this nation

can possibly strike. It stops up at once the harbours of Rochefort and Rochelle, obstructs and ruins the whole trade of the Bay of Biscay, inevitably brings on a sea fight which we ought by all means to aim at, and is the finest diversion that can be made with a small force. St. Martins, against which (by the preparations) your force is probably bent, is difficult to take, and of little use when you get it, whereas the other has every advantage that I have mention'd and is besides of easy defence. If you will honour me with the command of 4,000 men upon that island and give me a good quantity of artillery, fascines and sand bags, I will establish myself in such a manner as to make it no easy matter to drive me out, and I am very sure the French wou'd exchange Minorca or anything else to get it back again.

"We hear that Mr. Provost has got a commission as brigadier. He is most universally detested by all ranks of people, and the ministers cannot do worse than to let him serve in the army. He is fit for no sort of command, and does not know how to obey.

"The arms, stores, &c., for Forbes' corps were so long in getting to him that the Cherokee Indians went off just as he was prepared to march. They were tir'd of waiting for such tardy warriors.

"Notwithstanding the unlucky accident that has befallen the troops under Mr. Abercromby, I am fully persuaded if we act vigorously here for one summer more and can get people who will venture up to Quebec—and if you will afterwards (in the autumn) exert your utmost force in the West Indies by joining the superfluity of this army to troops from Europe—such advantage might be made of our present superiority as the enemy wou'd not easily recover, and a peace may be procured upon your own terms; and better push on a year longer, or even two, if it be possible, than have the business to begin again—six or eight years hence.

"I am afraid that by this time Mr. Abercromby is left to defend himself with the remains of his regular troops. The Americans are in general the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs that you can conceive. There is no depending upon 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by battalions, officers and all. Such rascals as those are rather an incumbrance than any real strength to an army.

"I find that a lieutenant of the first regiment is put over Carleton's head. Can Sir John Ligonier allow his Majesty to remain unacquainted with the merit of that officer, and can he see such a mark of displeasure without endeavouring to soften or clear the matter up a little? A man of honour has a right to expect the protection of his colonel and of the commander of the troops, and he can't serve without it. If I was in Carleton's place I wouldn't stay an hour in the army after being pointed at and distinguish'd in so remarkable a manner.

"If you have been upon any business, as I believe you have, I heartily hope that you have been successful, and sorry since we have so little to do here, that I couldn't assist at the head of my young battalion.

"I thank your Lordship for McDowal and for the 2nd battalion of our old corps. These are favours that are purely yours, and not ungrately received on my part."

PLANS.

[1758 ?]—Sketch of the country round Tyconderoga. Scale of two inches to one mile.

[1758 ?]—Plan of the encampment and intrenchment, with their environs, at Lake George. Scale, 600-ft. to one inch.

GENERAL JEFFRY AMHERST to LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

1759, January 19, New York. — "As Major General Abercromby is setting out for England, your Lordship will be thoroughly informed by him of the present state of everything in this country, which wants but the effects, I think, of one successful campaign to make as good as can be expected or desired.

"The first thing to be done is to hinder the enemy from getting any succours up the River St. Lawrence, and I have wrote to Admiral Durell that in case he wants men, I will willingly lessen the number of the Provincials of the Massachusetts Government of so many men of their quota as may be wanted to man the fleet, and I have represented to the Governor the great importance of this service, and desired him to furnish the men, so that I hope the fleet will be in a good condition.

"The next, my Lord, is to lay the axe to the root, and there are but two roads to get to it, one up the River St. Lawrence to Quebec, and the other to Ticonderoga and Montreal, we must go both to be sure of prospering in one, and whichsoever of the two succeeds, the business is done.

"I suppose one campaign in this country must do all that is to be done here for this war, and from appearances at present it may be less difficult to take Quebec and Montreal this next campaign than it would be if we added another to take it in. Quebec is everything, and I am not sure, it is not the easiest as well as the greatest plan to be pursued." Mentions the fact of Lord George's having foretold that he (Amherst) would have his present post. Encloses letters from Col. Murray, and has transmitted his letter of resignation to Lord Ligonier.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1759, February 4, New York.—"Major of Brigade Halkett will do himself the honour of delivering this to your Lordship and of informing you of all the particulars of Brigadier General Forbes' conquest.

"Capt. Lieut. Anderson of the Artillery goes over with Major Halkett by Brigadier Forbes's particular desire, and not by what Capt. Anderson tells me (*sic*), for I think he ought to remain here, but he says he has business of ten times the consequence of his commission, and that he was promised by the Duke of Marlborough that he should return to England when the campaign was over. If he is to partake of the next, he must make haste and finish his business.

"I have wrote a long letter to your Lordship on the 18th of January by Major General Abercromby, who, the sailors assure me, can hardly fail of being in London before this can reach you; since that, we have nothing stirring here.

"I am going *tout de bon*, getting everything ready for a successful campaign. I can't stay any longer for orders from England, if I do I shan't have time for preparing the necessary things, they will cost, but I hope I shall buy the country by it, I'll make as good a bargain as I can, for if I have not success I know I must leave off dealing.

"Col. Williamson is come here that I might have him ready to settle all artillery matters so soon as a packet arrives, and I begin to be surprised that none comes. I have no answers to anything but the first letter I wrote after the surrender of Louisburg. I have ordered batteaus, whaleboats, carts, waggons, oxen, and horses, all expenses begin the middle of this month; if I wait on longer I shall never get to Montreal, where I design to be before the enemy has thought of it. Brigadier Forbes writes me word that his life depends on Major Halkett's going away without a moment's loss of time to England, which I did not understand, but I find by Major Halkett that he thinks he has asked to return to England. Brigadier Gage is at Albany, where he is doing everything very well, I expect Brigadier Hanwin here every day, who supposes the packet will bring him an order to go to England; 'tis the place, my Lord, that everybody here thinks of going to, I do not, my Lord, as long as the war lasts, when that is over, which I promise you I will do all I can to finish in a right way, I will then rather hold the plough at Riverhead than take here all that can be given to me, though much less I am very sensible would be more than I deserve. Your Lordship will forgive me that I write to you so much in regard to myself, as I hope and intend to have success, I think it might very possibly in that case happen to reward me with the Government of New York, which I would rather not be obliged to refuse, and shall beg your Lordship will be so good to hinder any reward being given me in this country. The *Rose* man-of-war arrived here the first, but has been so long in coming from Cork that she brings no news, the ships under her convoy are not yet come in."

Col. George Williamson to Lord George Sackville.

1759, March 28, New York.—"I this day received Captain Macbean's letter of the 10th of last month by your Lordship's order, and the officers therein named to go for England will

all receive their orders forthwith for that purpose ; but as some of them are at Halifax, Louisbourg, Beausejour, Fort Edward and Albany, they will require opportunity as well as more time to let them know it. The 10th of February, Capt. Lieutenant Anderson's going for England and Captain Lieutenant Blomer's death was not known in England ; which detains Capt. Lieuts. Walton and Glegg, till two others come to relieve them. Upon Blomer's decease and vacancies, I took the liberty to recommend to General Amherst two near kinsmen to be made fireworkers and he was pleased to give them commissions bearing date the 6th and 7th of February, 1759. I hope your Lordship's goodness will indulge me in this favour and be pleased to order the Adjutant to insert their names, Thos. Lee and Arthur Browne, in the list of officers belonging to the regiment.

" Captain Stephens and Lieut. Collins are here and order'd home by me in the packet *Earl of Leicester*, which sails the 30th inst. Lieutenants Thos. Rogers and Benj. Cock are at Louisbourg ; Lieut. Alexander Johnson is at Halifax, Rochfort at Beausejour, Capt. Lieut. Glegg at Fort Edward ; and Capt. Lieut. Walton with Lieut. Skynner at Albany, and I shall send your Lordship's orders to all the artillery officers in North America concerning Major Chalmers. We are loading our stores at Boston for Quebec with all the expedition possible. I do not know where the store ships and artillery officers from England will put in at, but shall use my utmost diligence on their arrival to send them to their intended places and companies.

" Give me leave, my Lord, to express my concern for Lieut. Collins having some time ago been forgot in the promotions of the regiment, as his merit claims your Lordship's countenance, particularly at Louisbourg ; he will have the honour to wait on your Lordship to tell you his case."

Col. Hon. James Murray* to Lord George Sackville.

1760, July 14, Quebec.—The first part upon private affairs.

" I have carefully read the court martial relating to the affair of Minden, all my garrison have studied it, and I may venture to affirm, that there is not an officer in it who does not blush that such a sentence should have been pronounced by a British Court. *A clear surprise by the eternal God.* The Prince may be a very great officer, but everybody will allow, a few months hence, that the commander of the British cavalry acted more like an officer the day of Minden than his Serene Highness did. I had the honour to write to your Lordship by Major Maitland, I hope it came to hand, I have nothing to add to what he may have told you, but that I set out this very day with two thousand two hundred men to do all I can to facilitate the entire reduction of Canada. Mr. Amherst should be advancing by this time, but I fear he is late, I have no intelligence of his motions ; was he near the enemies' frontiers I am positive I should hear of him ; he has certainly

* The fifth son of Alexander, Lord Elibank.

taken the wrong road; up the St. Lawrence was the sure route. I shall push without hesitation to that capital; I can do it with safety, because I am master of the river, and if Amherst does not get through, which I much doubt, I shall conquer the country when the reinforcements from Louisbourg join me, and they are hourly expected."

The Island of St. John.

[1776.]—A bulky paper headed "Observations on the Island of St. John in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, briefly setting forth the advantages which must arise from the settlement of it to Great Britain, and offering some reasons why at this junction it may prove particularly advantageous to give it extraordinary encouragement, &c." [*There is another copy of this amongst the Dartmouth Papers, endorsed: "Governor Paterson's observations on the Island of St. John, and dated as above. See Report on the Dartmouth MSS., vol.* ii, *p.* 606.]

The Hon. James Cuthbert.

1777, Jan. 31, Council Board, Quebec.—Protest with regard to a clause in an Act of 14th George III. to establish circuits in the districts of Quebec and Montreal.

Also copy of his hints with regard to the Canadian Militia.

J. Monk, Attorney General for Canada, to Lord George Germain.

1778, May 10, Quebec.—Concerning the administration of justice and the civil government generally of the province of Quebec. Governor Carleton has removed M. Livius, the Chief Justice, from his office, and appointed a commission of three gentlemen to execute it. The Governor and his party say that the conduct of Mr. Livius "has been uniformly to perplex, involve, and render unhappy not only the officers in their duty, but the measures of Government, and charge very pointedly an unwarrantable conduct, tending to a pernicious popularity in searching into prisons out of term time, and of holding up *himself* and the *Habeas Corpus Act* to the populous [*sic*] (and even the assistants of rebellion), '*those Bulwarks*' as the supporters of the liberty and freedom of His Majesty's subjects." The writer asks that should it be deemed impolitic to restore Mr. Livius to his office he may succeed him.

The Same to the Same.

1778, July, Quebec.—Acknowledging a letter from Lord George received by the hand of General Haldimand, the new Lieut.-Governor of Canada, and giving his ideas at considerable length on the subject of the government of Canada.

Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne.

MS. undated, but signed, "J. Burgoyne," entitled "Memorandums and observations relative to the service in Canada, submitted to Lord George Germain."

B. Finucane, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, to Lord George Germain.

1779, October 25, Halifax.—Private. Informing him that the bearer, Captain Barron, assistant engineer, is taking with him to England plans of the defences of the province, and will be able to give an accurate and minute account of them. Nova Scotia is at peace and likely to remain so, though often menaced. His Lordship has no doubt heard of the success at Penobscot. The return of General McLean is hourly expected. Gratefully acknowledges the addition to his salary, which is highly acceptable, as money is so plentiful amongst the people that its value is lessened and the necessaries of life are exorbitantly dear. His Lordship having made him President of the Council, he has always thought that in the absence of the Governor or Lieut.-Governor, the command of the province would devolve upon him, but he is now informed that there is an instruction to the contrary, induced by the misconduct of his predecessor (in the Justiceship). Prays that the sins of another may not be visited upon him, and that, as Chief Justice, he may not be deprived of the advantage which as President of the Council alone he would enjoy.

Lord Chief Justice de Grey to Lord George Germain.

1780, Jan. 19.—Recommending Mr. Heckford for one of the seats of justice at Quebec.

General McLean to Lord George Germain.

1780, May 13, Halifax.—Returned to Halifax from Penobscot with his detachment on 23rd November. Expresses his sense of the King's approbation, and his loyalty and zeal in his service.

Hon. James Cuthbert (a member of the Council) to Lord George Germain.

1780, June 15, Quebec.—A long letter complaining of his treatment by Governor General Haldimand, who sent troops to the island of Randin, belonging to Mr. Cuthbert, with orders to cut wood. The timber of the island was maple, which was let out to tenants as sugar farms. The Governor has also ordered Mr. Cuthbert's tenants without pay and with timber cut from the estate to build a bridge over the river Berthier, on his property, stopping the navigation and diminishing the income of the grist mills below the bridge (where he has a ferry, which is let for 58*l.* a year). His estates were duly "ratified" to him by the French King, and confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1774. He therefore conceives that the Governor's action is arbitrary and illegal, and believes that it is in consequence of annoyance with the writer's proceedings in Council, when he urged the immediate carrying out of instructions sent by his Majesty concerning the Courts of Justice. Prays for twelve months' leave of absence, to go to England.

XXII.—PAPERS RELATING TO THE WEST INDIES, &c. 1777–1780.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM MATHEW BURT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Oct. 7, Antigua.—Concerning the sale of prizes captured by the King's ships. "All that is wanted is only that the Admiral's Secretary should for the future have nothing to do with the sale of prizes taken by his Majesty's ships or act in any shape as agent." There is a great scarcity of provisions on the island.

LORD MACARTNEY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Oct. 24, St. George's, Grenada.—Asking for the Governorship of Jamaica, vacant by the death of Sir Basil Keith. .

GOVERNOR BURT, Captain General of the Leeward Islands, to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1777, Nov. 2, Antigua.—Concerning the affairs of the Island of Antigua, and the difficulties that have arisen in the Custom House Department with regard to an illegal tax imposed without authority on the shippers of sugar, by Mr. Felton, one of the officers of the department.

Enclosing a copy letter dated Aug. 7th, 1777, from Mr. John Fahie, president of Tortola, to Mr. Burt, complaining of the conduct of Mr. Dawson, deputy collector of the customs of the Virgin Islands, with other letters, forwarding the same to Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Dawson's reply thereto.

The LEEWARD ISLANDS.

1778, March 18.—Paper entitled "Things to be determined upon in regulating the Leeward Islands station, especially on the supposition of a war with France."

JOHN DRUMMOND to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, March 24, "No. 451, opposite Villiers St., Strand."—Enclosing a plan for taking the French and Spanish islands in the Carribean Seas.

GOVERNOR JOHN DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Sept. 21 and 23, [Jamaica].—Two letters, recommending Mr. Nathaniel Beckford as a man whose parts, spirit and activity, together with a good fortune, fit him particularly for office in the island, and also the bearer of the letters, Capt. Rainier, who by his "conduct and bravery" has been of essential service to the community.

EXTRACTS from LETTERS from GUADALOUPE.

1778, September and October.—Dispatches from the Comte d'Estaign make it certain that a formidable expedition from New York is coming against these islands, all of

which expect a visit in turn. Anxiety, hurry and preparations for defence employ the whole Government, who have always dreaded this event, when England should choose to act seriously.

"Mr. D'Estaign is heartily sick of his North American expedition; he loudly exclaims against the Americans for their perfidy and cowardice at Long Island, the miscarriage of that expedition, as it seems, having totally disconcerted his other views and plans. . . . *Monsieur notre ambassadeur* even begins, as is said, to dispair of that success he had pledged himself to accomplish for his most Christian Majesty in America."

Many advantages lately acquired by the English seem to favour their future success, as "the spirit and success the new Commander-in-Chief of the English land forces promises," the activity of the new Admiral, and the plan England is adopting for stopping the mercantile intercourse of the islands with France and America. The very number of their inhabitants will reduce them if England attacks judiciously, food being already very dear, and though they are taught that M. D'Estaign and the fleet coming from Toulon to join him will drive the English out of those seas, yet those holding large properties are naturally alarmed.

SIR PHILIP GIBBES to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1778, Nov. 20, Newman Street. Touching the state of the island of Barbados and the manufacture of sugar as affected by the suspension of trade with North America.

JOHN DALLING, Governor of Jamaica, to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN].

1778, Nov. 30.—Asking for the appointment of a lieutenant governor, and leave of absence for twelve months.

"THOUGHTS on the CHARIBEAN STATION."

1778, Dec. 5. Paper unsigned, entitled as above.

JOHN DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Jan. 24.—Through his wound, gout, and the effect of the climate on his nerves, he will soon find himself not equal to the charge of so important a government (Jamaica) and would, therefore, wish rather to be considered an old woman at home than to prove himself so in office abroad.

JOHN DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Feb. 27.—Recommends Major-General Cooke to be superintending engineer in Jamaica, should the appointment of such an officer be resolved upon. He was a captain in Fitz James' regiment of horse in 1733, and served as an

engineer at Fort Kiel and Philipsbourg, but soon after quitted the French service, and his abilities, bravery and attachment to the King are undoubted. He is a member of the Privy Council in Jamaica, custos of the parish of St. Elizabeth, and Major-General in the Militia, and is descended from one of the first families in Ireland. "His father was captain in King James' Guards, with a brevet of colonel, followed the fortune of that prince to France, where he was at once made a colonel *sur le pied étranger*, served in the wars of Louis XIV. and XV., and died in the year 1740, at the age of 87.

Lord Thurlow to Lord George Germain.

1779, April 3.—Respecting a plan for trading with the captured Island of Dominica.

Thomas Iredell, President of the Council of Jamaica, to Lord George Germain.

1779, July 3, S. Jago de la Vega, Jamaica.—Enclosing a resolution of the Board thanking Lords Bathurst, Weymouth and George Germain for a present of the Journals of the House of Lords.

Admiral Gambier to Lord George Germain.

1779, Sep. 20, Queen Street, Mayfair.—Expressing his disappointment that Lord George has not conferred the office of Governor of the Bahama Islands upon his brother the Lieutenant Governor; and justifying his claims to Lord George's consideration by his activity and zeal in the command he had under the great difficulties he has to contend with.

Governor Dalling to Lord George Germain.

1779, Oct. 14.—Complaining of the conduct of Sir Henry Clinton in ordering Lord Cornwallis to Jamaica, who, being an elder officer, would supersede himself and "step in just in time to arrogate to himself the credit of a good defence and probably the honor of preserving this most valuable island from foreign yoke." *Endorsed*, "Private. Gov. Dalling. Oct. 14—80 (*sic*)."

The Same to the Same.

1779, Oct. 20.—Asking for a baronetcy.

The Same to the Same.

1779, Oct. 20.—"Private." Has already given his reasons for having forwarded Capt. Dalrymple to the shore and Bay, his wish being to re-possess the island of Rattan and to take the fortress on the port of Amoa. The Admiral, who knew well the views of government, should have consulted

with him before sending ships to the River Dulce, for though individuals may benefit by prize-taking, the general good may be impeded. "Where lucre is the God, . . . 'tis no wonder that honour is sometimes kicked out of doors; . . say what people may, the Parliamentary determination as to prizes was impolitic, pitiful, unworthy of a great nation."

MAJOR WM. DALRYMPLE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Oct. 27, S. Ferdinando de Omoa.—"Private." Announcing his intention to return to Europe, and soliciting Lord George's favour to promote him to be lieut.-col. commandant of his corps, and to bring him into Parliament.

GOVERNOR DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Oct. 29, Jamaica.—Encloses papers from which his Lordship will see that the Spaniards have "attacked and carried St. George's Kay [i.e. cayo], in the Bay of Honduras." Notwithstanding what the superintendent says, fears it will turn out, as Capt. Dalrymple says, "that interested views of the people on the [Mosquito] Shore hindered those of the bay from knowing of the war in time," as the superintendent acknowledges having received his advice of it at Cape Gracias a Dios on August 29 and the Spaniards did not make the attack until September 15. Is hurrying a vessel to Capt. Dalrymple, and flatters himself that "not only some of the people will be recovered, but that the Kay will be re-possessed," and put into a state of defence by Capt. Carden, and that the tables will soon be turned on the enemy.

Enclosing,

(1) 1779, *October* 1, *Black River.—An account of the Spanish seizure of the "Kay," by Edward Felix Hill, who with a few others made his escape by boat at midnight of the day the Spaniards landed. The Spanish vessels appeared on September* 15, *and in answer to a deputation who went out to enquire their object, the commandant informed them that war was declared between England and Spain, that he had come to take possession of the place, but that if they quietly surrendered themselves prisoners of war "their persons should be safe from violence, their wearing apparel remain untouched, the books and papers of the merchants and principal inhabitants should be put into chests . . . sealed up, marked with the owners' names and delivered to them at Merida, to which place they should certainly be all travelled, and from thence to the Havannah; that the greatest tenderness should be shown to the ladies, as well as the Mustee women and children, and a due attention be paid them on his part to protect them from violence." The negroes, money, plate and valuable effects, would, however, be seized for his master, the King of Spain. It being impossible to defend the place, the terms were agreed to, and the Spaniards took possession. The writer believes there*

were about 200 *or* 250 *negroes, mostly house servants, " the principal part that carry on the logwood and mahogany cutting business " being up the rivers. Gives a list of the British subjects there, being* 73 *men,* 21 *women and a few children. Also a list of the free Mestees, Mulatoes, etc.,* 8 *men,* 22 *women and* 8 *children.*

(2) 1779, *September* 2, *Cape Gratias a Dios.—James Laurie, superintendent of the Mosquito Shore, to Governor Dalling. Received his despatches by the sloop " Orange " on August* 28. *Has sent to the Moskito Governor to ask for men, according to his Excellency's desire. Could arm some thousands on the coast if he might only be supplied with arms and ammunition, but at present has neither. Has sent a fast sailing boat to Honduras to inform them of the war with Spain, which he hopes he has been right in doing. Copy.*

(3) 1779, *October* 4, *Black River, Mosquito Shore.—The same to the same. Has done his utmost to procure a body of Indians to send to the assistance of Jamaica, and in spite of the efforts of ill-disposed persons, who tried to deter them " by representing the great danger they would run from the small-pox, then, as they pretended, raging on that island," got together as many at Black River as the " Orange " could have carried. But on his own arrival there, the inhabitants strongly represented the danger of sending these Indians in an unarmed vessel " as, should they be taken at sea, the British settlers would in all probability be in great danger from the resentment of their countrymen " ; he therefore returned the Indians his hearty thanks for the readiness and alacrity they had shewn for his Majesty's service, and has sent them home until his Excellency shall send an armed vessel for their convoy.*

On receiving his Excellency's despatches with the declaration of reprisals against Spain, he sent off an express with despatches for St. George's Kay, but they were unfortunately too late to prevent its being taken. At the instant of receiving this alarming news, Captain Pakenham arrived, bringing Adjutant General Dalrymple a small detachment of soldiers and military stores. The General proposes to go down to the relief of any who may have saved themselves in the different rivers of the Bay, and shall have every assistance the writer can give him. Again urges the need of a supply of fire-arms. Copy.

(4) 1779, *September* 30, *Black River.—Lieut. Hans Carden to Governor Dalling. Hopes his Excellency will approve of his remaining to co-operate with Capt. Dalrymple, especially as it will enable him to see the Bay and bring the fullest information. Has laboured " through a dilatory and not well-disposed set to get this place secured from the fate of the Bay " the news of which has helped him a little, and hopes before leaving, to see it in the way of being able to resist any attempts. Copy.*

GOVERNOR JOHN DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1779, Nov. 13, Jamaica.—Flatters himself that he will soon be able to make such a diversion as will oblige their new enemy the Spaniard to look at home, instead of disturbing them. Has formed his plan, is raising what men he can, and intends to begin operations in January, when the fine weather will favour them and when, if fortune will but stand neuter, he has every hopes of success. Has commissioned Mr. Hercules Ross, a merchant of Kingston, to transact all Government business relative to the expedition. "He is a gentleman who stept forth in a most remarkable manner during our late expectation of invasion, is of the first substance in the town, a man of honour and acknowledged probity." *Endorsed*, "No. 49."

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Nov. 15, Jamaica.—"I have the honour of enclosing Captain Commandant Dalrymple's account of the reduction of Fort Ferdinando de Omoa, and of congratulating your Lordship on the success of his Majesty's arms. I shall take the liberty to hope that the service expected from me in your Lordship's letter of the 17th of June will be still left in my sole guidance, and that Capt. Dalrymple's conduct, should he be returned to Europe, will not be approved by his Majesty.

"To prevent, as far as I am able, the delay and obstructions that might arise to my intended operations, should he have taken so unjustifiable a step, I have sent down another officer on whose ability and prudence I can depend. . . . I beg that Lieut. Carden may be immediately returned to me. I need not request that Dalrymple may not be sent out independent of me. . . . . I flatter myself my King will not suffer me to be thwarted in the very serious service I am going to undertake." *Enclosing*,

(1) 1779, *October* 28, *St. Ferdinando d'Omoa.—Captain Dalrymple to Governor Dalling. Giving a detailed account of the siege and capture of Fort Omoa.* 365 *prisoners have been taken (besides officers) and a treaty has been made to exchange them for the Bay-men so inhumanely carried away to Merida. Is sending the despatches and captured colours by Lieut. Carden with recommendations of the merit and activity which he has shown as captain of artillery and engineer during the siege. Has also recommended Lieut. Whitmond, of the marines, Mr. Concannon, a young midshipman, and Lieuts. Walker and Dundas. With postscript stating that the substance of this letter is the same as the one which he sent to Lord George. Copy.*

(2) *Return of the killed and wounded acting on shore at the siege and attack of Fort St. Ferdinando de Omoa, 2nd Oct.* 1779. *Mr. Lloyd, midshipman of the "Lowestoffe,"*

and five men killed; 2nd Lieut. Wightman, Chatham division of marines, and thirteen men wounded. Signed, William Dalrymple. Copy.

(3) *List of prisoners of war, same place and date. Total:* 15 *officers (named),* 3 *priests,* 10 *sergeants of artillery,* 1 *sergeant of dragoons,* 355 *rank and file. Signed, William Dalrymple. Copy.*

(4) *October* 24, 1779. *Omoa.—Agreement for the exchange of prisoners. Copy.*

(5) 1779, *October* 5.—*Capt. Dalrymple to Governor Dalling.* "*Confidential and secret, although of a public nature.*" *I send your Excellency a copy (except for a few words at the commencement) of the letter I have sent to Lord George [see enclosure* 1. *above]. As Commodore Luttrell was sending home the "Racehorse," I thought it necessary to dispatch Lieut. Carden, to lay the colours at his Majesty's feet; otherwise I should have sent them to your Excellency for transmission. As the warrant officers of the Bay dispute my authority of appointing officers, I must request you to confirm my appointments, none of which are higher than a 2nd lieutenant, except Carden, whom I appointed captain of artillery, which will make a difference of* 3,000*l. to him. Your Excellency stated to the magistrates of the Bay that I was vested with powers to carry on military operations, and also told me that I might appoint officers and form troops, therefore an attack on my appointments is an attack on your authority delegated to me.*

"*The gentlemen of the Bay will not settle again there until they are protected by a land force, and as I have not the command of ships, I am a cipher. . . . Many reasons concur to carry me to Britain, which I flatter myself you will approve of afterwards. The Commodore claims the fort as appertaining to the navy, as it was them, he says, conquered; therefore no governor is to be appointed. I shall, however, recommend to your Excellency my brother as Lieut. Governor, and should deem myself highly honoured if you would appoint me governor, retaining, however, my adjutant-generalship, in order to be with you and act from Jamaica. Permit me to mention Sheldon for fort major and Lieut. Despard for chief engineer. . . . I shall urge strongly at home for troops to attack where you shall direct. Copy.*

Rev. James Ramsay to Lord George Germain.

1779, Nov. 23, St. Christopher.—"Though the measure be already taken that will determine the fate of these islands, yet I cannot let pass an opportunity of laying before you our situation, and the thoughts which naturally arise from it. By all our accounts from the French islands, D'Estaing has left them in a distressed, defenceless condition. I may venture to affirm that from Guadaloupe to Grenada there are not

now 4,000 troops fit for service. The following proportions are probably not wide of the truth: in Guadaloupe, 1,500 men; Dominica, 500; Martinico, 1,500; St. Vincent's, 120; Grenada, 300. The season has been remarkably rainy and they have been, and we are told continue to be sickly.

"I must still harp on the solecism of supplying our enemies liberally with provisions. No less than seven vessels of the *Leviathan's* convoy, cleared out at Cork for St. Christopher, went down openly to St. Eustatius, where one of them had the impudence immediately to hoist American colours. Nay, Texier, the French Agent there, had for one article in that fleet 5,000 barrels of flour. But indeed vessels clear out openly for that island both at London and Cork. . . . .

"Admiral Parker, by daring to cruize, has met with considerable success, but if anything be meant to be done here, I dread the commands coming to an officer unacquainted with the station. The bugbear of calms and lee currents lost St. Vincent's and Grenada, and this bugbear influences more or less every new-comer. All such ought to be instructed not to be afraid of passing under the lee of the French islands, nor on proper occasions of cruizing there. Our commanders also lose many advantages by having no discretionary orders. Had Grant had such, he must have retaken Dominica. Had our commanders now such orders, St. Vincent's and Grenada have been these three months at their mercy. Nay, if we can trust a variety of accounts they have at St. Vincent's dismounted and spiked up their guns to render it untenable should they be obliged to abandon it. The first reinforcement that comes from France will make their recovery a serious affair. . . . . In the present dispersed state of D'Estaing's fleet we reckon ourselves safe till he be permitted to receive reinforcements from France. Twelve thousand men kept up by reinforcements might attempt the conquest of Martinico and all the Charib Islands, Porto Rico included. Nothing less will render our possession here secure or of value. I dread the influence of several sea officers who have gone home sadly prejudiced against them as incapable and unworthy of protection. Captain Wilkinson is particularly celebrated for having said among Americans and Frenchmen at St. Eustatius, in his elegant manner, he wished that all the English sugar islands were skuttled (sunk). I hope such prejudices will not prevail."

Governor Dalling to Lord George Germain.

1779, Dec. 28, Jamaica. — Enclosing memorials from the inhabitants of the Bay of Honduras and the Island of Rattan, praying for protection, military stores, &c., and other papers. Hopes that Rattan will be retained, but if so, a small force must be appointed to secure it. By intelligence just received, Fort Omoa was invested on November 25th and fell again into the hands of the Spaniards on the 28th without

the least resistance, having been in the hands of England between four and five weeks only. This disaster he believes to be due to "the not having destroyed the fort, officers quitting their posts, and not leaving a sufficient force behind them and settling the Island of Rattan instead of re-possessing St. George's Kay. . . . Captain Luttrell left not a sufficient garrison, Captain Dalrymple takes care of himself as to the division of the booty, quits his post, gives the only officer capable of defending it leave to go for Europe, and leaves the Bay men, who assisted in taking the fort" to memorialize for their share of the booty. "If the strength of the fort has not been exaggerated, the President of Guatamala, with all his parti-coloured rabble, and without cannon, should not have been able to have re-taken it." If he himself is to have a share in the booty, and the Bay-men be shut out, he prays to be allowed to appropriate his part to their use.

Postscript.—Capt. Shakespear has returned from the St. Blas Indians, who are highly pleased wih their presents, and, though not inclined to quit their country to join in expeditions far to the westward, are yet anxiously expecting to be the guides of the English to the opposite shore of Panama. *Duplicate* (No. 54). *Enclosing,*

(1) *Memorial of the late inhabitants of St. George's Kay now settled at Rattan, showing that they escaped from the Spaniards at St. George's Kay and were advised to settle at Rattan by the Commander-in-Chief, and begging protection, provisions and supplies of military stores for their defence and support.*

(2) [*Probably the memorial from the Bay of Honduras.*] *Missing.*

(3) 1779, *Nov.* 18, "*Admiral Penn.*"—*Admiral Sir Peter Parker to Governor Dalling. Requesting a sufficient number of troops to garrison the Fortress of St. Ferdinando de Omoa, as his squadron is so much reduced, that he can no longer spare seamen and marines from more essential service.*

(4) 1779, *Nov.* 20.—*Governor Dalling's reply to the above that he has not sufficient troops to garrison Omoa and would recommend that the fort be blown up.*

(5) 1780, *January* 1.—*Affidavit by Capt. John Jacques that the Fort of St. Ferdinando de Omoa was attacked by six or seven hundred Spaniards on or about the 24th of November, and that the garrison, being reduced by sickness to about seventy people, mostly negroes, and being cut off by the enemy from their watering place, were constrained to evacuate it after having spiked all the guns, carried off the gunpowder and other stores, and destroyed the fortifications as far as possible. The garrison then embarked on his Majesty's ship "Porcupine."*

(6) 1779, *December* 3, "*Pomona,*" *Port Royal Harbour, Rattan.—Stating that his Majesty's sloop "Porcupine," under command of Capt. Hulke, has arrived, and tha*

Hulke reports having been compelled to give up Port Omoa, owing to the sickness of the garrison and of the company. The "Porcupine" people are very sickly."

Enclosing the letters of the Spanish commandant and the proceedings of Capt. Hulke's Council of War.

(7) 1779, *November* 27, *General Quarters. Camp at Omoa.—Don Matias de Galvez to the commander of Fort Omoa.—Explaining that the convention for exchange of prisoners agreed on between the English commanders and Messrs. Desmeaux and Dastier can be of no validity, these last having no power to pledge his Catholic Majesty's word. Advises him in friendship "to look or find out an honourable way to quit that fort," fearing otherwise that the garrison will suffer the cruelties of the slave negroes and transported felons, who, on the offer of liberty may do what the most humane orders cannot prevent. Has a great esteem for the English nation, and "several English friends of the first quality in London," and is ready to grant an honourable capitulation, and to give a passport which shall be respected by all those at war with Great Britain. Will also put on board their vessels all kind of provisions, but nothing of any warlike stores belonging to the fort, the cannon of which he shall expect them not to damage.*

(8) 1779, *November* 27.—*Resolutions of the Council of War held at Omoa by desire of the Commander-in-Chief (Capt. Hulke), who lies very ill. There being not above thirty men in the garrison and the ship "Porcupine" capable of doing duty, and most of these negroes, on whom no dependance can be placed; their officers being two of them dead and almost all the rest ill; it being impossible from the position of the enemy to get either fresh provisions or good water, and there being no prospect of speedy relief, it is unanimously resolved that the fort shall be immediately quitted, it being first rendered unserviceable as much as possible. Signed, Rob. Butcher, lieutenant of the "Porcupine"; John Brander, captain commanding on shore; Geo. Newcombe, gunner of the "Porcupine." Copy.*

Jamaica Planters.

[1779 ?]—Paper endorsed as above, apparently notes for a petition, to represent that it adds greatly to the anxiety of the planters and merchants to consider the situation in which the death or ill-health of Governor Dalling might plunge them, as the command of Captain General would thereby devolve on the President of the Council, a man not bred to the profession of arms; while if the civil powers of the governor were given to such officer as was next him in military command, equal inconvenience might arise in the Court of Chancery, &c. They, therefore, humbly desire that some

officer of tried service and ability who unites the necessary qualities, as well civil as military, may be immediately sent out as Lieut.-Governor and second in command.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GOVERNOR DALLING.

1780, Jan. 4, Whitehall.—*Most secret.* Congratulates him on the success of the enterprise of Major Dalrymple and Captain Luterel against the Spanish fort of St. Ferdinand de Omoa. The King desires to express his approbation of both the land and sea officers, and private men. The military and naval force at Jamaica is to be increased at once by 3,000 men, and a full proportion of artillery, etc., with the view, after putting Jamaica out of danger, of obtaining possession of the River St. John and Lake Niccaragua and opening through them a communication with the South Sea at Rija Legia, or elsewhere. A feint attack is to be made in the Gulf of Dulce so as to encourage the idea of a design against Gualtamalee. Captain Commandant Dalrymple has been promoted to the rank of major. Is sorry to hear that he is shortly expected in England, but presumes that he has the Governor's leave to return, and that the latter has good reasons for allowing him to be absent from Jamaica at this critical time. *Draft.*

The REV. JAMES RAMSAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Jan. 18, S. Christopher.—Only eight of d'Estaign's line of battleships have returned to Martinico since his repulse in Georgia. Half our squadron is at Antigua taking in provisions. "In the Georgia expedition, the French lost great numbers by the sword and sickness. Those that returned are in such bad plight as to have filled all their hospitals and oblige them to issue an ordinance to appropriate all the fresh meat for their sick, a sick inhabitant being obliged to have a certificate to be entitled to a share."

Fourteen merchantmen from Marseilles have been taken or destroyed out of twenty-six. The report that military men are to be sent out as governors has made the inhabitants of St. Christopher's very happy, and will, doubtless, be equally acceptable to the other islands.

MR. FULLARTON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, January 20, Somerset Street.—Enclosing certain propositions to be laid before the Cabinet, viz:—

1. Statement that certain gentlemen have joined in fitting out four private ships of war to sail in spring on a cruising expedition to the South Seas, and—believing that a line of battleship and some troops would make the expedition more detrimental to the Spaniards—are willing to purchase a 64-gun ship and to find sailors, provided Government will allow them stores, ordnance and provisions; or if Government provide the ship "with a bomb ketch and two store ships," they will place their

four ships under the orders of her captain. In either case they will raise the troops needed. They will give the command of the naval part of the equipment to an officer of repute, who has long held his Majesty's commission and knows South America ; and will put the troops under "a field officer of fortune and character, who will be a considerable adventurer in the expedition." The offer is dictated by no mercenary motives, but is the voluntary contribution of a number of gentlemen of independent fortunes, who are willing to hazard, under the direction of Government, seventy or eighty thousand pounds on an expedition which will be equally advantageous to their own country and detrimental to her enemies.

2. Further proposal that if Government should refuse the above, the gentlemen are willing to send out their own four ships of war, if Government will allow them to purchase stores, ordnance and provisions to the amount of 60,000*l.*, giving security that they will add a 64-gun ship to the equipment, and will repay the money in four years paying interest meanwhile.

Lord George Germain to Governor Dalling.

1780, Feb. 2, Whitehall. — Has received his dispatches numbered 48, 49, 50, and one of November 15, and laid them before the King. Should Major Dalrymple return to England, not only without leave, but contrary to orders, no marks of favour will be shewn him. Lieut. Carden has been usefully employed, but is about to return in the fleet to sail on the 20th prox. The fort at Omoa should be maintained as an alarm to the Spaniards for the safety of Guatamala. Whatever is attempted within his (Governor Dalling's) jurisdiction will certainly be under his direction, the King having the greatest reliance on his military abilities and zeal for the service. *Draft*, "No. 24."

C. Baines to Lord George Germain.

1780, Feb. 10, Falmouth.—Accounts have been received that the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of 19 sail of the line and 150 transports with 25,000 troops left Brest on the 3rd inst., it is supposed for Jamaica. The Lisbon packet brought word that two of Sir George Rodney's fleet had put in to Lisbon, the *Dublin* in distress, having lost all her masts, the *Shrewsbury*, not damaged, attending her.

Lord George Germain to the Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson, Secretary at War.

1780, Feb. 14, Whitehall.—Signifying his Majesty's pleasure concerning additional hospital stores and medicines to be sent out to Jamaica.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GOVERNOR DALLING.

1780, March 1, Whitehall.—" Such diligence has been used in preparing the armament which I acquainted you in my most secret letter of the 4th of January was intended to be sent to Jamaica, to be employed under your and the Vice-Admiral's direction against the Spanish settlements, that everything is now in readiness . . . and [it] will proceed to sea immediately under convoy of Commodore Walsingham . . .

" If your intended attack upon the Spanish fort on St. Juan's River has succeeded, and the communication with the Lake Nicaragua is already opened and secured, much time will be saved. . . Brigadier General Garth is sent out for the purpose of being employed under your orders, and it is left to you to send such other officers with him as you may judge most fit for the enterprize. . . . Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker has orders to give all the assistance in his power." It will be well for you to consider the probable effects of an attack upon the settlements in the Bay of Dulce, both on the enemy and upon the Mexican Indians, who are represented to be indisposed to the Spanish Government, and might be encouraged to form a connexion with Great Britain, if promised free trade, the enjoyment of their ancient laws and customs, their natural freedom, and protection during war.

" The most vigorous efforts are to be made to gain possession of the lake and country of Nicaragua ; the greatest encouragement is to be given to the native Indians and Creole Spaniards to join the King's troops. Their persons and properties are to be treated with the utmost tenderness, and the same assurances given to them as I have directed to be given to those of Mexico.

" Should General Garth happily succeed and penetrate to Rejia Lejia and open a communication with the South Sea, I trust he will find means of establishing himself so effectually in the country as not to be in danger of being obliged to relinquish his conquests . . . for the allurements of so fine a country and climate, the wealth of the inhabitants and the richness of its mines cannot fail of drawing to him many auxiliaries from the neutral islands as well as our own, and especially from North America, where so many have been ruined by the rebellion."

Amongst the supplies sent out are 2,000 fowling pieces as presents for the Indians, of a sort that will serve for war as well as hunting, as well as jackets and leggings, prepared after Mr. Hodgson's pattern.

" We are a long time without advices from West Florida, but . . . . I have little doubt but the Governor of New Orleans has possessed himself of our posts on the Mississippi, and meditates an attempt upon Pensacola if the Governor of Cuba can furnish him with a sufficient force ; you will, therefore, be attentive to what is passing in that quarter, and in concert with the Vice-Admiral, give the most

effectual assistance in your power to Brigadier General Campbell . . . in repelling any attacks which may be made upon that province."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to GOVERNOR DALLING.

1780, April 5, Whitehall.—The arrival of the fleet with stores will have enabled you to give Captain Polson any support he may need in his enterprize, which is a most important one ; but I am sorry that you have doubts of Mr. Laurie's activity, for without the assistance of the Mosquito Indians it will be impossible to retain the country, even if Captain Polson obtains possession of it. The fort at Omoa should have been demolished as soon as taken, since the captors did not think proper to leave a garrison there sufficient for its defence. Whether the island of Rattan can be retained by treaty, if judged of sufficient importance to be stipulated for, is a question that cannot receive an answer while the war continues, but as it's harbour is so excellent the present possession of it appears desirable, especially as Omoa is lost. Your bills for the pay of the Mulatto Corps have been received and their payment recommended. The Acts passed in your last session have also been received and transmitted to the Board of Trade. I wish you had stated the grounds upon which you respited the sentence passed upon John Major, convicted of piracy. The Address of the Mosquito Chiefs and the memorial of the officers of the Mulatto Corps have been presented to me by Mr. Knox. I am much flattered by the confidence which those Indians, so distinguished for their fidelity to his Majesty and his Royal predecessors, place in me. The officers of the Mulatto Corps will, I should think, find employment in the operations proposed to be carried on from Jamaica, but they must not expect commissions in any new corps raised in Great Britain or North America. Commodore Walsingham has not yet sailed, the fleet being detained at Portsmouth by adverse winds. Mr. Harrison has been restored to the office of Advocate General. *Draft.* (No. 25.)

GOVERNOR DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, May 19, Jamaica.—Private. Offering regrets for having been the means of trouble and uneasiness to his Lordship, and explaining that the reason for his publishing certain letters was that the disaffected in the country were sowing the seeds of sedition by propagating a belief that their rulers had not made application to the commanders in North America for assistance, and that even if they had, it could not be given ; and that therefore it was of no use to attempt a defence against the enemy. Exculpates Sir Peter Parker (who only yielded to his persuasions in the matter) and begs his Lordship to "forget and forgive."

Postscript.—Trusts that his determination to go with Brigadier-General Garth will be acceptable to the King, so capable

an officer as Brigadier General Campbell being left to administer the island; and if it is the King's pleasure for Brigadier Garth to be left in command, desires to return to Europe.

GOVERNOR DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 2, Jamaica.—Private. "Since I am not to be supported, it behoves me to support myself; excuse this little badinage, I only mean privately to manifest to your Lordship that I am determined to oppose the King's representative to the late little and unworthy Advocate General."

MR. CHARLES SHAW to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, June 19, Savannah.— Despatches from General Campbell at Pensacola have been received. The *Mentor* frigate on her way down from Jamaica fell in with three vessels from Havannah loaded with provisions for Mobile and carried them up to Pensacola. Mr. McGillwray is to return to the nation with the Upper Creeks, who begin to grow sickly, and very anxious to return to their own country. They are relieved by fresh parties from different parts of the nation, which Mr. McIntosh is to remain to conduct at Pensacola. General Campbell's presence is much needed in the nation to counteract the Spanish emissaries, who "have induced a few of them to visit Governor Galvez at Mobile, who has promised to load them with presents and rum." I have invited the chiefs who seem to lean towards the Spanish interest to visit Col. Brown at Augusta. If we can draw them to a conference, I am convinced that the superintendent's influence will fix them firmly in his Majesty's interest. [*This letter has got amongst the West Indies papers by mistake. Its true place is on p.* 168.]

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN VAUGHAN to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, July 24, Barbados.—Giving an account of the steps he had taken on the approach of the Spanish armament; of the movement of the English Admirals; and of the affairs of the island. Complains that Mr. Scott, the agent for the prisoners, has abused his power. It is "an indignity to the character of a great nation to permit prisoners of war to be squeezed and starved by any agents and contractors whatever," and it would not be surprising if the Spanish officers represented their hard treatment to their own Court.

JOHN GRAHAM to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, July 25, Tobago.—Believes that the taking of Charlestown and declared superiority of our fleet must soon be attended with happy consequences.

GOVERNOR VALENTINE MORRIS to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, July 28, Antigua.—Is informed by Admiral Rodney that he cannot arrange for his own and Mrs. Morris's passage

to England by the present convoy, but believes it can be managed in October. Believes, however, that one or two merchant ships "will run it" before long, in which case they would venture in such running vessel, without waiting for the convoy.

GOVERNOR JAMES CUNINGHAME to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, August 10, Barbadoes.—Upon my arrival here, I found the house at Pilgrim dropping to pieces from neglect, and not even a lock to secure my baggage.

"The President, Dolen, an old man, unfit for business, and disliking it, had not struck a stroke in any public measure that he could possibly avoid since he heard of my appointment, and I found him, either from the natural indolence of his temper, or in conjunction with every department and class of men, endeavouring to keep me ignorant of the deplorable state of the island." Upon enquiry, I found an empty Treasury, an empty magazine, ruinous fortifications, a bankrupt government, no police, and the military establishments applied to jobs and election purposes.

"The Admiral received from me by express I sent him, the first account of the capitulation of Charles Town and other useful intelligence, but he, notwithstanding I urged to have directions about the disposal of prisoners of war to the amount of 1,000*l*., has left me to myself." General Vaughan arrived a few days after myself, and I live on the best terms with him. Admiral Arbuthnot having sent here important dispatches, I am forwarding them to St. Lucia, where Commodore Hotham will take charge of them. I hope your Lordship will approve of my not passing the bill of settlement, but this leaves me without income and I cannot hold out at my private expense. I have gone through the usual entertainments, give good dinners, shall do my uttermost to rescue the island from its bankrupt state, work from morning to night, go to Church regularly and am shoving on every man to do his duty.

I hope the island of Barbados will furnish a loyal address to his Majesty upon the late riots.

ROBERT HODGSON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Aug. 13, Jamaica, Liguanea.—Since my arrival, I have given most serious attention to the proceedings against the Spaniard, but am sorry to say that so far as I can judge the expedition wears a bad aspect; and I can only grieve at "not having been placed in some proper office at first, for I have not yet heard of a disaster but what I might in that case have prevented and, indeed, I think the country in question is what I could have played with as with a hand of all the cards. . . . But now our own Mosquito shore is most critically circumstanced. I presume Governor Dalling writes your Lordship about his having been deceived in the

assistance from thence. It is not improbable but that it has occasioned the loss of much the greater part of sixteen hundred men that have been sent to Nicaragua, a number sufficient to have gone on to Reja Leja. The Mosquito Indians are so much hurt in their friendship for us that they are assimilating to the Spaniards ; the white people have fled from their country, and their negroes are in a state of revolt." I have offered, singly, to recover the Indians and negroes for Great Britain, and even to bring them to take up arms against Spain, but though my offer was accepted, " the means are so altered and divided " that I can go no further with it. Governor Dalling professes great friendship for me, but I prefer to withdraw from a scene where I am not allowed to do any good, unless your Lordship can make it possible for me yet to prevent a losing game here. *Duplicate.*

GOVERNOR DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Aug. 19, Jamaica.—" Private." Complaining that all his efforts to put into execution his Majestys' commands and to carry on his civil government are thwarted by the Assembly and a few other malicious individuals. Encloses one of their productions, which is nothing less than an endeavour to stir up the troops to mutiny, and professes his belief that the appointment of another governor is actually necessary. One of the great fomenters of sedition is Mr. Martin, a petitioner to the King on account of a property in Virginia ; another, the late Attorney-General, and a third, a Mr. John Ellis, well known for his turbulency in England. *Enclosing,*

An Address " To the Officers nominated to serve in the intended expedition."

" Before ye enter on the service for which ye are designed, yield your attention to a subject in which ye are deeply concerned ; in which your health, your lives and your virtue are involved.

" Although many of ye are strangers in this Island, the sufferings of those unhappy wretches who have fallen a prey to this destructive scheme, cannot altogether escape your knowledge. Numbers of those who preceded ye and have lost their lives for their credulity and avarice, were men seemingly much better qualified to sustain the hardship of this service and the change of climate than yourselves. Inured to the heat of this island, its inconveniences and diseases, if they sunk in the undertaking, what dreadfull havoc must be expected among ye, lately from Europe, full of blood, and ripe for the destruction that waits ye on that inhospitable shore to which ye are sentenced.

" If on enquiry, ye find they were deluded by fallacious promises of wealth and honor, that they were taught to believe the acquisition certain, and yet were suffered to languish under every species of want and misery, destitute of common necessaries for their support, what dependance will ye place in promises ?

"If the man who hath hitherto been named as the commander on this expedition, doth not lead ye on to the execution of his favorite project; if he is not to undergo the same fatigues with yourselves and stimulate ye by his own courage and perseverance, there is cause for ye most seriously to consider what ye are to undergo, and to be determined in your conduct as rational creatures, distinguishing between bravely fighting in a just cause, and risking your lives and those of the men ye command, in a scheme which offers plunder as its highest object; a scheme which hath been attempted in vain, hath entailed disgrace on its projection and equipment, and left the carcases of its silly adherents to rot unburied on the coast of our enemies."

ROBERT HODGSON to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Aug. 31, Jamaica, Kingston.—"I expected to have been home myself by this packet, but . . . I was led to inform Governor Dalling of my desire to go, at the same time telling him that if he had any public service for me, fitting for me to undertake, I would stay. I can only say of his answer that it does not seem to me sufficient to justify my leaving him as yet."

This induces me to write what I had meant to say; and I write with the fulness which suits a person who has been commander-in-chief under the sign manual in what now is the scene of action. "It is not doubted here by those who know me, but that with the force that has already been sent into Nicaragua, I should by this time have collected into security all the naval stores about Reja Leja, and have fermented into independence the inhabitants of its neighbouring coasts. . . . There remains perhaps only a sort of after-game, yet it may be alarming enough to work the anxiety of Spain into the strongest desire for peace. Aback of the coasts of the Mosquito Shore, Honduras, and Darien, are very numerous tribes of Indians. I know them to be ill-disposed to the Spaniards. . . . I know they would rejoice at affording us communication through their country, assistance in provisions and fresh intelligence, and by these means only, every town of the Spaniards between the large ones of Guatimala and Panama, except where they might be in force to oppose what they expect to be our main operation, would be at the mercy of about a thousand men of any colour or anyhow got together. My father overran the inland parts of Honduras and Nicaragua with a third of the number of Indians and twelve soldiers. I have his journals by me and know the state of the country to be but little altered since, and am not without the latest information from the Spanish prisoners." If I might have 150 regulars, a little money and some presents, I should need nothing more. I enclose some papers which have passed between Governor Dalling and myself, not foreign to the subject.

Postscript.—I have just heard what a man called Christopherz has said against me. If your Lordship does not feel bound to protect my character against such a person, pray cause it to be made known to me.

Enclosing,

Paper containing copies of communications between the Governor and Mr. Hodgson, in relation to the latter's project for re-establishing the Mosquito shore.

GOVERNOR DALLING to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Sept. 1.—"Private." Asking leave to return to Europe to recruit his health. The island will be safe in the hands of Brigadier Campbell, and no immediate attack from either French or Spaniards is to be apprehended.

REV. JAMES RAMSAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Oct. 1, St. Christopher.—The Danes of St. Croix and St. Thomas have erected a company which they call Royal for trading with the French islands. A Dutch Rear-admiral has arrived at St. Eustatius in a 70-gun ship. The American vessels saluted him, and he returned the salute. It is given out that a squadron is to follow "to vindicate the Dutch trade with the rebel Americans." The ships of war appointed to take the trade home are far from ready. It is absurd and unnecessary to have winter convoys, and very risky for "the crazy ships of Byron's squadron." If they had been taken home in August, they would now have been coppered and fit for service, and been here again before the return of d'Estaign's squadron. Desires leave of absence, "to take possession of two small livings in Kent."

GOVERNOR CUNINGHAME to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, Nov. 25, Barbadoes.—Hoping that the King will take into consideration the losses the writer has incurred through the destruction of Pilgrim House.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1780, Nov. 26, Barbadoes.—"The power of a governor is so circumscribed here as to have little power in the beginning of his administration, and so long as the offices of treasurer and storekeeper and comptroller continue in the nomination of the Assembly, waste of public money and peculation must prevail, the members taking these offices in rotation applying the public money to their own purposes. The men of the first property here assure me that the greatest part of the Assembly are a set of bankrupts, and that two-thirds of the estates and property of the island belong, when the debts are paid, to the people of England. Your Lordship, therefore, cannot be surprised if any Assembly under that description should refuse a Levy Bill, that they may enjoy their present possession

without paying taxes. What steps may be taken at home to remedy this evil I know not. I am sorry to say that I cannot, from what I learn, form sanguine expectations from a new Assembly, when, if the present Speaker persist in his opposition, I must put a negative upon him." I should like Sir Philip Gibbes to have a seat in the Council, and Mr. Bishop's brother is entitled to one by his consequence unless the fact of two brothers being at the Board is an objection. "The Assembly, by resisting the voting a Levy Bill, leave our forts in ruins, and our small arms being destroyed, at least the greater part of them, it leaves us in [a] pityable state of defence; but we now make some figure in the harbour by the arrival of the *Monarch* and *Alfred*, ships of war from England, but we have no accounts from Sir Geo. Rodney, but favourable reports of his destroying Mr. de Terney's squadron.

"We have not as yet had many merchantmen from North America, excepting two from Halifax and some from Newfoundland, but none from the southward." Workmen have been employed to repair Pilgrim House, and I give dinners to the army and navy. I feel sure that your Lordship will see the necessity of my being recompensed for the great pecuniary losses I have sustained. I keep on the best of terms with the general, but only by yielding to him in everything, as he dislikes governors, and thinks he ought to have supreme power. When your Lordship considers the defenceless state of the island, I hope you will give me a regiment and station it here for our protection. The Custom House officers are paid from the six per cent. duty on sugars sent out of the island. If the Governor's salary were paid in the same way, it would save me 400*l.* a year, and ease the revenue.

Rev. James Ramsay.

1780.—Paper unsigned, but in Ramsay's handwriting, endorsed "Hints on the new situation of America." On the importance of the West Indian Islands to Great Britain. Gives a plan for the reduction of the islands belonging to France and Spain. Mentions General Vaughan, Piquet, General Prescot, Sir G. Collier, &c.

Brigadier General G. Christie to Lord George Germain.

1781, Feb. 3, Antigua.—Announcing the death of Governor Burt on the 27th January after only a few days' illness. The Caribbee Islands are left in some degree of confusion, principally because the Government devolves upon presidents or eldest councillors and a tighter rein than they can hold is needed in time of war. "The truth is the mercantile people are mostly smugglers in trade, not only with St. Eustatia but with the French Islands; and a considerable number of the planters attach'd to the rebellious Americans, many from inclination and a few leaders who think they see deeper into matters, conceive their fate must depend on that of the Continent.

. . . . . These principles pervade every publick measure, having their independent capitulation ready prepared, which is but an indifferent prospect to the King's troops station'd amongst them for their defence." It is most important to have a strong post as a refuge in time of need, and Monks Hill would be best, because it has water, but the Legislature will grant nothing for making it "tolerable, and indeed refuse even to furnish the troops with anything beyond their bare quarters." *Duplicate.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. CHRISTIE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Feb. 7, Antigua.—Referring to his former letter to the 3rd February and asking for the post of Lieutenant Governor, vacant by the death of Sir Adolphus Oughton, as such an appointment would give the officer commanding the King's troops greater influence in the station. *Duplicate.*

THE SAME to THE SAME.

1781, Feb. 8, Antigua.—St. Eustatia surrendered to the King's arms without opposition on the 3rd inst. St. Martin's was also taken with but little resistance. On the former island was found a considerable sum of ready money, a great quantity of warlike stores, and about 178 ships of different kinds, including the Dutch convoy of 27 sail. The amount seized afloat or ashore is computed above 4,000,000 sterling. "The measure of seizing St. Eustatia the enemy must feel in the most sensible manner, it will root out a nest of spies and rogues who carried on a clandestine trade with the French and rebels, in which these islands as well as many people at home were deeply concerned, they all having partners or agents on the spot, playing to one another's hands." *Duplicate.*

JAMES CUNNINGHAM to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Feb. 25, Barbados.—Upon the affairs of the island.

FRENCH LETTER.

1781, Feb. 27, St. Piers, Island of Martinique.—Translated extract from a letter of a Frenchman relative to the state of that island and of the surrounding French possessions, and the capture of St. Eustatia by the English. "If the English Admiral follows his blow and takes Curaçoa, all the Spanish provinces from Porto Bello, Gulph of Darien, Carthagena, all Carraccas and South to Cumana or Gulph of Paria, will suffer the most dreadful hardships in point of supplies and commerce until the English open a trade with them. What a field for England, what a stab to the commerce of Holland. Even St. Domingo and the Island of Cuba carry on an amazing commerce [with] Curaçoa. No stroke England can give on these seas to effectually distress her present enemies can equal this kind of conquest, nor sooner be the means of restoring

peace between her and her North American Colonies, and fixing upon good terms with the other Powers—this last stroke of wisdom and sound policy in the English administration must even be admired by their deadliest foes—it is not only laying the axe to the root of the tree, but it is finally tearing up all the roots and fibres of a re-growth. These are the ideas and opinions of our best political observers in these regions."

JAMES RAMSAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, March 1, St. Christopher.—Concerning the proceedings of General Vaughan and Admiral Rodney at St. Eustatius, against the harshness of whose measures a great clamour has been raised. Has addressed Captain Young, who has influence with both commanders, at length on the subject. Forwards, for his Lordship's information, full particulars relative to Statia, which is not properly a colony belonging to a particular State, but a nest of outlaws or at best adventurers from every State. The object has been to break up this nest of vipers, which has done more to support the enemy than all other places put together, but the hardships imposed upon individuals have been often scandalous and mostly unnecessary. The navy officers blame those ashore ; the general believes that the worst is done by men coming clandestinely from the ships. All unite to blame a quarter-master-general and the rascally underlings acting by his order. The Jews especially have been very hardly dealt with, and hurried from the island, destitute of everything. Thinks that Statia and its dependencies Saba and St. Martins (a considerable sugar colony) should never be allowed to return under the dominion of the States, and this observation applies to every Dutch West Indian settlement. To take in the Dutch Colonies will require little force ; their present government is in general oppressive and corrupt and the settlers would gladly change their masters. "If Statia be broke up as a port the police [? policy] of our other colonies must be reformed on a liberal plan to make up for its loss as a market for our manufactories and to encourage foreign colonies to frequent them with cash and West Indian raw commodities. If the monopoly of Great Britain, granted our own West Indian colonies, stand in the way of this arrangement, Statia must be preserved as a free port under our Government to accommodate foreign colonies with our manufactures for cash and useful articles, enumerating such as may be allowed in home consumption, and such as may be exported for foreign."

Postscript.—By an extraordinary accident a commerce already begun between this island and Guadaloupe has been discovered.

Enclosing,

Heads of an ordinance relative to St. Eustatius, and a memorandum relative to the trade of the island, its inhabitants and the mode of dealing with it.

COMMITTEE FOR DOMINICA AND ST. VINCENT to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, March 9.—Praying him to support a petition which they have presented to his Majesty in Council in relation to obtaining assistance and relief for the distressed sufferers in these islands.

ST. CHRISTOPHERS.

1781, March 10.—Paper headed "Extract of a letter from St. Kitts" stating that a Mr. Douanx(?) of Guadaloupe, formerly a prisoner in St. Christophers, but now exchanged and sent back to Guadaloupe, has been discovered to have entered into a contract with some person unknown "in this island" for supplying the French with provisions. However, the whole island has taken the alarm, and rewards have been offered, both by the Council and Assembly and by the merchants for the discovery of any persons concerned in so traitorous a correspondence.

JAMES RAMSAY to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, March 15, St. Christopher.—Stating that the Admiral and General have resolved to send the Chief Justice, Mr. Georges, home to get the ultimate determination of Government concerning St. Eustatius; and giving his views as to the course to be adopted with regard to the prosecution of the war in the West Indies, and the disposal of the prisoners. The British Statia merchants are sending home powers of attorney to prosecute the Admiral and General for their merchandize found in that island; "as if a court of law could take notice of a conquest."

RICHARD NEAVE to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, April 26, New Broad Street.—Sending him the proceedings of the Committee of Merchants at St. Eustatia in their application to Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, with a confident hope that it will receive such consideration "as not to subject our own islands to unusual inconveniences" in case any of them should fall into the enemy's power.

LIEUT. GEN. CUNINGHAME to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1781, Sept. 27, Dublin.—"The escape of the Leeward Island fleet is a fortunate event, and if the combined fleet is gone into port, they will have no reason to boast of their excursion. Five packets are due. St. John is still at Cork waiting orders from hence to send the troops to their former quarters; however, none will be given by his Excellency till he is properly authorised by the Secretary of State."

ST. CHRISTOPHERS.

1782, Jan. 9 to Feb. 12.—Journal of the siege of Brimstone Hill on the island of St. Christophers.

William Knox to Lord George Germain.

1782, Jan. 10, Whitehall.—"Lord Sandwich has desired me to prepare a letter for your Lordship to send him authorising an Instruction he has prepared for Admiral Rowley at Jamaica and shewed me this morning, and I have prepared that which I inclose in consequence, but altho' the Admiralty Instruction is absolute, I have thought it necessary to put in the qualification (in case the enemies' fleet be not already before Jamaica) lest the order should arrive when the sending out the ships would be sending them to certain destruction. Indeed, considering the time when the order may be expected to arrive, the present strength of De Grasse in the Leeward Islands and the probability of De Guichen joining him long before Rodney gets there, I am very doubtful of the propriety of sending the order at all at this time; had it gone when the former express was sent nothing could have been more proper, but the case is now altered. The French fleet will at least have got the length of the Cape before these ships can beat up thro' the windward passage, and if Rodney be not there or strong enough to be lying off the Cape, they will run great hazard of being taken. Besides, I have always understood that a line [of] battle ship was necessary for the defence of the entrance into Port Royal Harbour, but perhaps as there are a 50 and two 44 gun ships to remain, they might answer the purpose. The despatch from General Christie will inform your Lordship of the loss of St. Eustatius and St. Martin's, in a manner the most ignominious that can be conceived. Surely somebody will be brought to punishment at last for public delinquency. In the Admiralty Instructions to Rowley he is directed not to send Graves with the line of battle ships, but *to keep him with him to assist in the defence of Jamaica.* I told Lord Sandwich I was sure your Lordship would not sign a letter with the words marked under in it, and that the Jamaica merchants would apply for your removal if they thought there was a chance of his succeeding to the command, and I believed it to be your Lordship's opinion he ought to be called home. He said Lord North would not allow him to be so disgraced, but intended to write him a private letter desiring him to ask leave to come home, which would be granted when he did. This, said I, will be an affair of six or eight months, and in the meantime he may have the command of the whole fleet of England. I referred to Stephens for what Keene had told him from Lord North of his not protecting Graves, upon which his Lordship said he would speak of the matter to-night. I have been told, but not from high authority, that Lord Sandwich is to remain and be supported and you are to be taken out of the House of Commons to prevent any disagreement in the conduct of the measure. Jenkinson is intended to succeed you, but not immediately. Lord Hillsborough to come here in the meantime, and Lord

Stormont to execute both the other departments. They all think you ought to be in town.

Postscript.—No account from France of any of de Guichen's squadron being put back."

GOVERNOR CUNINGHAME to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1782, March 9, Barbados.—On general matters connected with the island. "Sir George Rodney arrived here in good health and continues so, by his letter of the 5th inst. to me. I flatter myself that now he has 38 sail of the line he may be enabled to block up the French fleet in Port Royal Harbour, or bring them to action, and by that means frustrate their grand design. From what I hear I am persuaded his fleet will be off that port this day." General Mathews is now at St. Lucia. If he comes here, I presume Gen. Christie will be sent there. Whether Gen. Mathews will continue George Damar as Quartermaster-General I cannot say, but his activity and conduct merit every support.

UNDATED PAPERS.

Paper endorsed "Hints in favour of a small sucour being sent to Jamaica previous to the assistance that may be afforded by fleets."

A collection of historical notes headed, "A short state of a few facts and consequences that have happened in the Island of Grenada since its submission to the British arms in 1762."

Paper undated, but signed "Samuel Estwick, agent for the Colony of Barbados," entitled, "Reasons for repealing the 4½ per cent. duty in the West Indies, and for commuting the same into a tax to be collected here; humbly submitted to the right honourable Lord North."

Remarks (unsigned and undated) on St. Eustatius, and a plan by which a British Admiral in the Leeward Island station might be supplied with intelligence.

Paper endorsed, "Observations on the Charibbean station, Martinico, St. Eustatius."

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